Middle Kingdom Studies 1

The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1550 BC)

I

edited by

Gianluca Miniaci, Wolfram Grajetzki

MKS

GHP

The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1550 BC)

Contributions on archaeology, art, religion, and written sources

Volume I

Edited by

Gianluca Miniaci, Wolfram Grajetzki

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Golden House Publications

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A catalogue record for this book is avaiable from
the British Library

Front cover: Detail of canopic stopper from Shaft 106, Dahshur (*cf.* Baba, Yazawa: "Burial Assemblages of the Late Middle Kingdom", pp. 18-9 © Baba, Yazawa)

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Printed in the United Kingdom

by CPI

London 2015

ISBN 978-1-906137-43-4

To hybrid creatures

Middle Kingdom Studies

Series

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Preface

Every book and every series is the result of a hybrid combination: the vision of single scholars and a common need in the form of a stream consciously perceived by the scientific community. Book and series are not born on a single day, but they are the product of long gestation processes, marked at numerous intervals by thoughtful discussions, reiterated meetings, assembled and dismissed projects. However, as for all human things there is a day when it came into the world. That was somewhere in the mid of March 2014, when Wolfram Grajetzki and I met at a Mexican restaurant in London and planned a small volume, aiming to gather a few contributions on recent studies and new discoveries in the Middle Kingdom. The first aim was rather straightforward and modest. Then we launched our idea amongst scholars. The scope of the publication took root quite soon inside the academic environment and spread out unexpectedly fast, receiving and injecting enthusiasm. After a couple of months we received more than forty proposals for contribution. This result was both fascinating and promising, since we had evidently hit the core of a widely-shared scientific need, but at the same time it had the effect of multiplying our original intent and the amount of work. Where we had aimed for a small book containing a few Middle Kingdom articles, we found instead a stream, an invisible stream, going on under our eyes. What to do with this large stream? Then, as the most direct choice, I decided to transform a single book into a jumping-off point, and to give birth to a new series aiming at chanelling such a stream to maximum effect. The name emerged quite spontaneously and obviously, 'Middle Kingdom Studies', adopting the title used twenty-five years ago for the single-volume edition of papers from the conference organised by Janine Bourriau in association with her landmark exhibition 'Pharaohs and Mortals'.

I have two aims in introducing this series: to provide, within a focussed editorial structure, new direction and impetus to Middle Kingdom research; and to create a discussion space for both established and emerging scholars, who wish to publish new ideas, research, and findings relating to this period. For the series I propose a broad definition of "Middle Kingdom", to encompass also the First and Second Intermediate Periods (roughly 2200-1550 BC). The only way to project a more adequate vision of the Middle Kingdom is to avoid any rigid division in fixed time-frames, and to explore the before and the after: the Middle Kingdom has its roots in the First Intermediate Period and still tightly affects the Second Intermediate Period, projecting its shade onto it. The series also aims to go beyond a geographical segmentation of ancient history of Egypt, opening the field beyond its geographical borders, encouraging the submission of studies on Nubian, Mediterranean, and Near Eastern topics relating to that time scope and to Egypt.

Paris, 28 May 2015

Gianluca Miniaci
Series editor

Introduction

The Middle Kingdom is the classical period of ancient Egyptian art, language, and literature. Introductions to Egyptian language invariably start from the famous literary compositions of this period; therefore both scholars and students are inevitably familiar with the Middle Kingdom. However, despite this fame, much of the monumental architecture of the period is now lost. Middle Kingdom pyramids look rather shabby in comparison to those of the Old Kingdom; tombs of officials are often heavily destroyed, fostering a ruthless contrast with the high number of Old Kingdom mastabas and the world famous brightly painted Theban tomb chapels of the New Kingdom. Middle Kingdom kings are still rather obscure figures for present-day readers, even inside Egyptology, in contrast to the acclaimed New Kingdom pharaohs, where sensational archaeological discoveries such as the royal cache DB 320 and the amount of written sources give the feeling that we can come to known even their personalities. Senusret I and Senusret III were certainly powerful rulers, but the sources for them leave the impression of impenetrable creatures. Gaps in history, monumental art and architecture affected in different ways the development of research into the Middle Kingdom. Therefore areas that are often neglected in Egyptian archaeology became the focus of investigation for the Middle Kingdom. Settlement archaeology is one example. There are no other periods with so many excavated settlement sites, such as Lahun or Tell el-Dabʿa, just to mention two of those covered in this volume.

The aim of the volume is to fill part of these gaps, approaching this complex period from multiple directions. We would like to imagine this collection of contribution as a sort of 'restart' for the Middle Kingdom studies. Any attempt to redefine a period needs to start from the present research, new discovery and excavation, current ideas, future projects. Only at the end of such a regenerative process, might we attempt to offer a new profile for the Middle Kingdom.

We also aspire to regenerating the 'idea' of Middle Kingdom, proposing an upstream process: instead of providing more definite chronological limits, we decided to leave these deliberately blurry, extending its range down to the late First Intermediate Period and the Second Intermediate Period. 'Seventh'-Eleventh, Twelfth, and Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties were considered all part of this broad Middle Kingdom, following a suggestion already advanced by Franke in 1984 (*Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich (20.-16. Jahrundert, Dossiers 1-796*, Wiesbaden, pp. 1-2). With this decision we would like to stress the continuity over dynasties, rather then the differences. For instance, in terms of political situation, the Thirteenth Dynasty shows radical changes, but in terms of material culture and administration there is no break at all. Any regenerative process should also encompass a spatial redefinition, involving greater interdisciplinary effort, and therefore arguably one of the most difficult tasks to accomplish. Again, instead of providing clear borders, which admittedly allow focusing with greater detail on a single situation, we decided to locate Middle Kingdom Egypt inside a more flexible spatial dimension, conceived in terms rather of networks and influences, capturing the multiplicity of cultures in contact, and explicitly fighting against a persistent vision of Egypt as an isolated atom floating in space.

Archaeology

The Middle Kingdom offers a striking number of excavated provincial cemeteries, such as Abydos or Qubbet el-Hawa. However, many of them were excavated at the dawn of Egyptology and the information is sometimes patchy or vague: old publications often do not deliver all information we expect today. Current fieldwork promises to fill many gaps. The contribution by Masahiro Baba and Ken Yazawa is a preliminary report on the Japanese excavations at Dahshur. They present a group of well preserved burials from the late Twelfth and early Thirteenth Dynasty, which can hereby now be counted among the best recorded and published tombs of this period in the residential cemeteries and offering important new insights into burial customs. The contribution by José M. Galán and Ángeles Jiménez-Higueras presents a report on their excavation at Thebes, focussing on burials of the Second Intermediate Period with sev-

eral coffins, one of them a well-preserved *rishi* coffin. The other anthropoid coffins found are undecorated and show the range of coffin types used in the period at Thebes. Alejandro Jiménez Serrano discusses the family of the late Twelfth Dynasty governors at Elephantine buried at Qubbet el-Hawa. Recently excavated material provides new evidence around the governors Heqaib III and Ameny-Seneb.

As so often, the excavations of Tell el-Dabʿa prove to be a boundless source of information: Bettina Bader presents a collection of simple stone objects found at the site. Objects made of stone may be unremarkable in Upper Egypt, but they are rare in the Delta. Many of them were weights and provide evidence for the weight standards in Tell el-Dabʿa. Miriam Müller contributes another paper on the excavations at Tell el-Dabʿa. She evaluates the houses and households, demonstrating the economic independence of those houses.

Several contributions focussed on different aspects of material culture and on little known or hitherto unpublished material from older excavations. Patricia Rigault presents a canopic box belonging to the governor Khakheperreseneb/Iy, found at Meir. The object dates most likely to the end of the Twelfth Dynasty (Senusret III or later). Angela Tooley publishes a Second Intermediate Period tomb group from Abydos that includes a rare female statuette of the period but also a torque and faïence figurines. Both articles add valuable information to late Middle Kingdom burial customs and material culture studies.

In other articles, the visual and written evidence is approached from anthropological perspectives: Melinda Nelson applies the concept of the 'social house' developed by Levi-Strauss to the family of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan. She comes to new results about the relations of his family to other nomes and also places in a new perspective the appointment of his son, the famous Khnumhotep III to the king's court. In their publication of a late Middle Kingdom stela, Danijela Stefanović and Helmut Satzinger take the opportunity to look at the title 'lady of the house' often seen as designation of married women. However, the authors show clearly that independent women also held the title.

Art

In this volume, the main focus for Middle Kingdom art is on statuary. Helmut Brandl takes a fresh look at a head of an official, now in Munich. The head was often dated to the Late Period, but it can now be attributed securely to the late Middle Kingdom. Simon Connor looks at the well-known statue of Nemtynakht in Berlin, and provides a full comparative study of private and royal sculpture under Amenemhat III. He concludes that the private sculpture is mostly idealized and follows the idealized portrait of the king, while the 'realistic' royal portraits were not copied by his officials. In the first of three contributions for the volume, Biri Fay provides solid arguments to assign a statue previously attributed to Senusret I to Amenemhat II. In her second article, Fay provides evidence that statue London BM EA 288 (1237) represents an official in a dress attested from the sed festival. In her last article, in collaboration with Rita E. Freed, Thomas Schelper and Friederike Seyfried, Biri Fay is able to re-join virtually two statue fragments. One is a head once in Berlin, but lost in the Second World War, and the other is a fragment found at Semna and now preserved in Boston. The statue belonged most likely to the ruling queen Neferusobek. In a separate article, Rita E. Freed is able to assign the uninscribed fragment of a statue in Boston to the famous vizier Mentuhotep, in office under Senusret I.

Religion

Written sources for Middle Kingdom religion form another important strand of contributions. Zoltán Horváth deals with the cult of Hathor at Lahun, prominent in the sources from the town. He comes to the conclusion that many festivals of Hathor known from later sources were already celebrated there. Antonio Morales investigates the Pyramid Texts found on Middle Kingdom coffins and other objects at Dahshur. He is able to demonstrate that a specific selection of texts was used in this cemetery. Rune Nyord proposes here for the first time a translation for the Coffin Texts on a coffin from the Khashaba excavations, now in Basel, as part of a comprehensive study of the various scribes for gods in the Coffin Texts, in many instances referring to Hathor. The Coffin Texts are also the starting point for the research of Mohamed Gamal Rashed. He focuses on the meaning of the rare hieroglyphic sign of an egg containing a bird of varying species.

Written sources

Finally there are contributions on other Middle Kingdom written sources, whose main focus is represented by the auto/biographies of officials. Eva Lange reviews the series of objects found at Bubastis inscribed for the local governors. While the local governors of Upper and Middle Egypt are well known, this contribution emphasises that similar officials were also in office in the Delta, so far only well attested in Bubastis. Alexander Ilin-Tomich examines in detail a lintel found at Heliopolis, bearing the name of a king Seankhibre and previously most often assigned to the early Thirteenth Dynasty. From his comparative analysis, Ilin-Tomich is able to place it into the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty. Wolfram Grajetzki publishes a late Middle Kingdom stela now in Brighton, most likely coming from Koptos. Renata Landgráfová gives a summary of Twelfth Dynasty biographies on stelae and in tomb chapels, showing that certain parts of life are always mentioned while others are only very rarely reported. David Lorand outlines in detail the new concept of kingship under Senusret I, using visual and written sources, demonstrating how the king presented himself to the Egyptians.

We would like to express our warm thanks to a number of persons who worked behind the scenes and with their help substantially improved the final volume: Cristina Alù, Anna Giulia De Marco, and Elena Tiribilli for proof reading, Merel Eyckerman and Julie Santoro for drawing the logo of the series, Stephen Quirke for discussions, Angela Tooley and Paul Whelan for their precious advice on specific topics and on matters of English.

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List of Abbreviations

Ä&L = *Ägypten und Levante: Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete* (Vienna)
ÄA = *Ägyptologische Abhandlungen* (Wiesbaden)
AASt = *Aula Aegyptiaca Studia* (Barcelona)
ÄAT = *Ägypten und Altes Testament. Studien zur Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des Alten Testaments* (Hamburg/Wiesbaden)
AAWLM = A*bhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, Geistes- und Socialwissenschaftlichen Klasse* (Wiesbaden)
ABS = *American Behavioral Scientist* (New York)
Achet = *Achet Schriften zur Ägyptologie* (Berlin)
ADAIK = *Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo (DAIK). Ägyptologische Reihe* (Glückstadt/Mainz/Berlin)
ADOG = *Ausgrabungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*
ÄDS = *Ägyptische Denkmäler in der Schweiz* (Basel)
AERAGRAM = *Ancient Egypt Research Associates newsletter* (Brighton)
AfO = *Archiv für Orientforschung* (Berlin/Graz/Vienna)
ÄgFo = *Ägyptologische Forschungen* (Glückstadt/Hamburg/New York)
AH = *Aegyptiaca Helvetica* (Geneva/Basel)
AHAW =*Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse* (Heidelberg)
AnAe = *Analecta Aegyptiaca* (Copenhagen)
AnOr = *Analecta Orientalia* (Roma)
Antike Welt = *Antike Welt. Zeitschrift für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte* (Zürich/Mainz)
AO = *Der Alte Orient* (Leipzig)
AOASH = *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* (Budapest)
AOAT = *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* (Kevelaer/Neukirchen/Vluyn/Münster)
AÖAW = *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Vienna)
AOB = *Acta Orientalia Belgica* (Ath/Brussels)
ÄOPHAMP = *Ägyptische und Orientalische Papyri und Handschriften des Ägyptisches Museums und Papyrussammlung Berlin* (Berlin)
APAW = *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin)
APEF = *Annual of the Palestine Exploration Fund* (Leeds-London)
ARC = *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* (Cambridge)
ArOr = *Archiv Orientální: Quarterly Journal of African and Asian Studies* (Prague)
ArOr = *Suppl Archiv Orientální Supplementa* (Prague)
ÄS = Agyptologische Sammlung
AS = Archäologische Sammlung
ASAE = *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte (SAE)* (Cairo)
ASAW = *Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Phil.-hist. Kl.* (Berlin) [before 1919: ASGW]
ASCEVOA MS = *Archeologia e storia della civiltà egiziana e del Vicino Oriente antico. Materiali e studi* (Imola)
ASE = *Archaeological Survey of Egypt* (London)
AUU HR = A*cta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Historia Religionum* (Uppsala)
AVDAIK = *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutschen Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo* (Berlin/Mainz am Rhein)
B. TAVO = *Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients, Beihefte Reihe B* (Wiesbaden)
BAB = B*ulletin van de Vereeniging tot Bevordering der Kennis van de Antieke Beschaving te's-Gravenhage* (Leiden)
BAe = *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca* (Brussels)
BAEE = *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Egiptología* (Madrid)
BAR IS = *British Archaeological Reports International Series* (Oxford)
BASOR = *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (Boston)
BD = T.G. Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead*, 1960 (Chicago)
BdE = *Bibliothèque d'Étude, IFAO* (Cairo)
BEM = *Bulletin of the Egyptian Museum* (Cairo)
BES = *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* (New York)
BEStud = *Brown Egyptological Studies* (Oxford/Providence)
BEVRMOL = *Beschrijving van de Egyptische verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* (Leiden)
BG = *Bibliothèque générale* (Cairo)
BGM = *Beihefte der Göttinger Miszellen* (Göttingen)
BIFAO = *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO)* (Cairo)

BiOr = *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (Leiden)
BM EA = *Egyptian Antiquity in the British Museum* (London)
BMA = *The Brooklyn Museum Annual* (New York)
BMFA = *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston)
BMMA = *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA)* (New York)
BMPES = *British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan* (Leuven/Paris/Walpole)
BMRAH = *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* (Brussels)
BMRP = *British Museum Research Publications* (London)
BMSAES = *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* (London)
BÖAIK = *Berichte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Kairo* (Vienna)
BOREAS = *Boreas: Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilisations* (Uppsala)
BOS = *Bonner orientalistische Studien* (Bonn)
BSAC = *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* (Cairo)
BSAE = *British School of Archaeology in Egypt* (London)
BSAE/ERA = *British School of Archaeology in Egypt/Egyptian Research Account* (London)
BSAK = *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur, Beihefte* (Hamburg)
BSEG = *Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie Genève* (Geneva)
BSFE = *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copt*e (Cairo)
BSGE = *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie d'Égypte* (Cairo)
CAA = *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum* (Mainz)
CAAE = *Cahiers de l'Association angevine d'ëgyptologie Isis* (Angers)
CAJ = *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* (Cambridge)
CASAE = *Cahiers supplémentaires des ASAE* (Cairo)
CCEM = *Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean* (Vienna)
CdE = *Chronique d'Égypte. Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth* (Brussels)
CEA = *Connaissance de l'Égypte Ancienne* (Brussels)
CENIM = *Cahiers Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne* (Montpellier)
CGC = *Catalogue General du Musee du Caire* (series, Cairo)
CHANE = *Culture and History of the Ancient Near East* (Leiden)
CNIANES = *Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies Publications* (Copenhagen)
CRIPEL = *Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille* (Paris/Lille)
CT = A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*. Vols. I-VII, 1935-1961 (Chicago)
DAWW = *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wisssenschaften in Wien, Phil.-hist. Klasse* (Wien)
DE = *Discussions in Egyptology* (Oxford)
Dendera = *Le temple de Dendara*. Vols. I-XI, 1934-2000 (Cairo). Vols. I-V: E. Chassinat; Vol. VI: E. Chassinat and F. Daumas; Vols. VII-IX: F. Daumas; Vols. VIII-IX: S. Cauville
DF = *Damaszener Forschungen* (Mainz am Rhein)
DFIFAO = *Documents de Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* (Cairo)
DGÖAW = *Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Wien)
Die Religionen der Menschheit = *Die Religionen der Menschheit* (Stuttgart)
EA = *Egyptian Archaeology* (London)
EAO = *Égypte, Afrique et Oriente* (Paris)
ECIE = *Excavations of the Czech Institute of Egyptology* (Prague)
Edfu = Le Marquis de Rochemonteix, *Le temple d'Edfou I*, 1897; E. Chassinat, *Le temple d'Edfou II-XIV*, 1918-1928; S. Cauville, D. Devauchelle, *Le temple d'Edfou XV*, 1985-1987 (Cairo)
EES ASE = *EES Archaeological Survey of Egypt, Memoirs* (London)
EES EM = *EES Excavation Memoirs* (London)
EES OP = *EES Occasional Publications* (London)
EgUit = *Egyptologische Uitgaven* (Leiden)
EI = E*retz Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies* (Jerusalem)
EJÖAI = *Ergänzungshefte zu den Jahresheften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes* (Wien)
EME = *Études et Mémoires d'Égyptologie* (Paris)
Encounters with Ancient Egypt = *Encounters with Ancient Egypt* (London)
ERA = *Egyptian Research Account* (London)
ERNAS = *European Review of Native American Studies* (Wien/Budapest)
ESAP = *Egyptian Studies Association Publication* (Cairo)
ET = *Etudes et Travaux. Travaux du centre d'archéologie méditerranéenne d'Académie polonaise des sciences* (Warsaw)
EtU = *Études Urbaines, IFAO* (Cairo)
EtudAlex = *Études Alexandrines, IFAO* (Cairo)
EVO = *Egitto e Vicino Oriente: Rivista della sezione orientalistica dell'Istituto di Storia Antica, Università degli Studi di Pisa* (Pisa)
Expedition = *Expedition: The Bulletin of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia)

ExSaq = J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara 1905-1908*. Vols. I-III (Cairo)
Faulkner, *Dictionary* = R.O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962)
FFP = *Fouilles Franco-Polonaises* (Cairo)
FIFAO = *Fouilles de l'Institute Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO) du Caire. Rapports prélimimaires* (Cairo)
FSN = F. Hintze, W.F. Reineke, *Felsinschriften aus den sudanesischen Nubien* (Berlin, 1961-1963)
Gardiner, *Grammar* = Sir A.H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the study of Hieroglyphs*, 3rd rev. ed. (London, 1969)
Genava = *Genava. Bulletin du musée de Genève. Musée d'art et d'historie* (Genève)
GHPE = *Golden House Publications Egyptology* (London)
GM = *Göttinger Miszellen* (Göttingen)
GMas = *Giza Mastabas* (Boston)
GOF = *Göttinger Orientforschungen, IV. Reihe, Ägypten* (Wiesbaden)
Gr.Md. = *Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter* (Berlin)
HÄB = *Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge* (Hildesheim)
HÄS = *Hamburger Ägyptologische Studien* (Hamburg)
HD = *Habelts Dissertationsdrucke* (Bonn)
HdO = *Handbuch der Orientalistik. I. Abt. Bd. I: Ägyptologie* (Leiden)
HPKSMB = *Hieratische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz* (Berlin)
HSM = *Harvard Semitic Monographs* (Cambridge/Mass)
HSS = *Harvard Semitic Studies* (Cambridge/Mass)
Human Affairs = *Human Affairs: Postdisciplinary Humanities & Social Sciences Quarterly* (Bratislava)
IA = *Imago Aegypti. Internationales Magazin für ägyptologische und koptologische Kunstforschung, Bildtheorie und Kulturwissenschaft* (Gottingen)
IBAES = *Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie* (Berlin/London)
JAEI = *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* (Tucson)
JAMT = *Journal of Archaeological Methods and Theory* (New York)
JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (Baltimore/Boston/New Haven)
JAR = *Journal of Archaeological Research* (New York)
JARCE = *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* (Boston/Princeton/New York/Cairo)
JEA = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, EES* (London)
JEgH = *Journal of Egyptian History* (Swansea)
JEOL = J*aarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux* (Leiden)
JMA = *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* (Sheffield)
JMFA = *Journal of the Museum of Fine Arts* (Boston)
JNES = *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (Chicago)
JÖAI = *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien* (Wien)
JSSEA = *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* (Toronto)
KARNAK = *Les Cahiers de Karnak. Centre franco-égyptien d'étude des temples de Karnak* (Cairo)
KÄT = *Kleine Ägyptische Texte*, ed. W. Helck (Wiesbaden)
KAW = *Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt* (Mainz am Rhein)
Kêmi = *Kêmi: Revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptienne et coptes* (Paris)
KhM = Kunsthistorisches Museum
KSG = *Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen* (Wiesbaden)
КСИНА = *Краткие сообщения Института народов Азии СССР* (Москва)
LÄ= W. Helck, E. Otto, W. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*. Vols. I-VII (Wiesbaden, 1972-1975)
LD = K.R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*. Vols. I-VI (Berlin, 1849-1859)
Lesko = H.L. Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian* (Providence, 1990)
Lexica 4 = Hannig, R., *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II: Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit* (Mainz am Rheim: KAW 98, 2003)
Lexica 5 = Hannig, R., *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II: Mittleres Reich und Zweite Zwischenzeit* (Mainz am Rheim: KAW 112, 2006)
LGG = C. Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*. Vols. I-VII (Leuven, 2002)
LingAeg = *Lingua Aegyptia. Journal of Egyptian Language Studies* (Göttingen)
LingAeg - StudMon = *Linguae Aegyptia - Studia monographica* (Göttingen)
M&G = *Maß und Gewicht: Zeitschrift für Metrologie* (Hamburg)
MAIBL = *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belle-letters. New Series* (Paris)
MÄS = *Münchner Ägyptologische Studien* (Berlin/Munich/Mainz am Rhein)
MDAIK = *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* (Mainz/Cairo/Berlin/Wiesbaden)
MedKøb = *Meddelelser fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* (Copenhagen)
MEEF = *Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund* (London)
MEES = *Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Society* (London)
Memnonia = *Memnonia: Bulletin édité par l'Association pour la sauvegarde de Ramesseum* (Cairo/Paris)
Menes = *Menes* (Wiesbaden)

MIE = *Mémoires de l'Institut Égyptien/Mémoires de l'Institut d'Égypte/Mémoires présentés à l'Institut d'Égypte* (Cairo)
MIFAO = *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Cairo* (Berlin/Cairo)
MJbK = *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* (München)
MMA = Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York)
MMH = *Manchester Museum Handbooks* (Manchester)
MMJ = *Metropolitan Museum Journal* (New York)
MonAeg = *Monumenta Aegyptiaca* (Brussels)
MRAH = Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (Brussels)
MRE = *Monographies Reine Élisabeth* (Brussels/Turnhout)
MSAW = *Münchner Studien zur Alten Welt* (München)
Mus = *Le Muséon: Revue d'études orientales/Tijdschrift voor Orientalisme* (Louvain)
MVÄG = *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen-aegyptischen Gesellschaft* (Berlin/Leipzig)
MVEOL = *Mededelingen en Verhandelingen Ex Oriente Lux* (Leiden)
NLH = *New Literary History* (Baltimore)
OBO = *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* (Freiburg/Göttingen)
Occasional Volume EEF = *Occasional Volume of the Egyptologists' Electronic Forum* (http://www.egyptologyforum.org/)
OIMP = *Oriental Institute Museum Publications* (Chicago)
OIP = *Oriental Institute Publications* (Chicago)
OIS = *Oriental Institute Series* (Chicago)
OLA = *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* (Louvain)
OM = *Orientalia Monspeliensia* (Leiden/Monpellier)
OMRO = *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* (Leiden)
ORA = *Orientalische Religionen in der Antike* (Tübingen)
Orientalia = *Orientalia. Commentarii periodici Pontificii instituti biblici, Nova Series* (Roma)
OWH = *Orientwissenschaftliche Hefte* (Halle/Saale)
PALMA = *Papers on Archaeology of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities, Egyptology* (Turnhout)
PdÄ = *Probleme der Ägyptologie* (Leiden/Boston/Köln)
pEbers = G. Ebers, *Papyrus Ebers: Die Maasse und das Kapitel über die Augenkrankheiten* (Stuttgard, 1889)
Philippika = *Philippika: Marburger altertumskundliche Abhandlungen* (Wiesbaden)
PIA = *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology* (London)
PIAAS = *Publications of the Institute for Asian and African Studies* (Helsinki)
PIREI = *Publications Interuniversitaires de Recherches Égyptologiques Informatisées* (Utrecht/Paris)
PM = B. Porter, R. Moss, T*opographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*. Vols. I-VIII (Oxford, 1927-)
PMMA = *Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Egyptian Expedition)* (New York)
PPEF = *Publications Palestine Exploration Fund* (London)
PPYE = *Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt* (New Haven)
PSBA = *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* (London)
Pyr. = K. Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte nach der Papierabdrüchen und Photographien des Berliner Museums*. Vols. I-II (Leipzig, 1908-1910)
QRS = *Quaderni de La ricerca scientifica* (Rome)
QuadAc = *Quaderni di Acme, Facoltà di lettere e filosofia, Università degli studi di Milano* (Milan)
Radiocarbon = *Radiocarbon. An international journal of radiocarbon and other isotope dating* (Tucson)
RAMAGE = *Revue d'archéologie moderne et d'archéologie générale* (Paris)
Ranke, PN = H. Ranke, *Die altägyptischen Personennamen*. Vols. I-II (Glückstadt, 1935-1952)
RdE = *Revue d'Égyptologie* (Paris)
RevArch = *Revue archéologique* (Paris)
Revue du Louvre = *La Revue des Musées de France. Revue du Louvre* (Paris)
RIK = *Rock Inscriptions from Kumma*, see D. Dunham, J.M.A. Janssen, *Second cataract forts I: Senna, Kumma* (Boston, 1960)
RKÄ = *Reihe klassische Ägyptologie* (Bonn)
RSO = *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* (Roma)
S&N = S*udan&Nubia. Sudan Archaeology Research Society* (London)
Saeculum = *Saeculum: Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte* (Freiburg)
SAGA = *Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens* (Heidelberg)
SAHL = *Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant* (Cambridge, MA)
SAK = *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* (Hamburg)
SAOC = *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilisation* (Chicago)
SASAE = *Supplément aux ASAE* (Cairo)
SAT = *Studien zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch* (Wiesbaden)

SDAIK = *Sonderschrift des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* (Wiesbaden)
Serapis = *Serapis: The American Journal of Egyptology* (Chicago)
SGKAO = *Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients* (Berlin)
SHR = *Studies in the History of Religions* (Leiden)
SIE = *Studies in Egyptology* (London/New York)
SO = *Sources Orientales* (Paris)
SÖAW = *Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klassse* (Vienna)
SPAW = *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil-hist. Klasse* (Berlin)
SRaT = *Studien zu den Ritualszenen altägyptischer Tempel* (Dettelbach)
StOr = *Studia Orientalia, of the Finnish Oriental Society* (Helsinki)
StudAeg = *Studia Aegyptiaca* (Budapest/Rome)
Studi sull'Antico Egitto = *Studi sull'Antico Egitto* (Roma)
StudPohl = *Studia Pohl* (Roma)
TAVO = *Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients* (Tübingen)
Tb = E. Naville, *Das aegyptische Totenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie*. Vols. I-III (Berlin, 1886)
TbT = *Totenbuchtexte* (Basel)
TdE = *Trabajos de Egiptología. Papers on Ancient Egypt* (Puerto de la Cruz, Tenerife)
Techné = *Techné: Research in Philosophy and Technology* (Charlottesville)
THEBEN = *Theben* (Mainz am Rhein)
TLA = Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae
(http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/index.html)
TOTEM = *The University of Western Ontario Journal of Anthropology* (London, Ontario)
TPC = C. M. Firth, G. Gunn, *Excavations at Saqqara. Teti pyramid cemeteries*. Vols. I-II (Cairo)
Transactions of the State Hermitage Museum = *Transactions of the State Hermitage Museum* (Saint Petersburg)
TTS = *Theban Tombs Series* (London)
UCL = University College, London
UCLA = University College, Los Angeles
UGAÄ = *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens* (Hildesheim/Leipzig/Berlin)
UMI = A dissertation present to the faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (New Haven)
Urk. = K.Sethe, H.W. Helck, H. Schäfer, H. Grapow, O.Firchow (eds.), *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*. Vols. I-VIII (Leipzig-Berlin, 1903-1957)
USE = *Uppsala Studies in Egyptology* (Uppsala)
UZK = *Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts, herausgegeben in Verbindung mit der Ägyptischen Kommission der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Wien)
VAS = *Varia Aegyptiaca Supplements* (San Antonio)
V&MO= *Vicino & Medio Oriente* (Roma)
VESE = *Veröffentlichungen der Ernst von Sieglin Expedition in Ägypten* (Leipzig)
VIAÄ = *Veröffentlichungen des Institut für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien* (Wien)
ВІСНИК = *Вісник Київського національного університету імені Тараса Шевченка. Історія* (Kiev)
VOHD = *Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland* (Wiesbaden)
WdO = *Die Welt des Orient: Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Kunde des Morgenlandes* (Göttingen/Wuppertal)
WorldArch = *World Archaeology, University College* (London)
WVDOG = *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft* (Leipzig/Berlin/Saarbrücken/Saarwellingen)
YES = *Yale Egyptological Studies* (New Haven)
Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie = *Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie* (Darmstadt)
ZÄS = *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* (Leipzig/Berlin)

Miniaci, Grajetzki (eds.), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1550 BC) I,* MKS 1, London 2015, 1-24

Burial Assemblages of the Late Middle Kingdom Shaft-tombs in Dahshur North

Masahiro Baba, Ken Yazawa

Abstract

A number of late Middle Kingdom shaft-tombs were discovered in Dahshur North, some of which were found intact or well-preserved with burial items. In terms of the sizes and burial assemblages of these tombs it is assumed that the buried individuals belonged to the non-ruling class, but some of them seem to be affluent people as indicated by the presence of court type burials. Given the proximity of the pyramids at Dahshur and Saqqara South, it is probable that people buried in Dahshur North were related to the higher social class buried in the royal cemeteries. The possibility of a detailed investigation of a cemetery for such a particular segment of society is relatively scarce and valuable in the Memphite region. Therefore, we provide the archaeological information about their funerary items and burial practices.

Introduction

Since 1996 the Waseda University Egyptian Expedition has been working at the cemetery site of Dahshur North located in the lower desert approximately 1 km northwest of the pyramid of Senwosret III and 1 km southwest of the pyramid of Khendjer (Fig. 1). The initial excavations concentrated in the southeastern area, revealing the typical New Kingdom tomb-chapels of Ipay and Pashedu, and dozens of shaft-tombs and pit-burials. A new area approximately 100 m west of Ipay's tomb was investigated. The work started in 2004 and today still continues (Fig. 2). Excavation of the small mound revealed it to be a New Kingdom tomb-chapel belonging to an individual named Ta, although the superstructure is now completely destroyed. In subsequent seasons, the investigations around this tomb-chapel have revealed intact shaft-tombs containing complete coffins dating to the Middle Kingdom as well as the New Kingdom. This is the first substantial evidence for the existence of Middle Kingdom burials in this cemetery.

Our particular interest concerns the Middle Kingdom burials. Apart from the intact tombs there are many disturbed tombs in the area around Ta's tomb. Some of these disturbed tombs still contain enough burial items to indicate their chronological order and repertoire. The tomb size and burial equipment suggest that the individuals belonged to the non-ruling class. Their archaeological data is relatively scarce and therefore valuable for the Memphite region during the Middle Kingdom.

In this paper, using the intact and well-preserved tombs, the burial assemblages of the non-ruling class in the Middle Kingdom will be presented in the chronological order confirmed by comparative study of the burial objects.

Shaft 54 (Anonymous Tomb)
Probably late Twelfth Dynasty

The entrance (2.0 x 1.0 m) is oriented north-south, and the shaft was filled with fine sand (Fig. 3). A concentration of Nile silt potsherds, including some miniature dishes and an offering stand with soot on its interior, was found in front of the shaft's entrance (Fig. 3.1, 2).[1] Although the context was disturbed, the pottery appears to be the remains of a funerary ceremony performed in front of the tomb, similarly to the situation seen in the Shaft 65 (see below). A coffin was found at the bottom of the shaft.

The coffin is box-shaped (L:185, W:48.5, H:86 cm) and its exterior painted yellow, but bears no inscriptions or figures. Inside the coffin, a mummy was laid facing east (Fig. 3, lower left). This individual had a faience bead bracelet and a faience scarab ring on the left hand (Fig. 3.4, 5). The scarab ring was engraved with the hieroglyphs Nefer-Ra between two Kheperis. In addition, a small alabaster *kohl*-pot and a wooden stick were found in front of the face (Fig. 3.3). Based on the parallel of the scarab,[2] this tomb probably dates to the late Twelfth Dynasty.

[1] The miniature dishes were made of Nile B2, and the offering stand of Nile C. The offering stand was made in two parts, which were then attached to each other before firing. For a similar example, see Aston, *Tell el-Dab'a XII: A Corpus*, 76-7.
[2] Matouk, *Corpus du scarabée égyptien*, 34, 181.

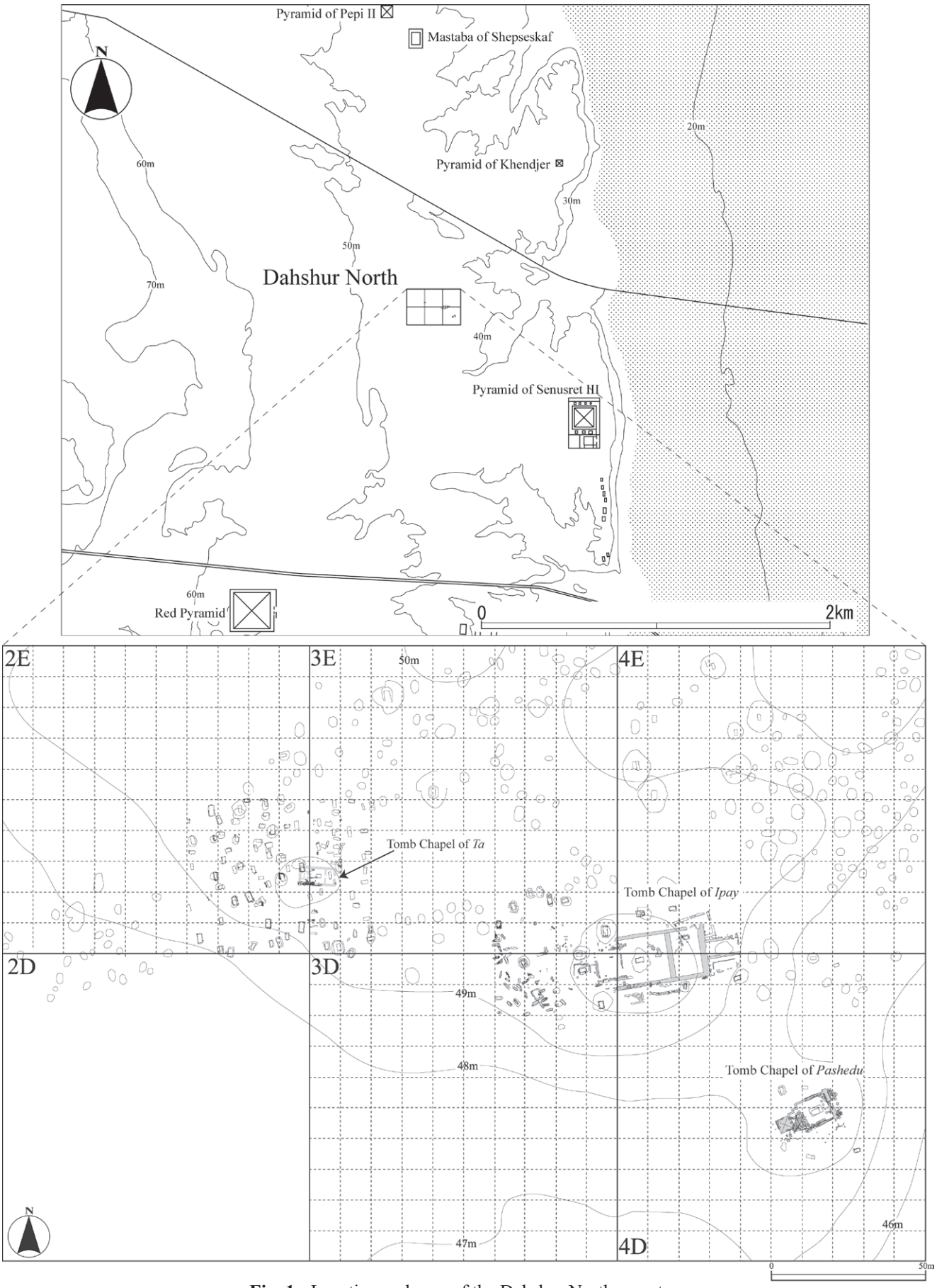

Fig. 1 - Location and map of the Dahshur North cemetery

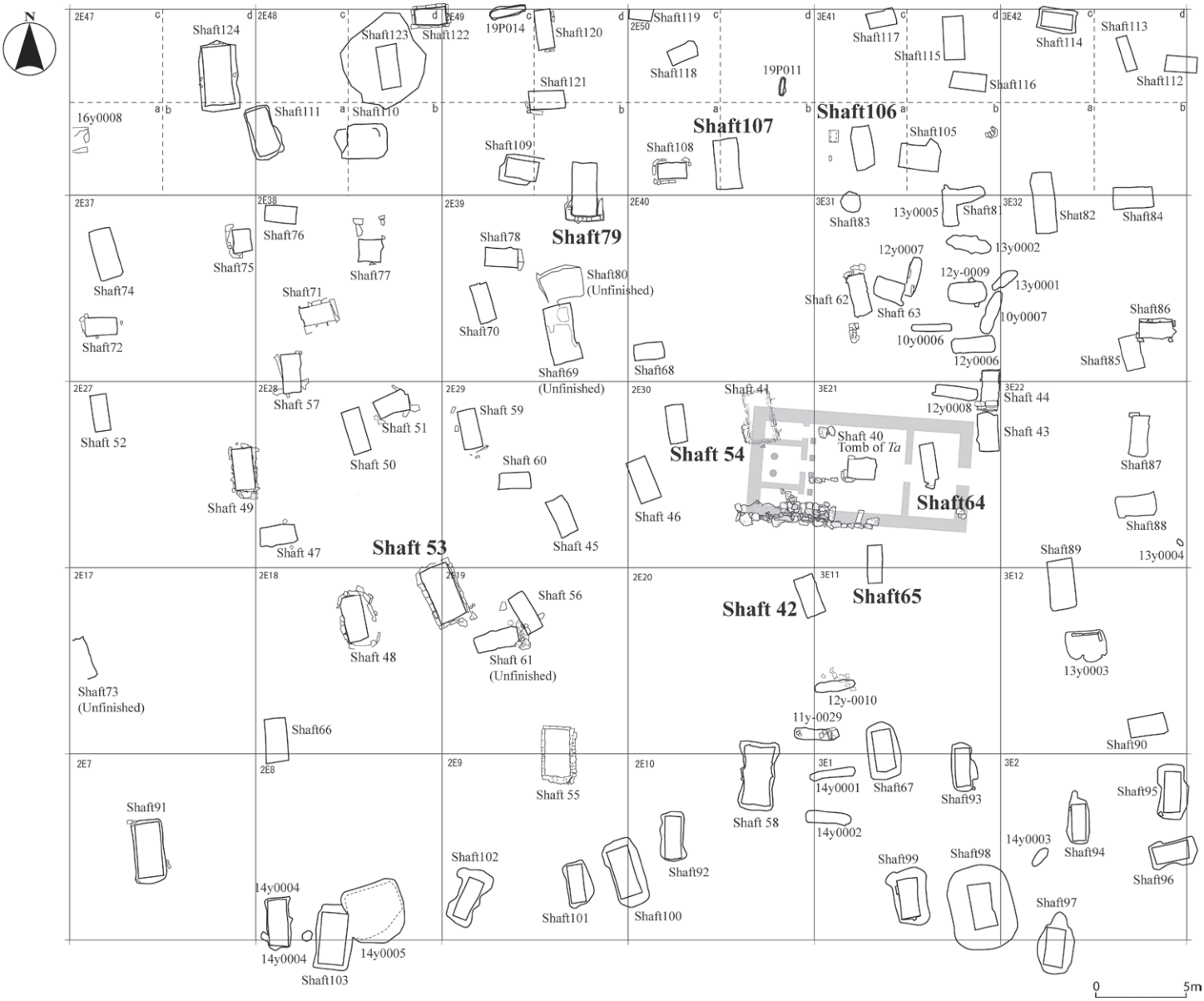

Fig. 2 - Excavation area around the tomb-chapel of Ta (shaft's number mentioned in this paper in bold)

Shaft 65 (Tomb of Sobekhat and Senetites)

Late Twelfth to the early Thirteenth Dynasty

This tomb has a shaft entrance (2.0 x 0.8 m) oriented north-south, and artificially capped with a small *Tafl* mound on which many broken pottery sherds were distributed (Figs. 4-5). There are at least eleven pottery vessels, including hemispherical cups with a red stripe on the rim, a ring-based cup, a flat based beaker, a jar with spout, a globular jar and a so-called beer bottle (Fig. 4.1-11).[3] The vessel indices of two complete hemispherical cups are 169 and 161, the range of which, according to Do. Arnold, places them in the late Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasties.[4] Other vessels are of the typical shape of this period. For example, the globular jar, although missing the upper part, is assumed to be a funnel necked jar, which is the hallmark of the late Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasties.[5] It is remarkable that almost all of the vessels are related to liquid, suggesting the remains of a ritual act such as libation and/or drinking, performed after the burial of the deceased.

The shaft (*c*. 4 m deep) was also fully filled with *Tafl* chunks. At the bottom of the shaft, two chambers were found to the north and the south.[6] Sobekhat, "*Ka*-priest", was buried in the south chamber (Fig. 6), and Senetites,

[3] The hemispherical cups were made of Nile B1, the ring-based cup, spouted jar and globular jar of Nile B2, and beaker and beer bottle of Nile C.

[4] Arnold, in Arnold (ed.), *The Pyramid of Senwosret I*, vol. I, 140-1.

[5] Aston, *Tell el-Dab'a XII: A Corpus*, 70.

[6] Both chambers had no sealing block at the entrances.

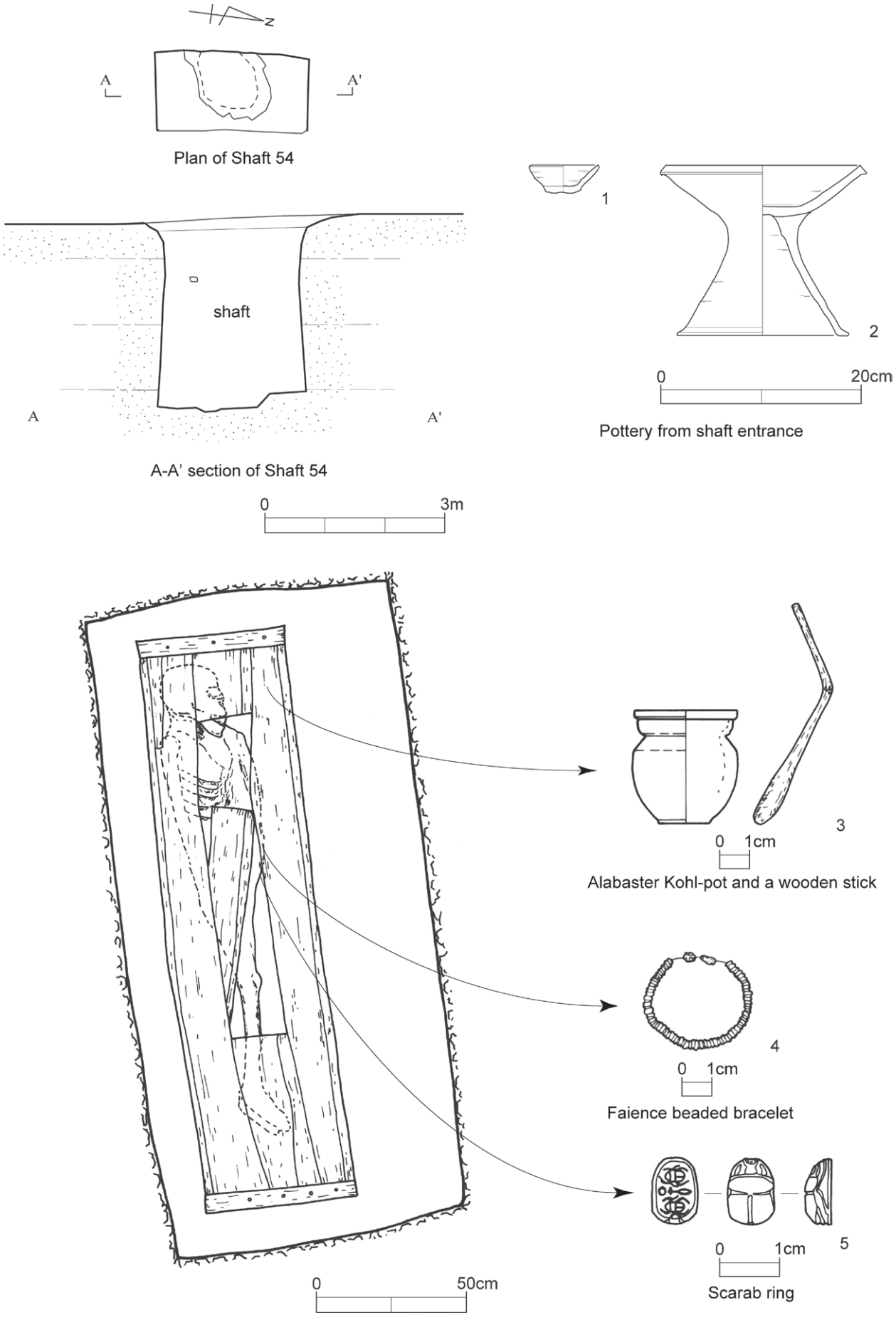

Fig. 3 - Plan, section and finds of Shaft 54

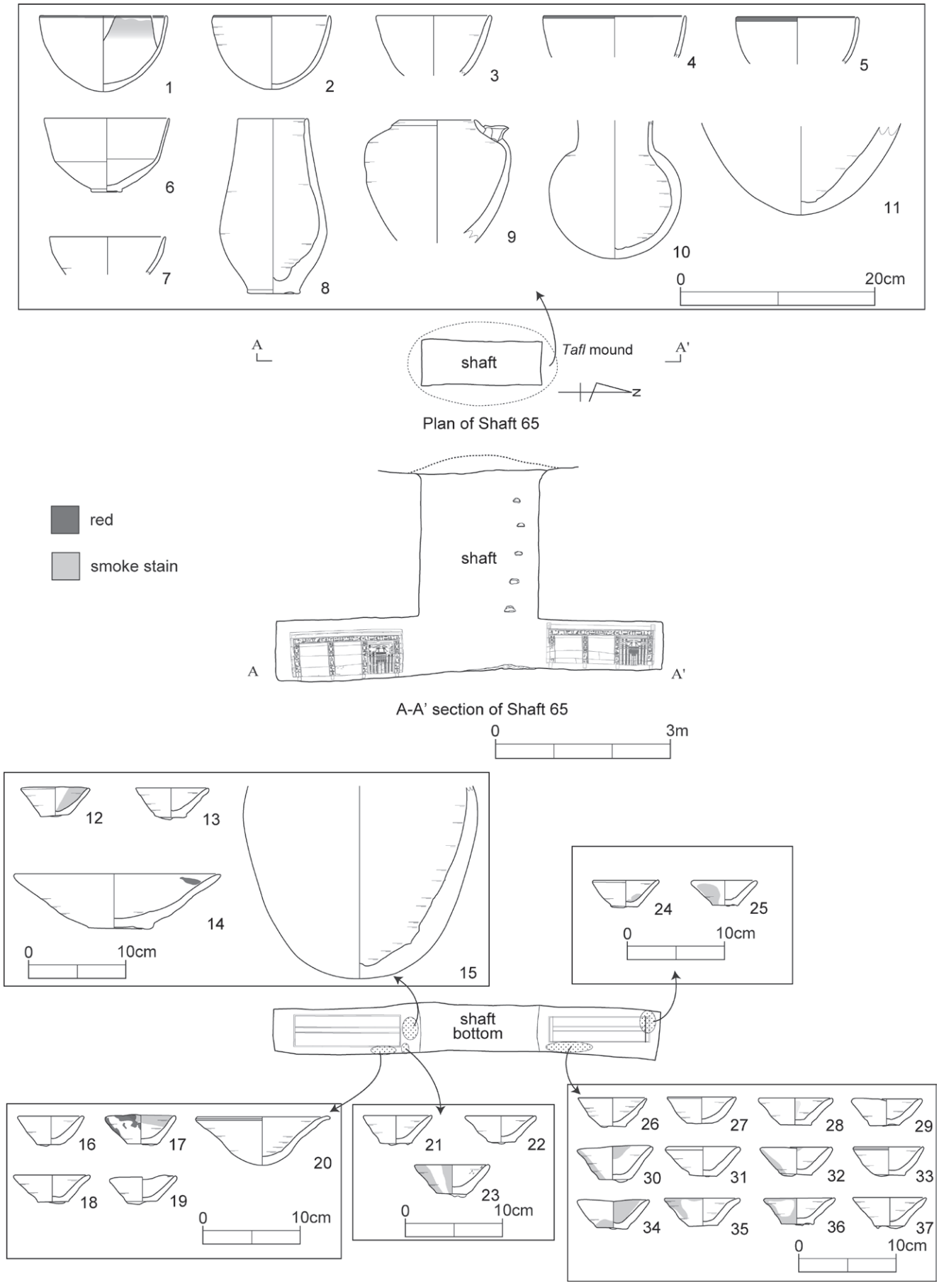

Fig. 4 - Plan, section and finds of Shaft 65

Fig. 5 - Small mound, partly removed, which covered Shaft 65

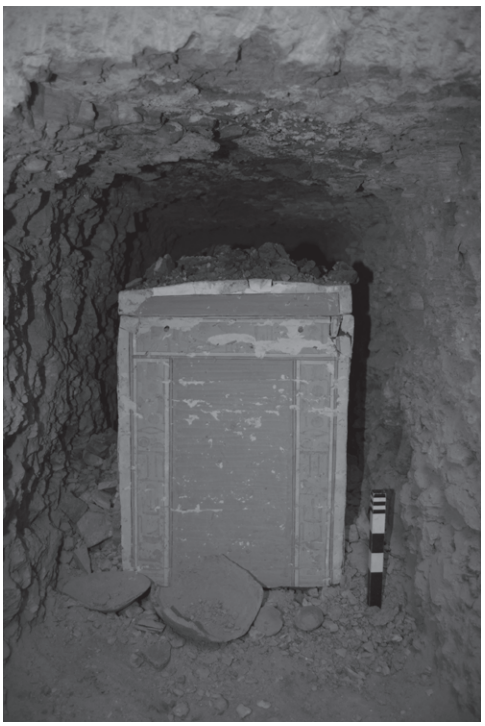

Fig. 6 - Coffin of Sobekhat *in situ*

Fig. 7 - Miniature plates distributed on the east side of coffin of Senetites

"Mistress of the House", in the north. In the chambers were found nine miniature plates, a small round-bottomed bowl, a flat-based plate and a fragment of a beer bottle around Sobekhat's coffin, and fourteen miniature plates around that of Senetites (Fig. 4.12-37).[7] The miniature plates were distributed on the floor, mainly concentrated in front of the eye-panel on the east side of the coffins (Fig. 7). Some of them have stains and organic remains in the form of grains,[8] which indicates their function as offering containers for incense and food.[9]

Sobekhat's coffin is box-shaped with a vaulted lid

[7] The miniature plates and small bowl were made of Nile B2 and the flat-based plate and a beer bottle of Nile C.

[8] Dina Faltings mentions the remains of grain content from miniature vessels: Faltings, *MDAIK* 45, n. 43.

[9] Allen, in Bárta (ed.), *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, 21.

Fig. 8

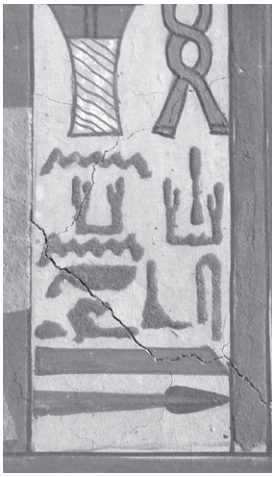

Fig. 10

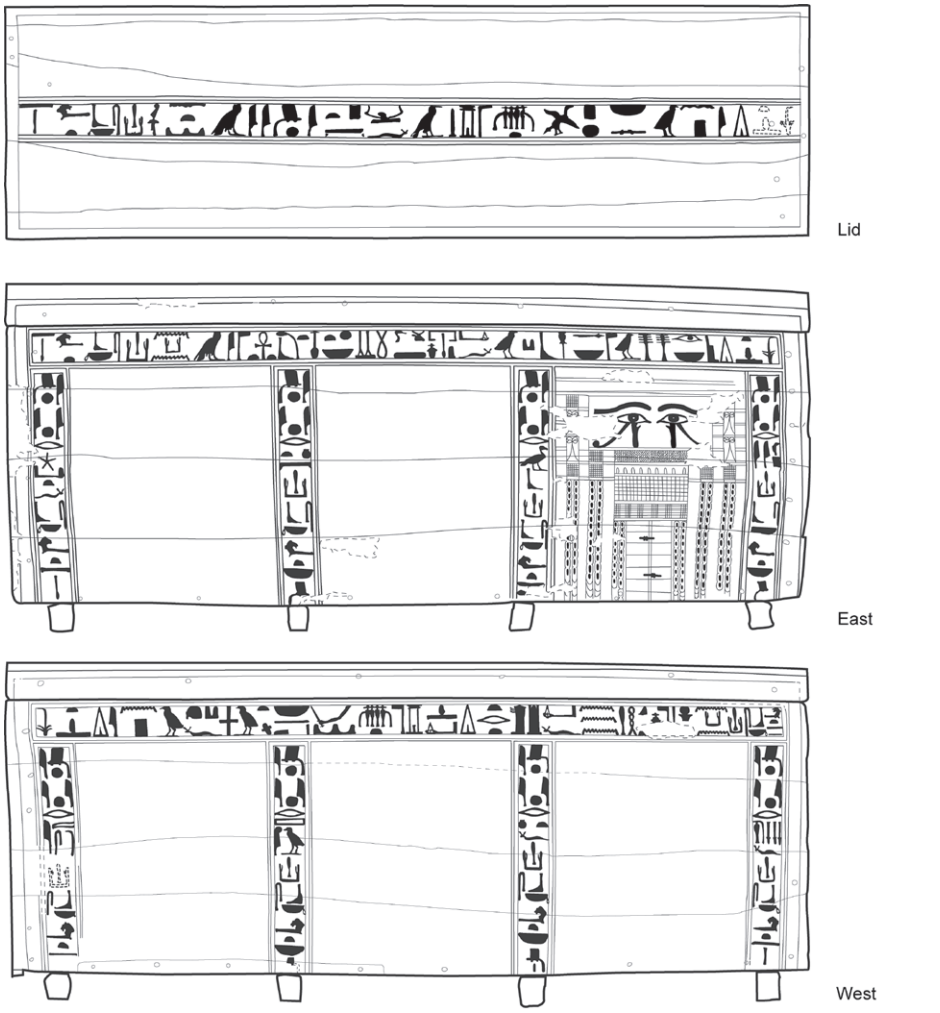

Fig. 9

Figs. 8 and 9 - Coffin of Sobekhat
Fig. 10 - Title and name of Sobekhat on his anthropoid coffin

(L:193, W:56, H:80 cm) and is entirely painted orange with yellow bands and blue text (Figs. 8-9). The eye-panel and false door on the east side are very finely decorated with polychrome painting.[10] A trace of where a circular lug was cut off can be seen in a section bare of paint on the south side of the lid.[11] The interior of the coffin bears no decoration. Interestingly, the style is quite similar to the coffin of Geheset dated to the first half of the Thirteenth Dynasty which was recently found by the German mission at Dra Abu el-Naga, Luxor.[12] The date of this parallel is consistent with the pottery group found at the *Tafl* mound.

In the box-shaped coffin, an inner anthropoid coffin covered with a shroud was placed facing east (Pl. XIII). This inner coffin is made of a wooden frame and cartonnage. The body is painted in

[10] The outer decoration program corresponds to the 'Type IVba' of Harco Willems's typology, and the textual content is also common in this type. See Willems, *Chests of life*, 160.
[11] A similar removed lug was also observed on the lid of the coffin of Senu (see below).
[12] Polz, *Die Särge des Imeni und der Geheset*.

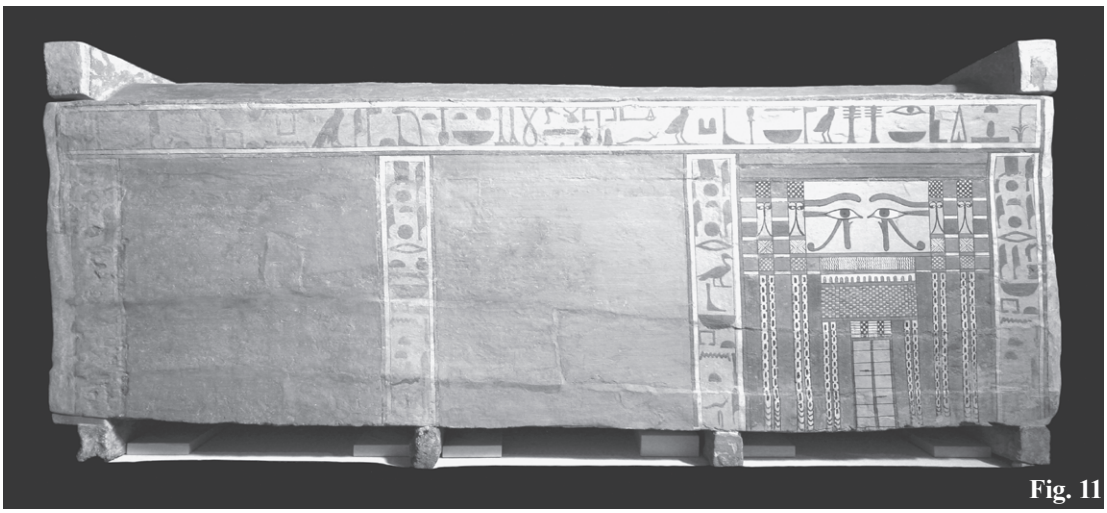

Fig. 11

Figs. 11 and 12 - Coffin of Senetites

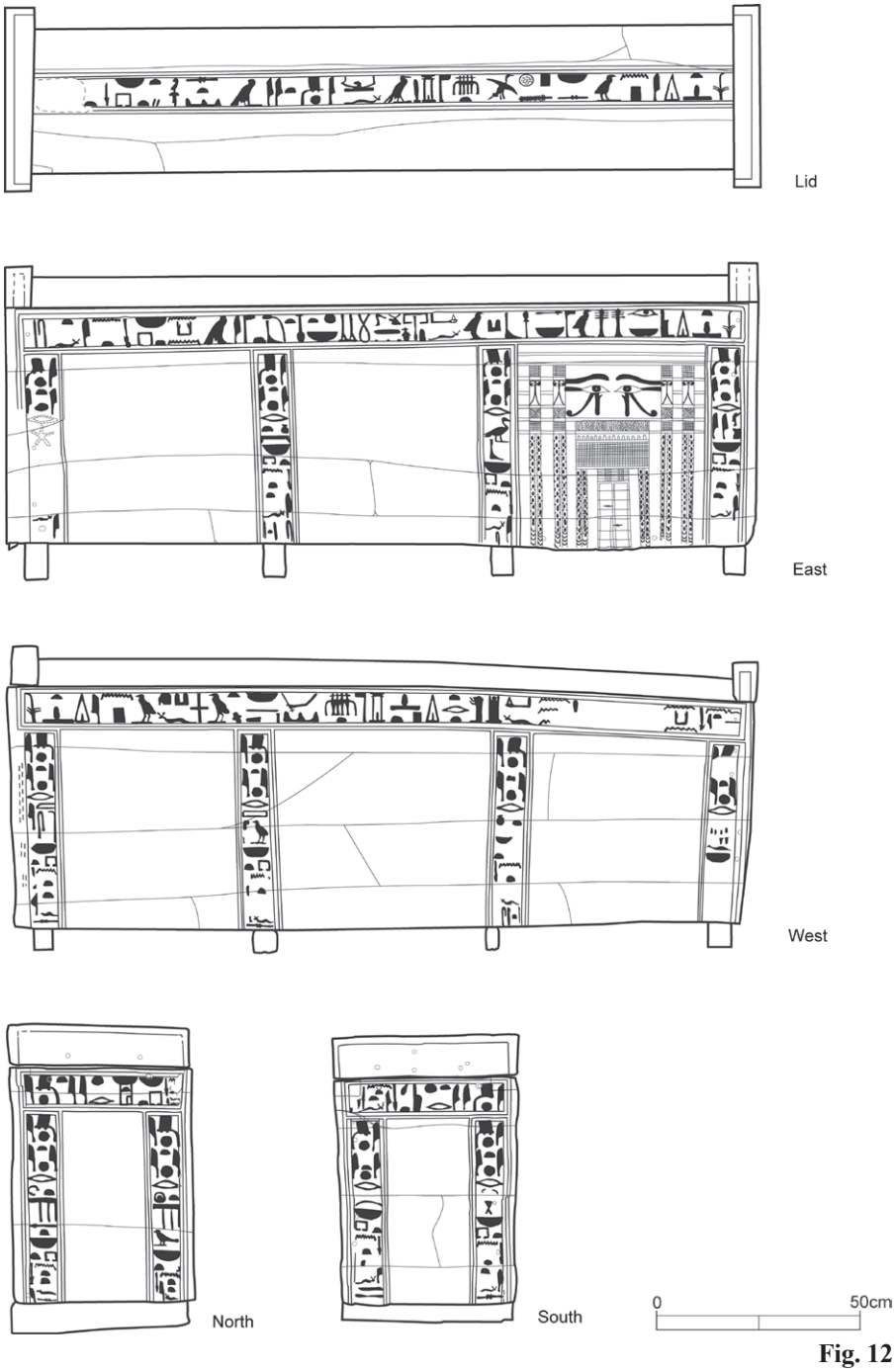

Fig. 12

red, and the broad collar is finely represented. It is noteworthy that the headdress white bands were overlaid with rows of small black ornaments made of faience. This type of decoration is similar to the black coffin of Hapi-Ankhtifi from Meir, which is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[13] Another distinctive feature is the papyrus and lotus, or lilies, painted symmetrically on the chest to represent Lower and Upper Egypt. A similar garment was painted on the coffin of Sep from Deir el-Bersheh,[14] and that of Senebtisi from Lisht which is made of beads.[15] The central column is inscribed with the *hetep-di-nesut* formula, which in this case consists of an invocation for the Memphite God Ptah-Sokar-Osiris. At the end of the column are the name and title of Sobekhat. However, his name and title appear in a small space and are written with blue pigment in a fairly cursory manner different to the other characters (Fig. 10). This means that this coffin had already been prepared with the space intended to receive the name of the deceased left

[13] Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt,* vol. I, 312, fig. 203.
[14] Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*, CG 28084.
[15] Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt,* vol. I, 308-9, fig. 200; Patch, *JARCE* 32, 93-116.

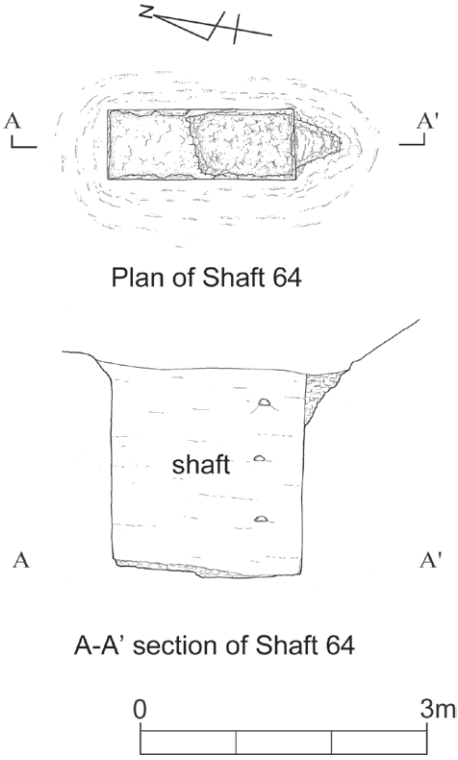

Fig. 13 - Plan and section of Shaft 64

blank. Therefore, it is probable that the coffin is a ready-made product and that Sobekhat's name and title were added after he or his relatives chose it. There had already been such production system regarding funerary items.[16]

The Senetites' coffin closely resembles that of Sobekhat both in colour and textual program, although this coffin has a *per-nu* shaped lid (L:184, W:46, H:81 cm) (Figs. 11-12). The Senetites' mummy had a cartonnage mask (Pl. I). It is strange that although the coffin was found intact, the mask was completely broken when we opened the coffin. Even though in fragments, her mask follows a similar colour program to that of the face on Sobekhat's inner anthropoid coffin. A bundle of curly hair was placed beside the head of the mummy.

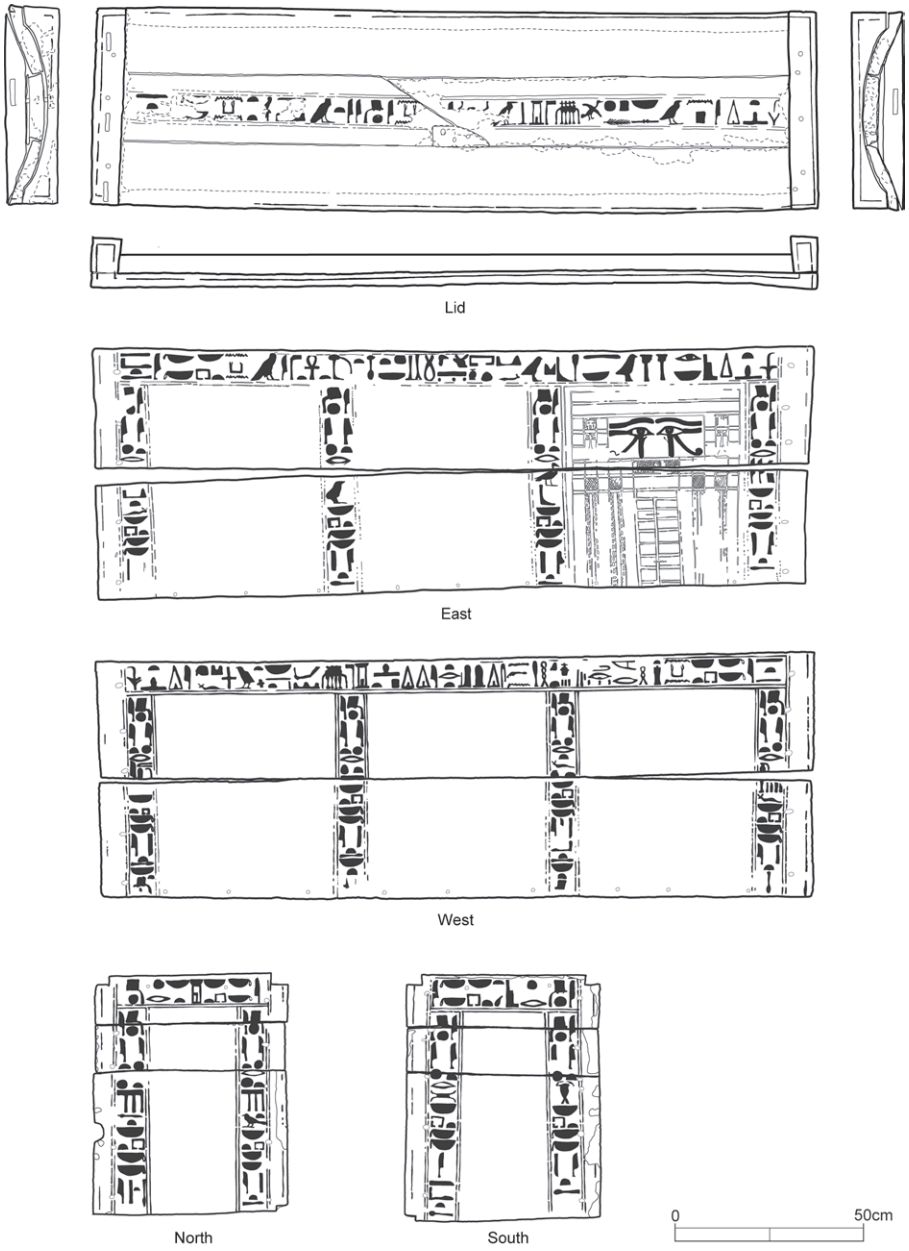

Fig. 14 - Coffin of Keki

Shaft 64 (Tomb of Keki)
Late Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasty

Located immediately north of Shaft 65, Shaft 64 has an opening (2.0 x 0.7 m) oriented north-south (Fig. 13). The shaft itself was filled up with *Tafl* chunks. At the bottom of the shaft, a complete coffin belonging to a "Mistress of the House" named Keki was found. The lid was broken as a result of the pressure exerted by the *Tafl* rubble, and therefore the coffin was lifted up in each part. There were no funerary objects in and around the coffin.

Similar to the coffin of Senetites, Keki's coffin is a box type with a *per-nu* shaped lid (L: 205, W: 54, H: 82 cm) (Fig. 14). The exterior was entirely painted in yellow with text in blue. A false-door beneath the eye-panel on the east side is finely represented with polychrome painting. The interior was coated with white plaster with no further decoration. Inside the coffin was only her badly preserved mummy facing east. Although it is difficult to date her burial exactly as there was no associated pottery, according to the similar style of coffin to that of Senetites, Keki was likely buried in the late Twelfth or early Thirteenth Dynasty.

[16] John Garstang commented on this kind of production system: Garstang, *Burial customs*, 48.

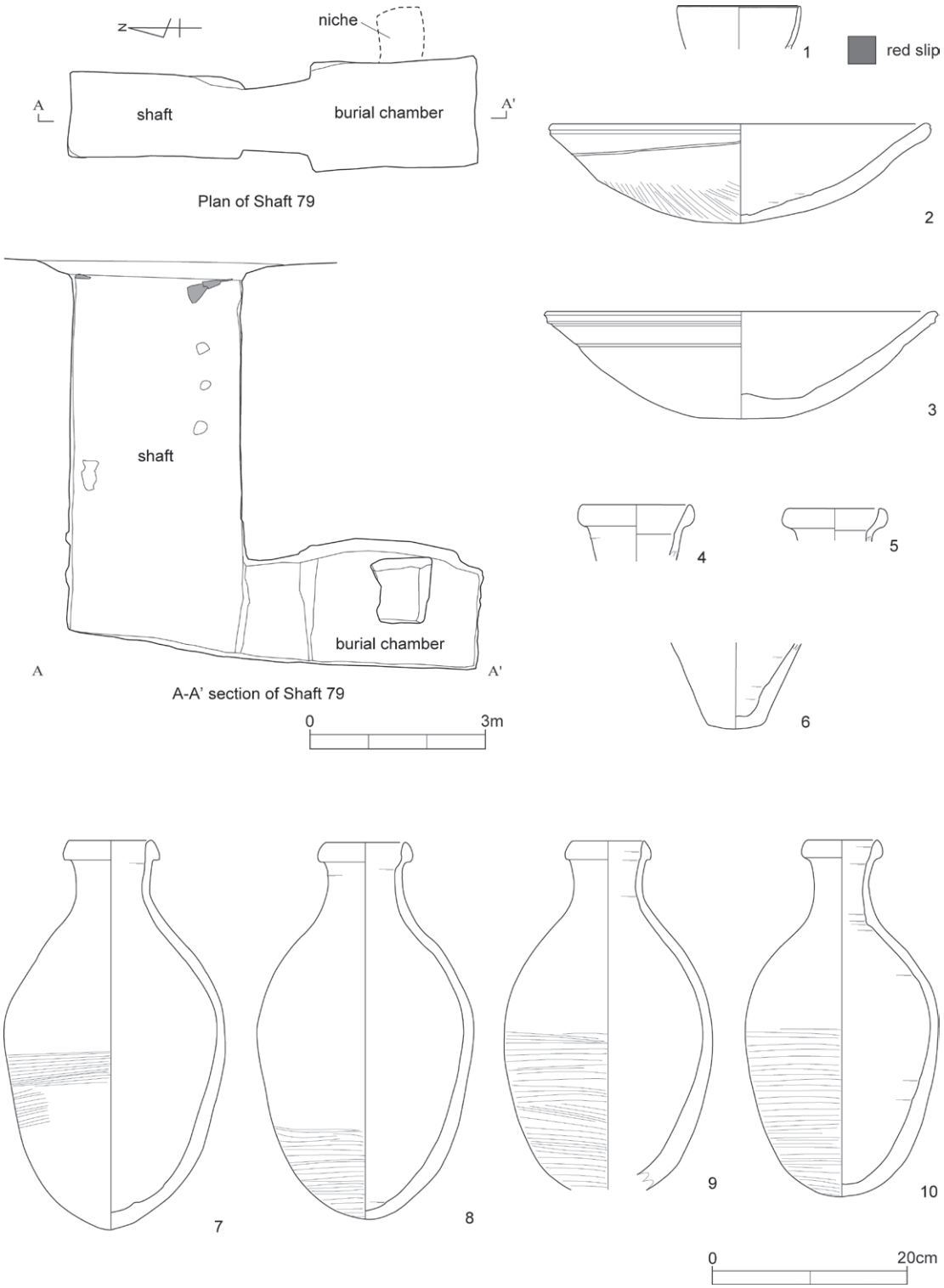

Fig. 15 - Plan, section and pottery vessels of Shaft 79

Shaft 79 (Anonymous Tomb)
Late Amenemhat III to early Thirteenth Dynasty

This shaft tomb is located at Grid 2E49, and the opening (3.0 x 1.4 m) is oriented north-south. A brick-lining remained only in the southern half of the entrance. At the depth of 6.7 m, a burial chamber was found on the south wall. The chamber plan is rectangular (4.0 x 1.8 m in maximum). The chamber is connected by a narrow corridor with the shaft (Fig. 15). There is a niche on the eastern wall of the chamber. Although this tomb has already been disturbed, some of the burial objects were retrieved.

The assemblage of pottery vessels from Shaft 79 is shown in Fig. 15.[17] The most noteworthy finds are beer

[17] The assemblage and fabric of pottery vessels are as follows: a

Fig. 16 - Faience objects from Shaft 79

bottles. Similar bottles, which have a relatively short neck with an outturned aperture and a slender body, are attested in Tell el-Dabᶜa.[18] These examples were discovered from strata d/2, which dates from late in the reign of Amenemhat III to the early Thirteenth Dynasty.[19] These

hemispherical cup of Nile B1 (Fig. 15.1), a pair of large round-bottomed bowl of Nile C (Fig. 15.2, 3), two rim fragments of beer bottle (Nile C, Figs. 15.4, 5), a base fragment of an amphora (Nile D, Fig. 15.6) and four large round-bottomed bottles (Nile C, Figs. 15.7-10). The fragment of an amphora clearly dates to the New Kingdom, and it seems to be fallen into the shaft after the New Kingdom activity was started in this site.

[18] Aston, *Tell el-Dab'a XII: A Corpus*, 82-4, fig. 12a, type 5.
[19] The rim fragments of beer bottle could also be a material for dating, but it was excluded here. As mentioned above, the bottles appeared to be used in the ritual activity conducted

bottles can provide the date of Shaft 79.

The characteristic burial equipment is a group of faience objects. At least six examples of a trapezoidal bead made of blue faience were found from the chamber (Fig. 16.1-6). These appear to be parts of a flail, which is a typical equipment of the 'court type' burial.[20] Moreover, there was found a cylindrical faience object, which also seems to be a piece of the flail (Fig. 16.7). Faience animal figurines are also of significance (Fig. 16.8-10; Pls. III, VI). One of them seems to represent a dog (Fig. 16.8; Pl. III).[21] Fragments of a blue faience hippopotamus were also found, although its head and rear body are missing (Figs. 16.11-13; Pl. VII). On the body, aquatic plants were depicted in black. Faience hippopotami were attested through the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period.[22] While the exact date of these figurines has been the subject of much debate,[23] Shaft 79 provides an example of reliable date by virtue of its association with the complete beer bottles.

Shaft 42 (Tomb of Senu)
Early Thirteenth Dynasty

Located immediately west of Shaft 65, Shaft 42 is the first discovery of an intact Middle Kingdom burial in the Dahshur North cemetery. The shaft entrance (2.2 x 1.0 m) is oriented north-south (Fig. 17) and no remains of the superstructure or any associated objects could be identified around the entrance. The shaft itself is approximately 4 m deep, the upper section of which was completely filled with chunks of *tafl* and large brown rocks. At the depth of 2.6 m, the south wall of the shaft opened into a chamber[24] where the wooden coffin of Senu, "Commander", was placed with the long side with *Wedjet*-eyes facing west in the opposite direction from the normal burial custom (Pl. II). Burial items consisted only of a large dish found against the eastern side of the coffin (Fig. 17.1). The dish is very common in the late Middle Kingdom.[25]

The coffin is box-shaped with a *per-nu* shaped lid (L:182, W:57, H:105 cm) and entirely painted yellow (Fig. 18-19). All four sides as well as the lid's exterior are painted yellow and bear blue text bands framed in blue lines. An eye-panel is depicted on its long-side.[26] Traces of a circular cut area can be identified on the north side of the lid. A cylindrical piece of wood was found in the burial chamber, the surface of which is painted red. Thus, it is probable that the coffin was originally furnished with a lug protruding from the lid, and eventually the lug was cut off when the coffin was placed in the subterranean chamber.[27]

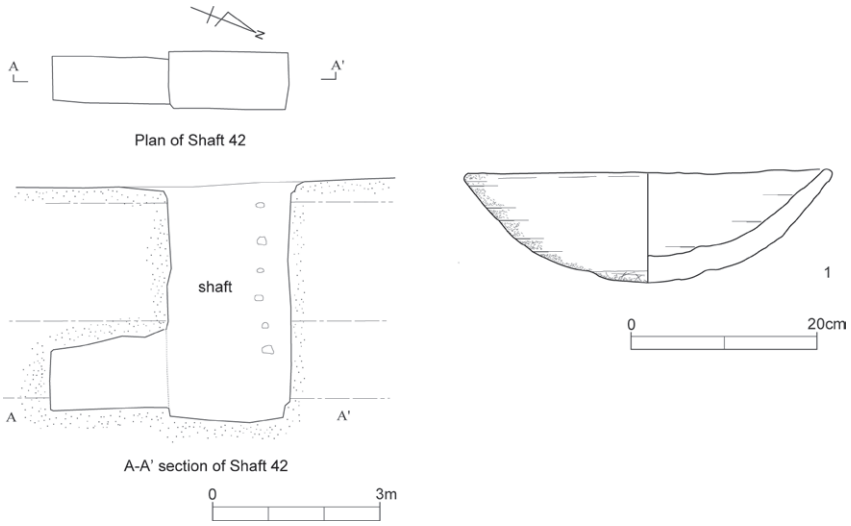

Fig. 17 - Plan, section and pottery vessel of Shaft 42

aboveground as well. It is probable that the considerable amount of the fragments had been scattered from the time when the cemetery was still in use. Many fragments could fall into the shafts after they were plundered and left open. It is undeniable that the rim fragments in the shaft were derived from outside of the tomb, and the intruding rims may skew the dating of the burial. On the other hand, the entirely or almost complete bottles found at the chamber are far more likely to be indigenous burial equipment.

[20] Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 100.

[21] A similar type of dog figurine was reported in the pyramid complex of Senusret I at Lisht. Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I*, vol. III, 61-2, 66-7, 79, pls. LXXV.52, LXXIX.105, LXXXVI.239.

[22] Lacovara, in D'Auria, Lacovara, Roehrig, *Mummies & Magic*, 127.

[23] Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 167-8.

[24] No sealing block, such as piled stones or mudbrick, could be detected at the chamber's entrance.

[25] This is a Nile C large dish (39.5 cm in diameter) with a rounded base and an uneven direct rim, the surface of which was uncoated and received a wet smooth finish. For parallels, see Aston, *Tell el-Dab'a XII: A Corpus*, 73-4.

[26] The layout of text bands associated with the *wedjet*-eyes corresponds to the Type IVaa of Harco Willems' typology: Willems, *Chests of life*, 136-60. The textual content is also very common in this type, but there are some erroneous writings. On the lid, for the determinative of *sp3*, ripple of water, *n* is used instead of centipede, and on the register band of the west side with the *wedjet*-eyes, it is written *ʿnḫ tỉ*, which seems to be an erroneous spelling of *ʿnḫ nṯr* or just an omission of *nṯr*.

[27] The purpose of the lug still remains unknown. Although it is generally considered to be for lifting, the act of cutting it

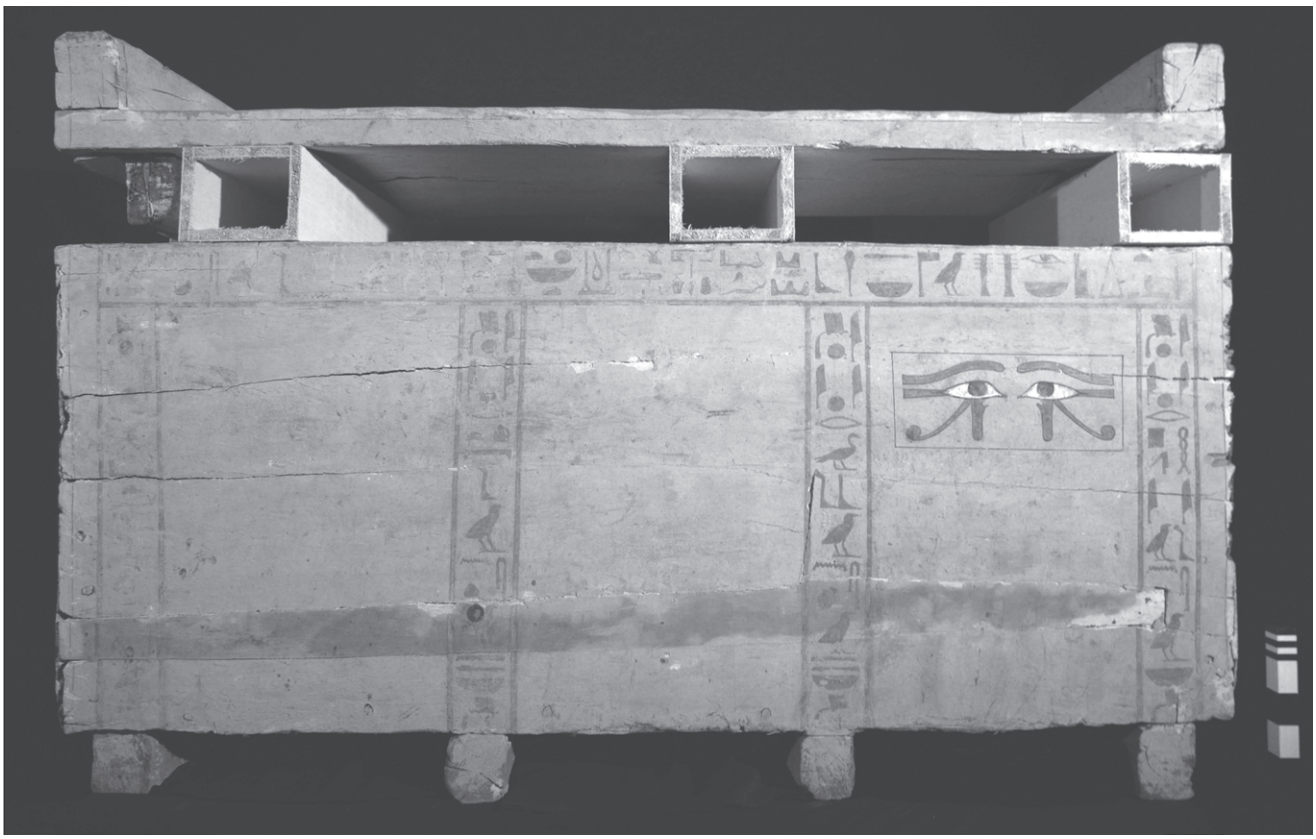

Fig. 18 - Coffin of Senu

The interior was completely coated with white plaster and devoid of any decoration. Inside the coffin, the intact mummy of Senu was placed in a supine position with the head pointing to the north and the face slightly to the east. The mummy was tightly wrapped in linen and covered with a very fine shroud.[28] Curiously, the coffin was placed in the opposite direction, but the head of the mummy properly pointed north and faced east.

The mummy had an exceptional cartonnage mask, with a face painted in black and a beard and wig in blue as well as a false beard and ears made of wood attached to the mask (Pl. xi). The chest was garnished with a broad polychrome collar and a necklace. The most distinctive feature was a feathered headdress extending down the sides of the face (Pl. xii). It appeared to represent Senu's *Ba*, as the bird has no face and the neck is connected to the face of the mask.[29] The mask seems to have been made on a mould, particularly the face and wig, the thickness of which is about 8 to 9 mm. This thicker painted portion extends just below the collar where it thins out to about 4 to 5 mm and is no longer painted. At the torso, some resin and linen overlay this thinner area for about another 10 or 12 cm where the cartonnage thins again to less than 2 mm and continues to extend downward, though it was broken here by the pressure of the wrapped linen. Thus, the mask does not cover the mummy separately, but rather extends to the torso which is known as the 'extended mask'.[30] There was enough space inside the mask to ensure that the mummy's head was not in direct contact with the inner surface. No resin was used to cement the wrappings to the inside of the mask and the head was about 6-8 cm clear of the top of the mask on the inside. The head was placed so as to face left (east), around which long fringed linens were wrapped to fill the space between the neck and the inner surface of the mask.

The mask presents particular features such as the feathered decoration and the extended mask, which seem to be primitive elements leading to the innovation of the *rishi* decoration and anthropoid coffin which were fully developed in the Seventeenth Dynasty.[31] Therefore, the

could have a magical significance, since there is only one lug in the case of Senu's coffin and it is mostly cut off. For the example, see Schäfer, *Priestergräber und andere Grabfunde*, 20-1. The red-colouring on the lug is also maybe relevant to this symbolic meaning. See Taylor, in Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting*, 176.

[28] The shroud is rectangular and measures 270 x 113 cm.

[29] See Ikram, Dodson, *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt*, 169.

[30] There is no parallel showing the bird's body on the mask in the corpuses. Rogge, in D'Auria, Lacovara, Roehrig (eds.), *Mummies & Magic*, 132; Vila, in Vercoutter (ed.), *Mirgissa,* vol. III, 151-268.

[31] For the development of *rishi* coffins and feathered decorations, see Miniaci, in Grallert, Grajetzki (eds.), *Life*

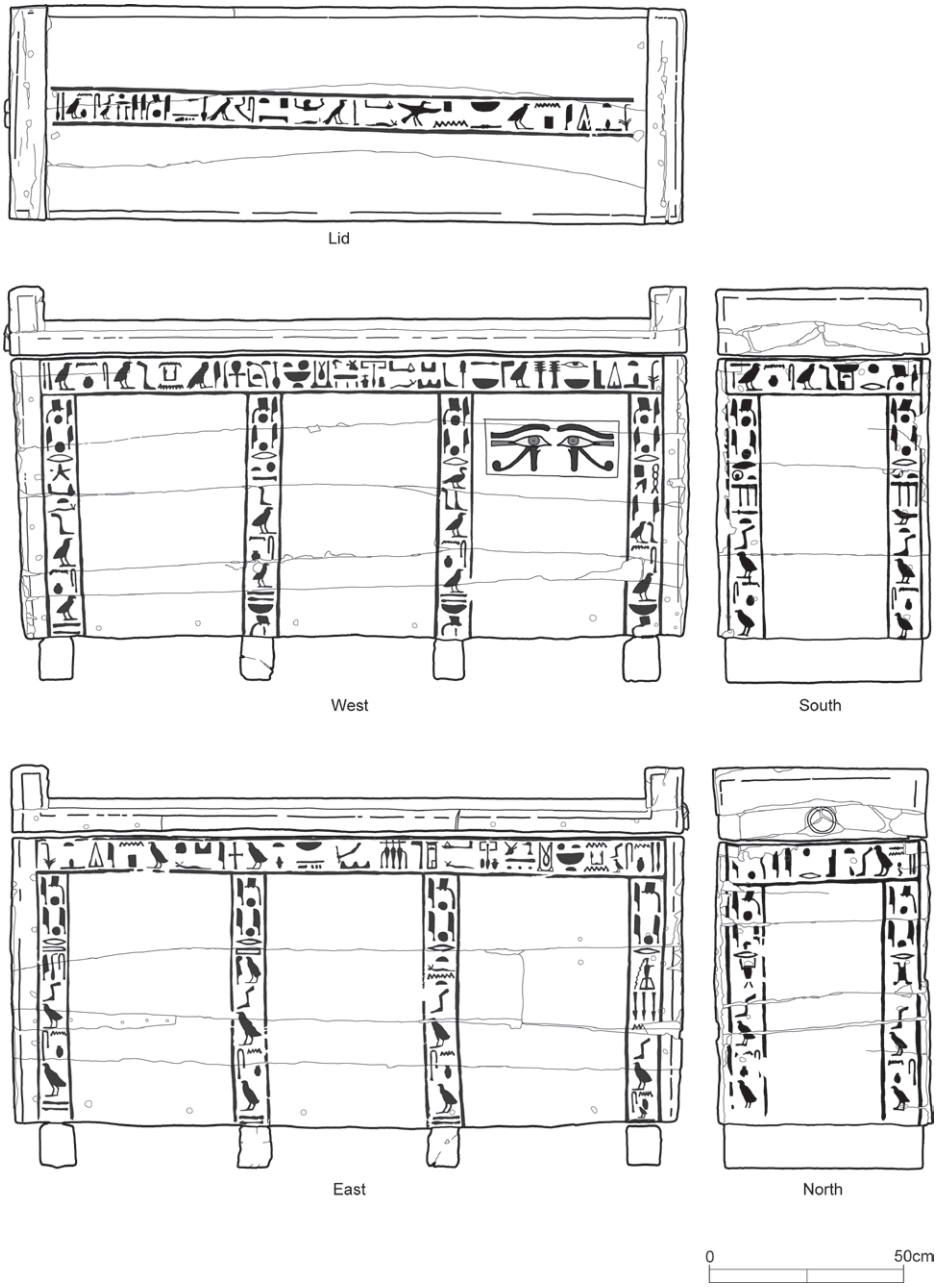

Fig. 19 - Coffin of Senu

burial of Senu probably dates to the Thirteenth rather than the Twelfth Dynasty.

Shaft 107 (Anonymous Tomb)
Early Thirteenth Dynasty

Shaft 107 is located at Grid 2E50, and the size of the entrance is 2.6 m in length and 1.4 m in width. The depth of the shaft is 10.1 m. This shaft is one of the deepest Middle Kingdom tombs within the area around the tomb-chapel of Ta. At the bottom, a burial chamber (2.6 x 1.4 m) was found to the south. There is a niche for canopic equipment on the eastern wall (Fig. 20).

The tomb had already been plundered, and there was almost no trace of the burial itself. However, nine complete beer bottles were found gathered in the eastern part of the chamber, and they appeared to be *in situ* (Pl. IV). In addition, another two bottles were restored from fragments (Fig. 21).[32] Among them, eight bottles have a slightly flaring neck and a rounded triangular modelled rim (Fig. 21.1-8), five of which have a pot mark of vertical line (about 3 cm) incised before firing. In the Memphis-Fayum region, the close parallels can be seen in the cemetery of Hawara. The bottles of Hawara are dated from the late Amenemhat III to the early Thirteenth Dynasty.[33] The bottles in Fig. 21.10 and 11 have a shape different from the others. They have a rhomboidal or globular body, and the neck is short and straight, or tapering towards the rim. The modelled rim has an inner indentation, which is so-called 'kettle-mouth'. The most similar examples were found in strata d/1 at Tell el-Dabᶜa. The date of this type is suggested to the first quarter of the Thirteenth Dynasty.[34] The vessel indices of hemispherical cups are 165 (Fig. 20.12) and 144 (Fig. 20.13), the values of which place them in the later Twelfth to the early Thirteenth Dynasty.[35] From these pottery analyses, Shaft 107 plausibly

and Afterlife, 94-9 and Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins*. In the article, the mask of Senu is mentioned as one of the earliest Lower Egypt predecessors to the Seventeenth Dynasty *rishi* coffins.

[32] Fig. 20 shows the pottery vessels other than the complete beer bottles: miniature bowls of Nile B1 (Fig. 20.1-8), small round-bottomed bowl with holes bored vertically into the bottom (Nile C, Fig. 20.9), small bowls (Nile C, Figs. 20.10, 11), small hemispherical cups (Nile B1, Figs. 20.12, 13) and large round-bottomed bowls (Nile C, Figs. 20.14, 15).

[33] Senoussi, in Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery*, 202-3, figs. 9, 10.

[34] Szafranski, *Seriation and Aperture Index 2*, pl. 4.16; Aston, *Tell el-Dab'a XII: A Corpus,* pl. XLII.149; Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery*, vol. I, 672-3.

[35] Arnold, in Arnold (ed.), *The Pyramid of Senwosret I*, vol. I, 140-1.

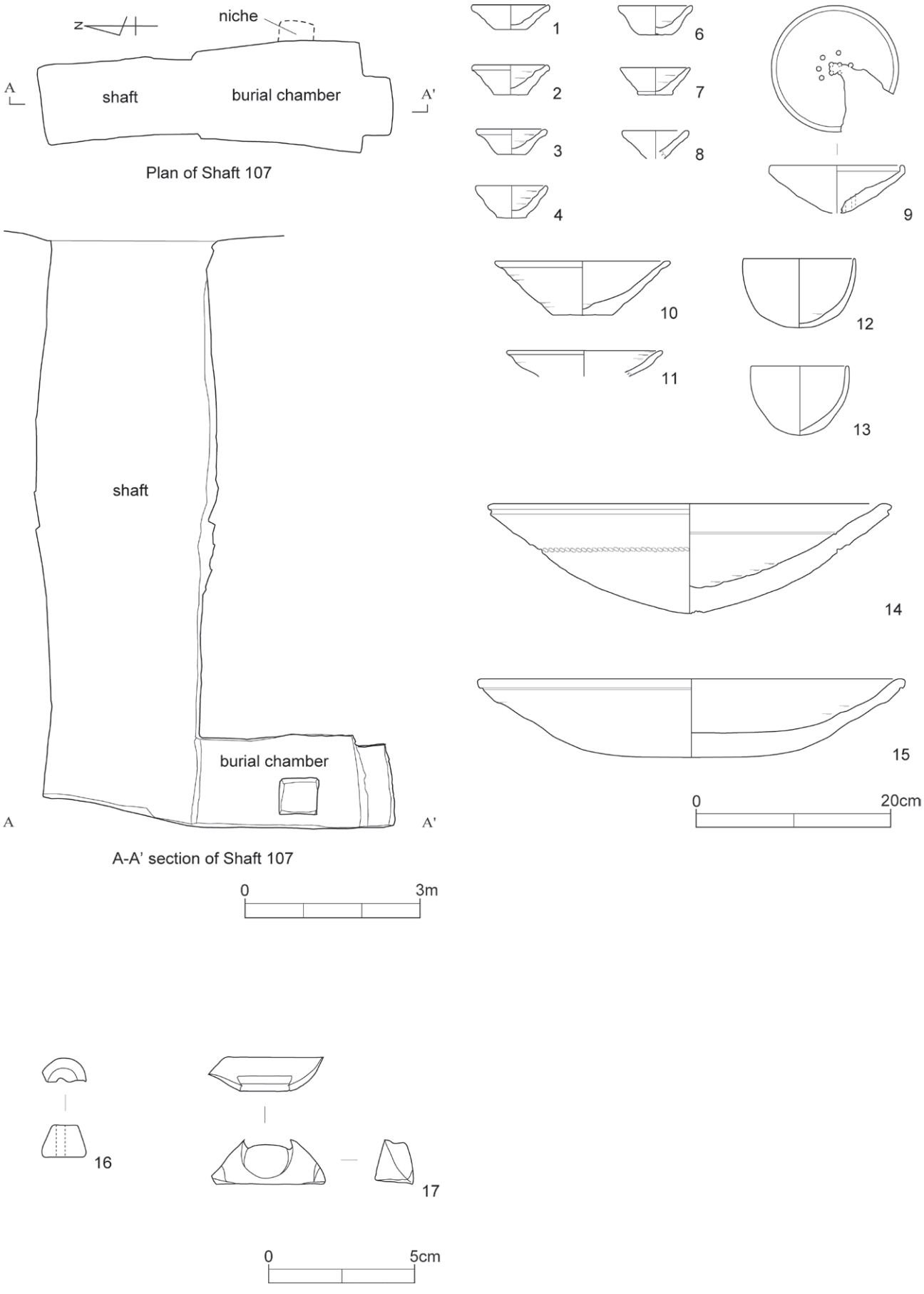

Fig. 20 - Plan, section and finds of Shaft 107

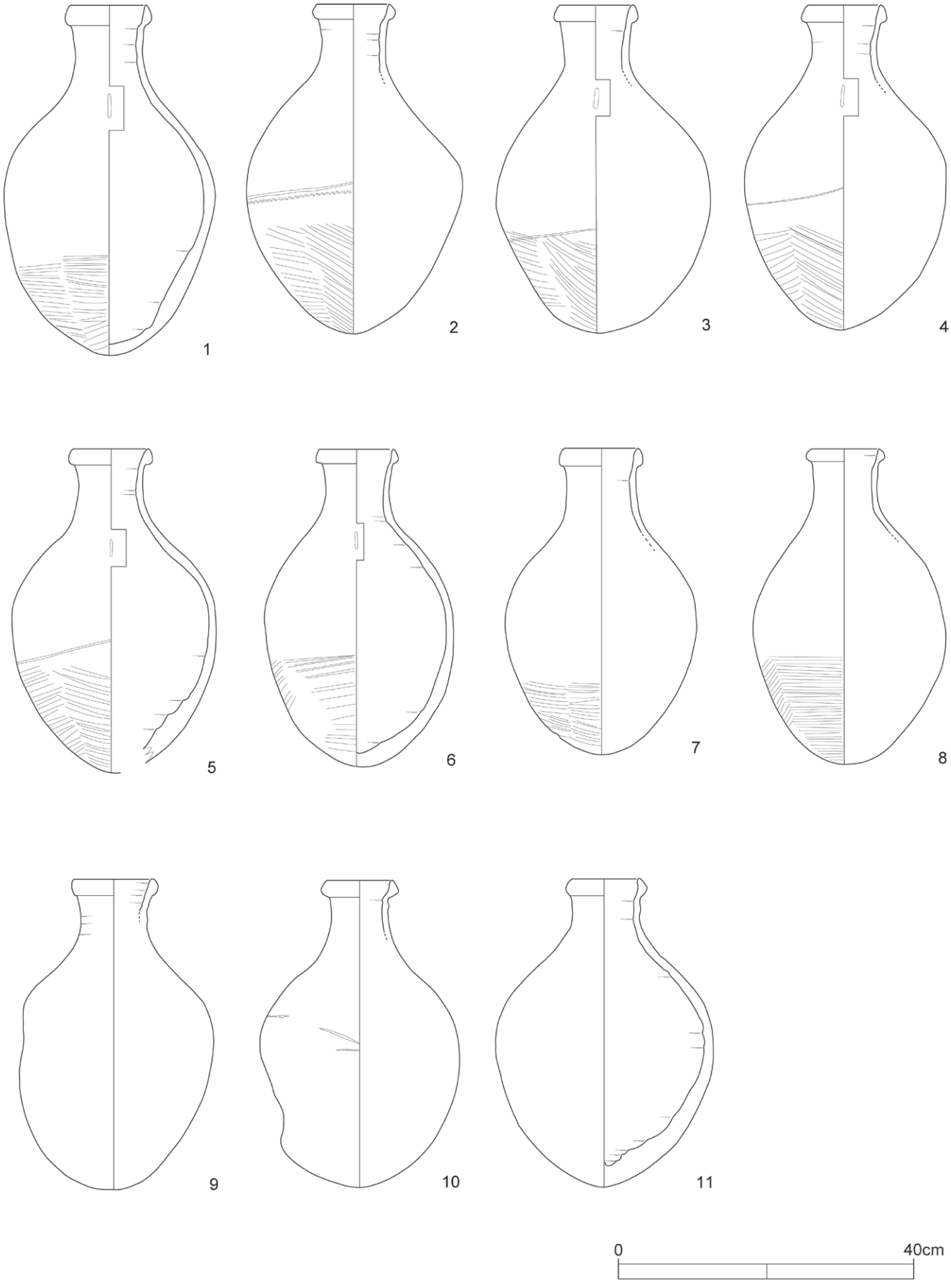

Fig. 21 - Beer bottles from Shaft 107

dates to the early Thirteenth Dynasty.

Burial equipment other than the pottery vessels is scanty. Although no wood from the coffin was found, there was part of the inlaid eyes, which appears to be from a mummy mask or an anthropoid coffin. A small trapezoidal faience bead, which seems to belong to a flail, was also found. As mentioned above, the flail is typical equipment of the 'court type' burial.[36]

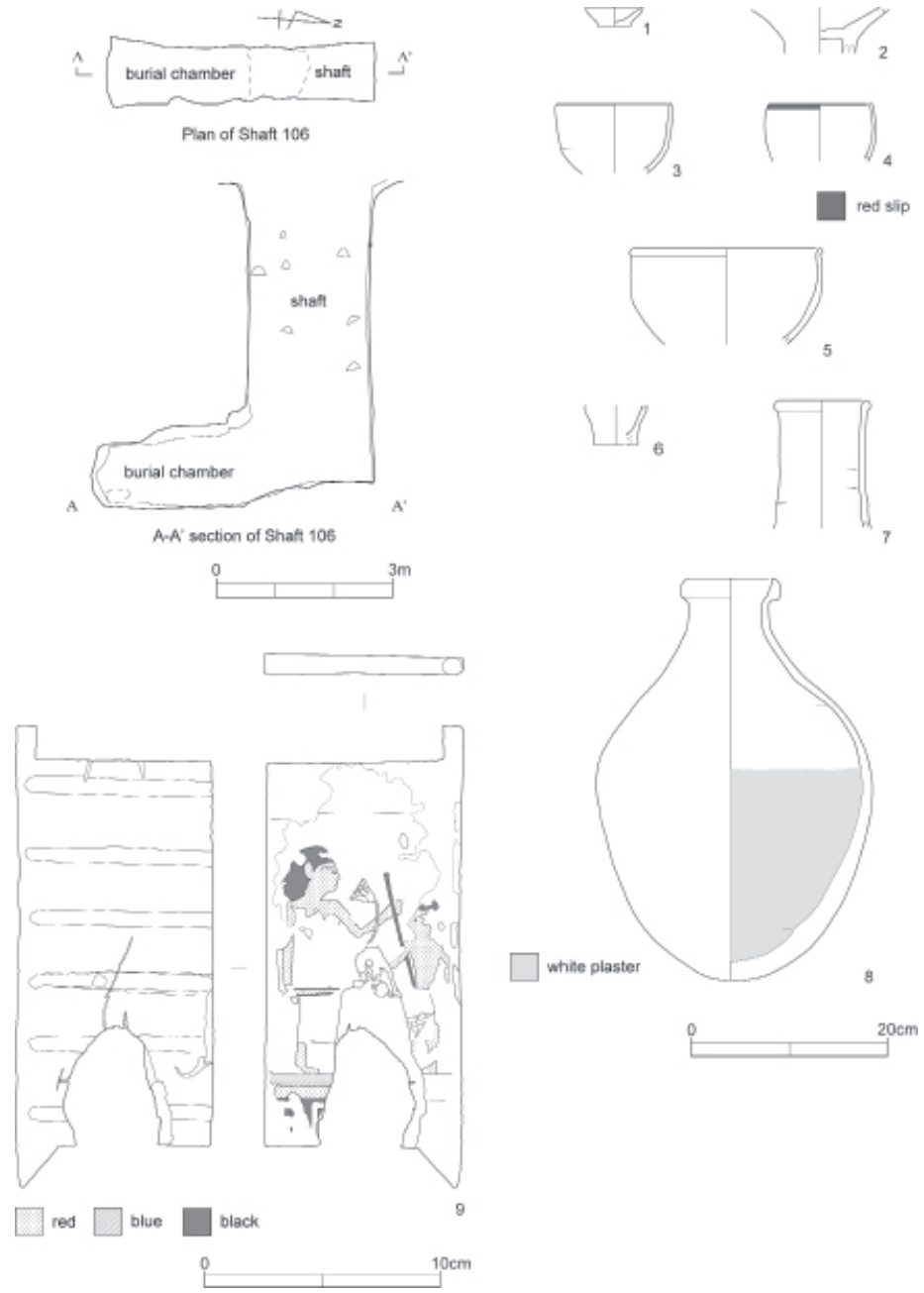

Fig. 22 - Plan, section and finds of Shaft 106

Shaft 106 (Tomb of Key)
Early Thirteenth Dynasty

Shaft 106 is located at Grid 3E41, and the entrance (2.3 x 1.0 m) is oriented north-south. The depth of the shaft is 5.8 m. At the bottom, a burial chamber was found to the south (Fig. 22).

Although disturbed, some of burial equipment still remained in the chamber. Fig. 22 shows the assemblage of pottery vessels.[37] Again, the beer bottle is chronologically important. The bottle in Fig. 22.8 has a rhomboidal body with a short neck tapering towards the rim. At the rim, the pronounced inner indentation was observed (kettle-mouth). It was found broken and the inner surface at the lower part of the body was covered by white plaster. It is assumed that a white plaster paste was poured into the bottle. The shape of this bottle is similar to that of the second type from Shaft 107, suggesting the date of the first quarter of the Thirteenth Dynasty. All hemispherical cups lack the lower parts, and the vessel indices cannot be measured. However, upper part of Fig. 22.4 is slightly incurved, and such a restricted contour was attested mostly in the first half of the Thirteenth Dynasty,[38] the period of which is consistent with the date of the beer bottle.

A piece of a wooden model door was retrieved from the shaft filling (Fig. 22.9; Pl. v). Two standing persons are depicted on the outer surface, and the bigger is facing to the left with holding a stave and the smaller is facing to the right. A lotus flower is represented between them. In general, such wooden models were typical equipment in the early Middle Kingdom tombs, but disappeared from the later Twelfth Dynasty.[39] Even though

[36] Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 100.

[37] The shape and fabric of vessels are as follows: a miniature bowl (Nile C, Fig. 22.1), an offering stand (Nile C, Fig. 22.2), two small hemispherical cups (Nile B1, Fig. 22.3, 4), a medium deep bowl with rolled rim (Nile B1, Fig. 22.5), a miniature vessel with flat base and restricted contour (Nile B2, Fig. 22.6), a fragment of long necked bottle (Nile B2, Fig. 22.7) and a large round-bottomed bottle (Nile C, Fig. 22.8).

[38] For example, Aston, *Tell el-Dab'a XII: A Corpus*, pl. 8.39; Bourriau, Gallorini, in Schiestl, Seiler (eds.), *Handbook of Pottery*, figs. 16.3a1.13, 16.3a1.14, 22.3a1.23; Schiestl, *Tell el-Dab'a XVIII. Die Palastnekropole*, figs. 290.2, 325.5, 7, 10, 12-3.

[39] The wooden tomb models ceased to appear in the Memphis-Fayum region after the reign of Senusret II, with the occasional

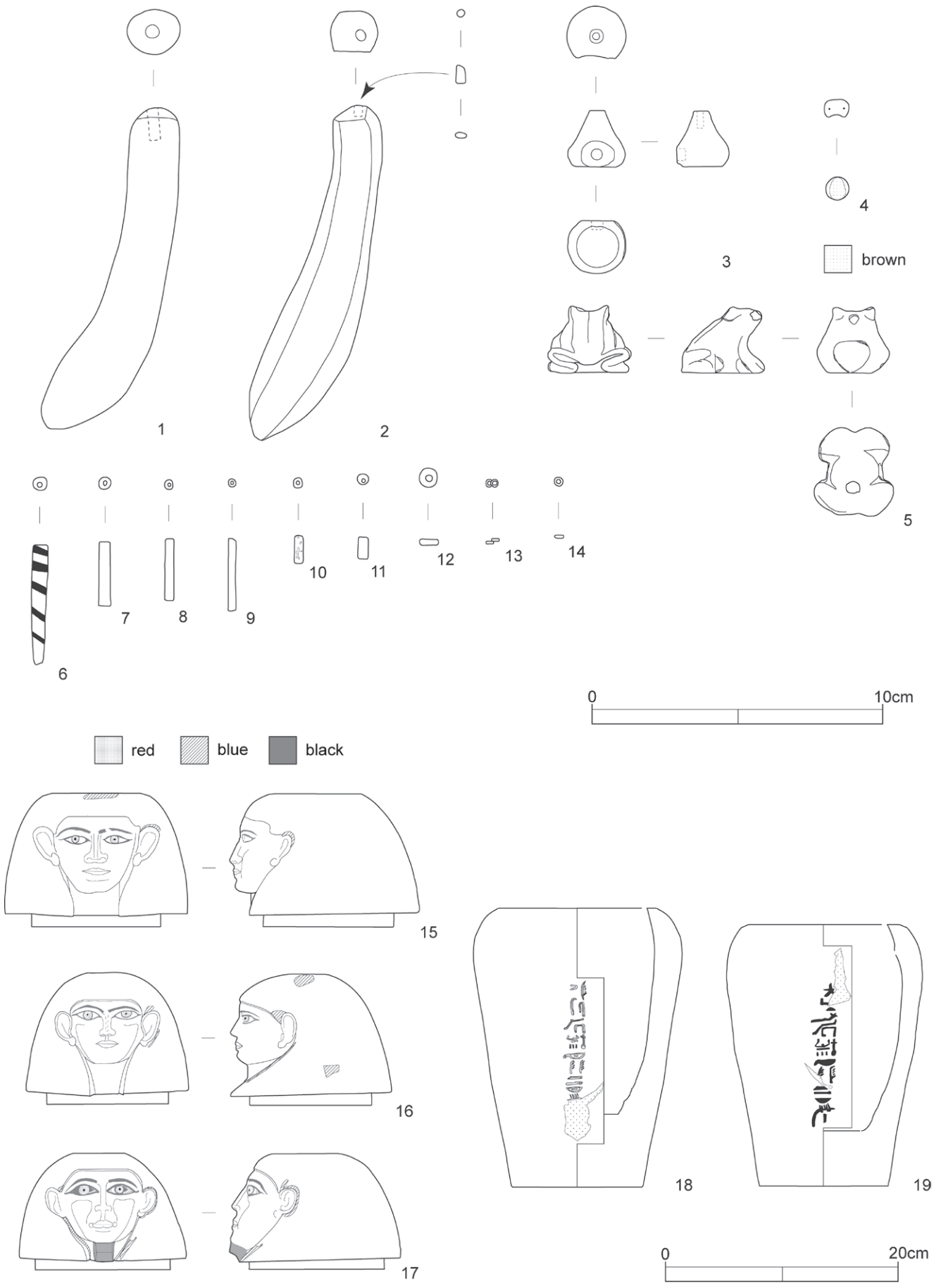

Fig. 23 - Faience object and limestone canopic jars from Shaft 106

Fig. 24

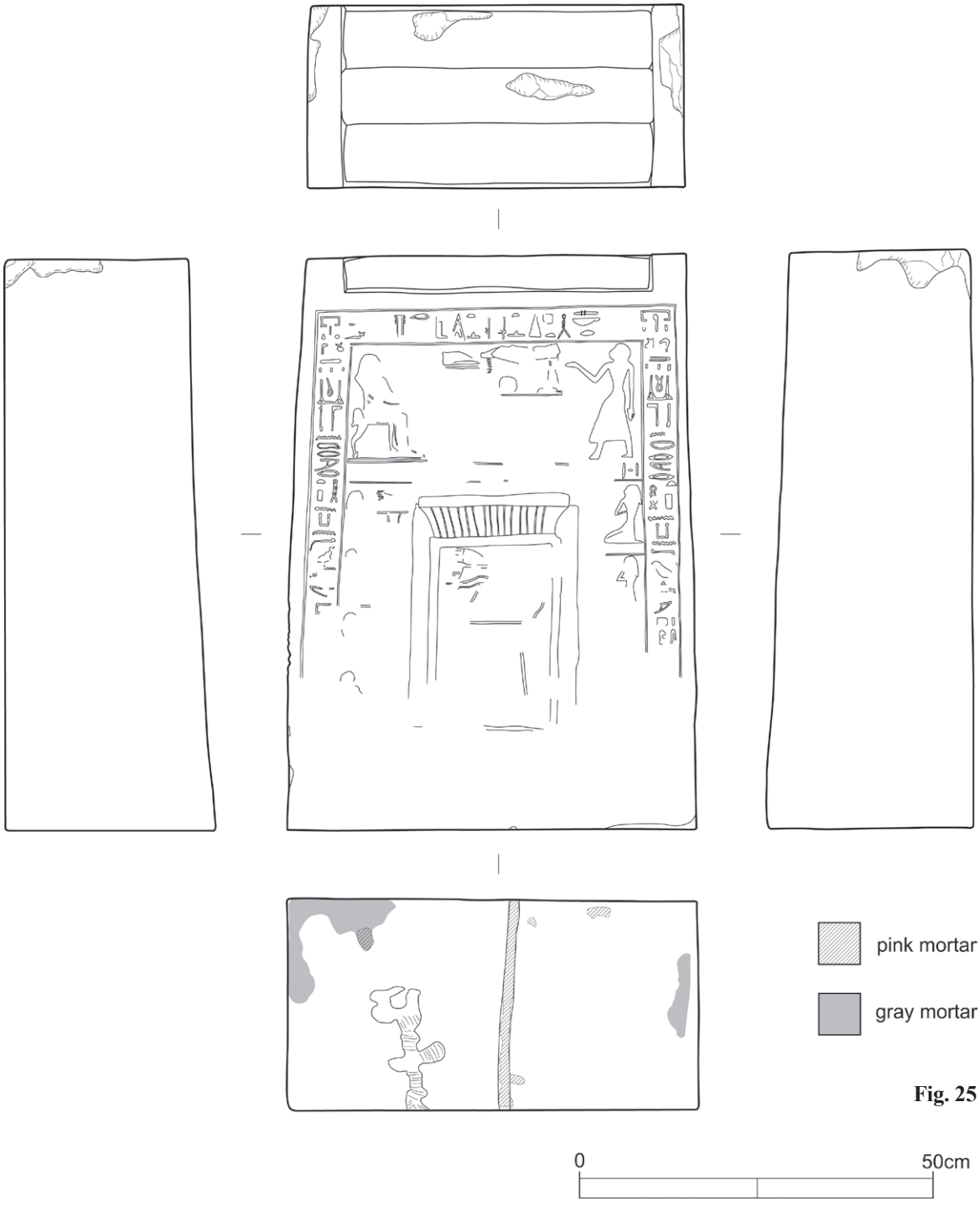

Fig. 25

Fig. 24 - Canopic stoppers from Shaft 106; **Fig. 25** - Limestone stela from Shaft 106

Fig. 26 - Limestone stela from Shaft 106

the wooden model was included, the pottery assemblage obviously suggests that Shaft 106 belongs to the early Thirteenth Dynasty.

Fragments of limestone canopic jars (three lids and two bodies) were found in the shaft and chamber (Figs. 23.15-19, 24; Pl. x). The lids have the shape of a human head, and traces of pigment indicate that the contours of the eyes and eyebrows were drawn in black, and the wig was painted in blue and eyeball in red. One of the lids has a black beard. The bodies were inscribed with the names of the gods Imset (Fig. 23.18; Pl. x) and Duamutef (Fig. 23.19; Pl. x) as well as the title and name of the owner Key. Only the inscription with Duamutef was filled with black pigment. Black resin still remained in their interior.

This tomb also had a variety of faience objects. Fig. 23.1 and 23.2 are 'model fruits', and the former is light green and the latter is white (Pl. xii). They have a small hole at the top end, and in the hole of Fig. 23.2 a small piece of faience was inserted.[40] Fig. 23.3 appears to be a fig which has holes in the side and top. Fig. 23.4 is probably a kind of grain.[41] Fig. 23.5 is a small frog figurine made of greenish blue faience (Pl. xi).[42] Also faience beads (Fig. 23.6-14) were found, among which is a cylindrical bead with a spiral of black glaze (Fig. 23.6) well attested in the cemeteries of Harageh and Lisht.[43]

The most remarkable find is a limestone stela (82 x 59 x 29 cm) (Figs. 25-6).[44] Found at a slightly higher level than the entrance of the chamber, the stela had probably fallen from the surface. The stela has a tapered shape, and the top represents the *per-nu* form and consists of three lines of barrel-vaults. On the front side, an offering scene consisting of at least four registers is represented in sunken relief, and in the centre a false door is carved in raised relief. The text inscribed on the frame is symmetrically reversed *hetep-di-nesut* formulae with the invocation for Ptah-Sokar on the right and Osiris on the left. Unfortunately, the title and name of the owner are unknown as the lower part is damaged by weathering.

There is no direct evidence that this stela belongs to Shaft 106. However, the worn surface of the stela indicates that it had been exposed for a considerable period of time, and a rectangular limestone block (60 x 40 x 20 cm) placed on the bedrock to the west of the shaft entrance suggests that along with the limestone block, the stela had formed a superstructure of Shaft 106.

Shaft 53 (Anonymous Tomb)
Mid-Thirteenth Dynasty

Located at Grid 2E18-19, Shaft 53 has an entrance (3.0 x 1.5 m) with a brick lining on the edge. The depth of the shaft is 5.1 m. At the bottom, a burial chamber was opened to the south. A niche was on the southern end of the east wall of the chamber (Fig. 27). A number of

exception of boat models, which continued until the mid-Twelfth Dynasty. See Bourriau, in Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies*, 11.

[40] Faience model fruit in Lisht was also discovered in a pair of blue and white. See Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I*, vol. III, 79, pl. LXXXVII.241.

[41] Exactly the same examples of the fig and grain were attested in the faience figurine group from Lisht, which included the model fruits mentioned the note above. Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I*, vol. III, 79, pl. 88.243, 245.

[42] Such figurines are attested in Harageh and Lisht. See Engelbach, *Harageh*, pl. XIV.353; Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I*, vol. III, 62, pl. LXXV.54.

[43] Engelbach, *Harageh*, pl. LII.65b, d; Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I*, vol. III, 62, pl. LXXV.61.

[44] The 'Stela-chapel' (Stelenkapelle) investigated by Günther Lapp bears close resemblance to this stela. Lapp, *MDAIK* 50, 231-52; Whelan, in Grallert, Grajetzki (eds.), *Life and Afterlife*, 153-4.

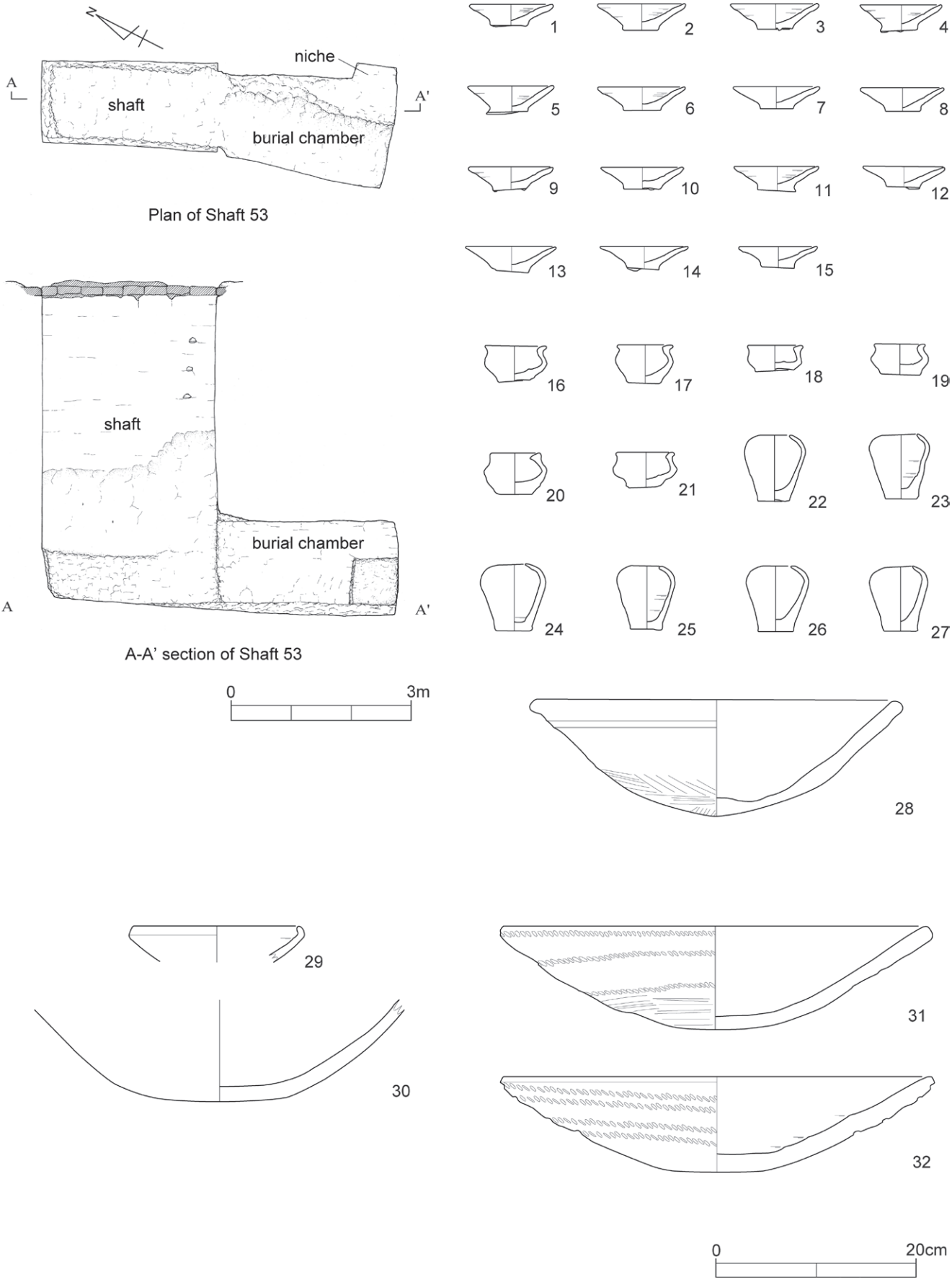

Fig. 27 - Plan, section and pottery vessels of Shaft 53

limestone blocks scattered in front of the chamber indicated that it was originally sealed with the blocks.

Although the chamber was badly plundered, pottery vessels and fragments of human bones and wooden objects were found. Our anthropological study shows that a young adult female and a child were buried. The pottery vessels were relatively well-preserved, and among them two almost complete beer bottles are important for the chronology (Fig. 28.1, 2). This type of beer bottle is widely spread all over Egypt, and dates particularly to the second quarter or middle of the Thirteenth Dynasty.[45]

As for the date of these bottles, the works of B. Bader, J. Bourriau and C. Gallorini for the material from Kom Rabiᶜa should be mentioned.[46] Their Type 4a[47] of the beer bottle neck bears close resemblance to those of the bottles from Shaft 53. From the stratigraphy of Memphis, Type 4a was from Level VII east, VIe and VId. B. Bader demonstrated that these layers belong to the second quarter or middle of the Thirteenth Dynasty.[48] Therefore it is probable that the date of the bottles from Shaft 53 belong to the middle of Thirteenth Dynasty.[49]

As for the other vessels, we found a set of miniature vessels, which consists of fifteen plates (Nile B1, Fig. 27.1-15), six wide mouthed jars with outturned rim (Nile B1, Fig. 27.16-21) and six flat-bottomed jars with restricted contour (Nile B1, Fig. 27.22-27).[50] Most of the miniature vessels were found in and around a large round-bottomed bowl (Nile C, Fig. 27.28) placed at the northeastern part of the chamber. It is highly possible that the miniature vessels were stacked in the bowl and placed in front of the eye panel of coffin.[51] Such a set of miniature vessels was also observed in the foundation deposits of the mortuary temple of Mentuhotep II.[52] This fact indicates that the ritual act of placing them might have continued throughout the Middle Kingdom, from the time of Mentuhotep II to the mid Thirteenth Dynasty. Apart from the pottery vessels, a wooden board painted in red (Fig. 28.3) was found just in front of the niche. Judging from its size and where it was found, the board could be a part of canopic chest.

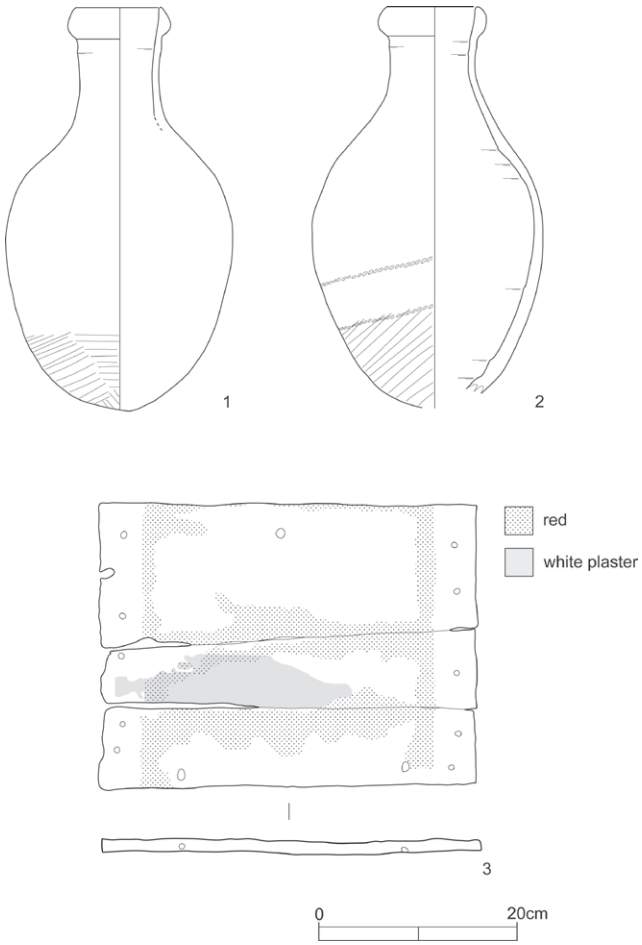

Fig. 28 - Beer bottles and a piece of wooden chest from Shaft 53

Concluding Remarks

The date of the shaft-tombs presented above can be placed in the late Middle Kingdom, especially from the late Twelfth

[45] Schiestl, Seiler (eds.), *Handbook of Pottery*, vol. I, 674-8.
[46] Bader, in Bietak, Czerny (eds.), *The Synchronisation of Civilisations*, 249-67; Bader, *Tell el-Dab‘a XIX. Auaris und Memphis*, 160-86; Bourriau, Gallorini, in Schiestl, Seiler (eds.), *Handbook of Pottery*, 107-30.
[47] Bader, in Bietak, Czerny (eds.), *The Synchronisation of Civilisations*, fig. 12; Bader, *Tell el-Dab‘a XIX. Auaris und Memphis*, fig. 140.
[48] Level VII is best paralleled by Phase G/3-1 of Tell el-Daba, Level VIe by Phase F to E/3 and Level VId by Phase E/2. These phases roughly correspond to the second quarter or the middle of the Thirteenth Dynasty. See Bader, in Bietak, Czerny (eds.), *The Synchronisation of Civilisations*, 265, tables 4, 5; Bader, *Tell el-Dab‘a XIX. Auaris und Memphis*, 707, fig. 397.
[49] A similar neck was attested in elite cemetery in Saqqara South, the information of which was provided by the survey carried out by Robert Schiestl. In his report it is mentioned that the tombs of Saqqara South were possibly connected with Dahshur North cemetery. See Schiestl, *MDAIK* 64, 254, fig. 7.2.
[50] The other vessels are a small carinated bowl (Nile C, Fig. 27.29), two large flat-bottomed bowls (Nile C, Fig. 27.31, 32) and a base fragment of large flat-bottomed jar (Marl C2, Fig. 27.30).
[51] Some intact burials of the Middle Kingdom had a set of miniature vessels in a large bowl placed adjacent to the sarcophagus or coffin. Examples from intact burials are as follows: Schäfer, *Priestergräber und andere Grabfunde*, 82-8, fig. 136; de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, 40-55, fig. 105; Mace, Winlock, *The tomb of Senebtisi*, 112, fig. 1, pls. XXXIV, 25.c.
[52] Arnold, *The Temple of Mentuhotep*, 49-58, pls. 28.a, b, 29.b.

to the mid Thirteenth Dynasties. According to the recent book by W. Grajetzki, the late Middle Kingdom burials in Harageh can be divided into three groups.[53] The first group is the 'court type' burials, some of which had typical beads of a flail, attested only in this type. The second group is the burials with equipment belonging to products of a funerary industry such as decorated coffins, mummy masks and canopic jars, and also containing the items used in daily life, like papyrus, faience figurine and magical wand. The third group does not contain any object of funerary industry. The Dahshur North cemetery seems to contain all these groups, and the shaft-tombs shown in this article share many features with these groups in terms of burial assemblage.

Harageh is located close to the pyramid town of Hetep-Senwosret (Lahun), and is considered to be a cemetery serving especially the wealthy community of the town.[54] The situation is almost the same in Dahshur North, as it is located at the area between the royal cemeteries of Senwosret III and the Thirteenth Dynasty kings at Saqqara South. The date of burials also roughly corresponds to the period when these royal cemeteries had been used. For the people buried in Dahshur North, although the highest class was not contained, the presence of court type burials indicates that affluent people were included, and they seem to be related to the higher social community. In this regard, the cemetery of Dahshur North, like Harageh, provides archaeological information about the burial activities performed by a wider range of social classes in Memphite region. In this cemetery still remain many shaft-tombs to be excavated. Countinued investigations will make further contributions to the study of burial practices in the late Middle Kingdom.

Acknowledgment
We are deeply indebted to Emeritus Professor Sakuji Yoshimura, General Director of the Waseda University Expedition for allowing us to use the excavation data for this article. This study is part of the results of the grant-in-aid for Scientific Research (A) from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science.

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[53] Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 100-2.

[54] *Op. cit.*, 100.

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Stone Objects from the Late Middle Kingdom Settlement at Tell el-Dab'a

Bettina Bader

Abstract

In this article a group of hard stone objects will be presented. They were found in various parts and phases of a late Middle Kingdom settlement quarter at the Delta site of Tell el-Dab'a. The relevant local Phases are G/4 and G/3-1 (c. 1770-1710 BC), about two generations before the onset of the so-called 'Hyksos' period in the Egyptian Nile Delta. The macroscopic appearance of the objects seems reasonably similar to warrant the presentation as a group. As these objects were found in the stoneless Delta they had been brought to the site from the Nile valley either in the form of raw material or as finished products. Frequently such objects remain without known provenance. Partly this is the reason why they are in general rarely published and discussed, especially from settlements. Thus, almost no comparative corpus exists for the late Middle Kingdom.

Introduction

The excavations revealing a quarter (A/II) of the late Middle Kingdom settlement at Tell el-Dab'a on the last remains of the ancient tell took place in 1968-83 with some soundings during the later 1980s (see Table 1). The work was undertaken by the Austrian Archaeological Institute Cairo Branch then led by Manfred Bietak.[1] Three different settlement areas (A/II,[2] F/I[3] and A/IV[4]) are currently known at Tell el-Dab'a/ancient Avaris for this era. Whilst for area A/II the phase designations relevant for this article are G/4 and G/3-1, those for F/I are d/1 and c.[5] Comparative research has shown that the lay-out, use and spatial distribution of various elements within this settlement's quarters are distinctly different in the late Middle Kingdom. The differentiation begins in Phase G/4, in which area A/II is used as a housing quarter without burials within this part of the settlement.[6] In contemporary phase d/1 in area F/I a large elite mansion is situated with a high status burial ground attached to it.[7]

In the next later Phase, G/3-1 and c, respectively,[8] the differences continue further with small housing units built into the standing remains of the stately mansion in area F/I, whilst the outline and plans of housing units in area A/II remain along much the same lines as the earlier phase. A crucial difference to before is represented by the presence of a small number of tombs within the single housing units. This is in stark contrast to the situation in area F/I, where a much greater number of graves were laid out by the inhabitants of that quarter within the housing units and surrounding courtyards.[9] The finds within these settlement areas also show some differences, and one of them is the presence of a number of stone objects of a particular greenish stone type found in various places of area A/II in phases G/4 and G/3-1. Objects of different kinds but of the same or at least similar material were only reported from the contemporary area F/I (stratum c) in three instances, namely an elongated grinder or smoothing stone (reg. no. 4996),[10] a trapezoid palette (reg. no. 3307)[11] and a mould for tools (reg. no. 4210)[12].

[1] See Bietak, *AfO* 25, 314-7. Bietak, *Tell el-Dab'a V: Ein Friedhofsbezirk*, 27-34.

[2] For a recent overview on this area see Bader, in Mynářová (ed.), *Egypt and the Near East – The Crossroads*, 41-72.

[3] Müller, in Horn *et al.* (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2010*, 105-6. Müller, *Das Stadtviertel F/I in Tell el-Dab'a/Auaris*.

[4] Hein, in *Sesto Congresso Internazionale*, 249-53.

[5] For the most recent comprehensive stratigraphic chart see Kutschera *et al.*, *Radiocarbon* 54, fig. 3.

[6] Except one in-house burial of an infant under the floor of a room.

[7] Bietak, *Avaris. The Capital of the Hyksos*, 21-30. Schiestl, *Tell el-Dab'a XVIII: Die Palastnekropole*.

[8] A comparative study of the two areas in Phase G/3-1(=c) by B. Bader and M. Müller is in preparation.

[9] For an overview see Bader, in Mynářová (ed.), *Egypt and the Near East – The Crossroad*, passim. The tombs are published in detail by Kopetzky, *Datierung der Gräber*.

[10] Müller, *Das Stadtviertel F/I in Tell el-Dab'a/Auaris*, vol. II, 37-39 among material left on the floor of the room.

[11] Müller, *Das Stadtviertel F/I in Tell el-Dab'a/Auaris*, vol. II, 33 from discarded material in a courtyard.

[12] Müller, *Das Stadtviertel F/I in Tell el-Dab'a/Auaris*, vol.

Dating and diachronic distribution

The objects presented here were found in settlement contexts of Phases G/4 and G/3-1 (to F), but only one of them might have been an in situ find (see below). The majority of the finds were deposited in fill layers or trash accumulations. Also some of the stone objects were already broken when found or had been used for a secondary purpose.

It is a distinct possibility that the objects of Phases G/4-1 are older than the layer in which they were found, but they cannot be dated much earlier than the late Twelfth Dynasty because prior to Phase H (*i.e.* the late Twelfth Dynasty) area A/II was not inhabited. Moreover, the domestic structures of this phase suggest rather low status inhabitants in this area because of the thinness of the walls (mostly half a brick's width) and the small size of the housing units (mostly consisting of only one room). It has been suggested that this area was used for low level housing, agricultural activities and animal pens in this period.[13] Such a background may make it rather unlikely to expect highly desirable and rare hard stone objects there.

Beyond any doubt is the lack of such material in the earliest settlement at the site from the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty.[14] The Twelfth Dynasty settlement sequence of Ezbet Rushdi nearby only produced three objects of similar material but of different shape.[15]

The other option is that these items might have derived either from the cemetery close to the mansion in area F/I or from the mansion itself, both representing elite institutions of the early Thirteenth Dynasty (Phase G/4). The objects could have been used or in some instances re-used in the settlement of Phase G/3-1 (esp. the rectangular weight shows signs of specific wear). If the elite cemetery, indeed, was the source of these objects, not a single one remained preserved within or around these tombs. This hypothesis may not seem too farfetched in view of the severe (later) robbing of that cemetery. It has to be borne in mind though that the looting only seems to have started later, probably after Phase G/3-1, because cultic continuity was noticed after Phase G/4 as well as careful avoidance of the earlier tombs in placing the Phase G/3-1 graves.[16]

The possibility that these objects were first used in the mansion in Phase G/4 (=d/1) remains intact, especially with the thought in mind, that three similar finds were recorded from area F/I in stratum c. Although there were distinctly less of them in that quarter (area F/I), these spatial differences may be due to post-depositional processes, as the difference in numbers is not so great as to carry much statistical significance. From the mansion of the early Thirteenth Dynasty (Phase G/4) only one possible find fits our category. This is the fragment of a sculpted fish figure.[17]

In the phases past the late Middle Kingdom there is not much evidence for the use of objects made of a greenish hard stone either. The tombs on the tell (area A/II) only yielded very few items fitting such a description,[18] whilst in those of area F/I no objects of such description occurred at all.[19]

The settlement layers, as far as they are published, also yielded very few such objects,[20] for example in Phase D/3 a fragment of a dish made from such material.[21] The settlement remains of the Hyksos period (= later Second Intermediate Period = Fifteenth Dynasty in the Delta) in area A/V yielded one trapezoid palette,[22] whilst the numerous offering pits of the Second Intermediate Period did not contain any hard stone objects such as described here.[23]

The raw material

Because the frequency of hard stone object finds, apart from flint tools, is generally very low, especially in the settlement quarters of the notoriously stone-less Nile

II, 104 from a metal workshop. See also Philip, *Tell el-Dab'a XV: Metalwork*, 193, cat. no. 390.

[13] Bietak, *Tell el-Dab'a V. Ein Friedhofsbezirk*, 21.

[14] Czerny, *Tell el-Dab'a IX: Eine Plansiedlung*.

[15] Ernst Czerny, personal communication, 25 June 2014.

[16] See Schiestl, *Tell el-Dab'a XVIII: Die Palastnekropole*, passim and 215.

[17] Reg. no. 4466.

[18] *Cf.* Bietak, *Tell el-Dab'a V: Ein Friedhofsbezirk*, 276-7, the lid of a stone vessel reg. no. 1579 in Phase D/3. Forstner-Müller, *Tell el-Dab'a XVI: Die Gräber des Areals A/II*, 169, reg. no. 2592, scarab from Phase F; 349, reg. nos. 6459A and D, a dish and a gaming piece made from schist. There is also a reference to a palette in Phase F made of greenish hard stone (p. 55), but the object referred to (reg. no. 5435, p. 145) is described as calcite in the catalogue.

[19] Kopetzky, *Datierung der Gräber*. It is possible that objects made from greenish hard stone occur in hitherto unpublished tombs.

[20] Reg. no. 4123c represents the rim fragment of a stone vessel of siltstone with a horizontal lip of a type frequently found in tombs (probably Phase F). For the form *cf.* Forstner-Müller, *Tell el-Dab'a XVI: Die Gräber des Areals A/II*, fig. 84a.9. It has to be noted though that the find spot was situated in the vicinity of two tombs cutting into the settlement from later phases and may have belonged to the contents of one of them.

[21] Reg. no. 2039d, Bietak, *Tell el-Dab'a V: Ein Friedhofsbezirk*, 267, without drawing.

[22] Hein, Jánosi, *Tell el-Dab'a XI: Areal A/V*, 75, reg. no. 6869 Phase D/2, 'Granatglimmerschiefer'. The material does not look as dense and fine as the stone objects presented here.

[23] Müller, *Tell el-Dab'a XVII: Opferdeponierungen*.

Delta, a closer look at this material seems warranted.

The raw material is in all cases of dark greenish grey colour with whitish-greyish veins and small lighter patches. The density of the stone is very high and it appears very compact. In some of the objects very fine grains are visible in their breaks with the naked eye. In most instances the surface of the stone was smoothed very well sometimes even polished.

The identification of the stone type cannot be definitive without the aid of petrographic thin sections and the expertise of a geologist, and, because such a consultation could unfortunately not take place, several options exist. Comparing the macroscopic description of the objects at hand to the relevant literature a tentative identification of this stone material as sedimentary rock, namely siltstone or greywacke, seems most likely at the moment.[24] The main quarry sites of siltstone and greywacke were to be found in the Wadi Hammamat. Greywacke represents a stone variety with larger grain size and cannot be completely excluded.[25]

Perhaps some greenish varieties of serpentinite occurring in the Eastern Desert may be taken into consideration, although this is a different stone type altogether (metamorphic rock).[26]

Dolerite is also described as greyish-green stone with clearly visible crystals and fine to medium grain size. Because objects consisting of that material comprise almost exclusively spherical hammers and were found mainly around Aswan, it seems unlikely that this material might have reached the Delta.[27] Also the crystals described were not identified in the objects.[28]

Previously other terms for this type of greenish stone were used, which include slate and schist. Nowadays such terms are considered to have been applied erroneously, as they refer to stone, which comes apart in layers, and are medium to coarse grained.[29]

Considering the most likely derivation of the stone, from which the objects in the late Middle Kingdom settlement of Tell el-Dab'a were made, this would mean that such finds would have to have been brought quite a distance from southern Egypt into the Delta and precious little is known about the way to acquire such things and their distribution throughout the country. Whilst objects made from hard stone might be expected to be equally rare as metal objects in the archaeological record of a settlement, as they were apparently continuously re-used, the absolute frequency of siltstone/greywacke objects is much higher than of metal objects in the specific case of the late Middle Kingdom settlement in area A/II of Tell el-Dab'a, which were even rarer than siltstone/greywacke objects. Still, this fact might have quite different reasons and should therefore not be over-interpreted.

In this article the designations given to the stone type by the original sources will be retained with the addition of '….' and a visual description added (mostly only of colour), typically derived from colour photos published either in books or on the internet (especially when museum databases are used). It has to be borne in mind that it was possible neither to revisit those objects nor to conduct any scientific analysis by means of thin sections. Moreover, photographs can be very misleading depending on the type of camera or lighting in the room where objects are kept. It has to be clear therefore, that any possible grouping proposed in this article is based on macroscopic considerations only and must be corroborated by experts trained in geology. The proper identification of raw materials is in need of more rigorous basic work to reach firm conclusions. This is the more difficult as classification of stones are typically done along proportional scales in triangular diagrams.[30]

Object types

1. Trapezoid palettes and grinders (Figs. 1.a-c, 2.a-b)
An object category that is known from the Middle Kingdom in general and from cemeteries in particular is represented by trapezoid palettes with an oval depression on the top and sometimes with small bell-shaped devices usually interpreted as aid for grinding some substance (grinder or 'muller'), either for cosmetic purposes,[31] namely to grind up galena or malachite (or other

[24] *Cf.* Aston, *Egyptian Stone Vessels*, 28-32 and pl. 6.a. Note that one vessel thin sectioned and identified by Aston as siltstone (footnote 188; BM EA 2637) is listed as serpentinite in the object data base of the British Museum. Unfortunately no photograph is provided. Serpentine/serpentinite shows black veins, *cf.* Aston, *Egyptian Stone Vessels*, 56-9.

[25] De Putter, Karlshausen, *Les Pierres*, 87-90 do not differentiate greywacke and siltstone. See cl. pls. 54d.16 and 54e.17 for polished greywacke. *Cf.* also Klemm, Klemm, *Steine und Steinbrüche*, 369-72, who explain the difference between the two.

[26] *Cf.* Klemm, Klemm, *Steine und Steinbrüche*, cl. pl. 13.3 and p. 376-8. *Cf.* also Aston, *Egyptian Stone Vessels*, 56-9, but the photographic examples shown on her pl. 12 do not resemble the objects from Tell el-Dab'a. *Cf.* the previous note and Sparks, *Stone Vessels*, 159, table 8 for a concise comparative approach. According to this table serpentinite/serpentine seems more unlikely.

[27] One spherical object of a coarser greenish hard stone with apparent crystals fits the description of a stone hammer well due to the damage visible. From K1027 from the late Middle Kingdom settlement, see below under section 8.

[28] Klemm, Klemm, *Steine und Steinbrüche*, 421-2, cl. pl. 13.6.

[29] Aston, *Egyptian Stone Vessels*, 31. See also Aston *et al.*, in Nicholson, Shaw (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Materials*, 57-8. These terms are nevertheless often represented in older literature.

[30] E.g. Aston, *Egyptian Stone Vessels*, fig. 4.

[31] Bietak, Hein (eds.), *Pharaonen und Fremde*, 170, cat. no. 161.

pigments) for make-up or writing.[32] The grinders (e.g. Fig. 1.b) may be of different forms and shapes but usually they are cylindrical with a rounded top and tapering in the middle (bell-shaped). It must be stressed here that all the palettes in area A/II were found in secondary deposition and the grinder separately. Hence, it is not possible to shed more light on the purpose and actual use of these objects.[33] The parallels from tombs rather suggest a cosmetic purpose, because they were found in tombs of females (where this could be ascertained) and in combination with other cosmetic items such as kohl pots, mirrors and jewellery items.[34]

Parallels are widely known in Egyptian art collections, but unfortunately only a minority is derived from controlled excavations. The museum databases contain numerous examples made from a variety of stone types including 'basalt', 'diorite' and 'syenite'.[35] Notable exceptions are the five palettes from the Middle Kingdom settlement of Lahun,[36] where at least five such objects were found. They are now housed in the Manchester Museum but were produced from a different stone.[37] At Harageh a similar example was found in a ruined house, possibly dating to the Twelfth or Thirteenth Dynasties.[38] In the cemeteries of the Middle Kingdom such objects were also frequently found.[39] Interestingly no such object is as yet published from the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period levels from Elephantine.[40]

The only other example from a settlement was found in the last (transitional) phase of the Second Intermediate Period to the early Eighteenth Dynasty at Balat, which was right at the surface and therefore not attributable to a particular context. Thus, it may well have been residual. The palette was fragmented and consists of 'schiste verte' with a clearly delineated depression to grind the pigments. The shape of the depression is rather oblong with curved corners than oval.[41]

In tomb 416 at Abydos[42] one example was described as 'greenish schist',[43] which may well correspond to the material of the examples from Tell el-Dab'a. The shape of these Abydos examples differs to those from the settlement in that the central depression is not oval but obliquely cut in the corners and quite irregular. Moreover, the Abydos examples show a distinct edge to mark the depression. Whether this difference could serve as a dating criterion will have to be evaluated very carefully. In the cemetery of Lisht North a 'diorite' palette was found with a shallower oval depression that was not sharply delineated. It was dated to the Twelfth to mid-Thirteenth Dynasty[44] and might be part of a morphological development of such objects. Other Middle Kingdom tombs at Abydos also yielded such palettes with grinder, but without description of the material or of the sex of the tomb owner.[45] An exception is the undisturbed tomb E3-3, which contained three burials with trapezoid palettes in combination with toiletry articles (small cosmetic containers, a mirror, beads,

[32] Petrie, *Objects of daily use*, 63, pl. LVI.11. Petrie grouped such objects with other ink trays. The measurements of 20.0 x 11.9 cm appear larger than those from Tell el-Dab'a.

[33] One parallel from area F/I was made of the same or a similar material ('Grünstein'), Müller, *Das Stadtviertel F/I in Tell el-Dab'a/Auaris*, vol. II, 33, reg. no. 3307, from the courtyard of a house in stratum c (= G/3-1).

[34] *Cf.* n. 42.

[35] For the Petrie Museum see <http://www.accessingvirtualegypt.ucl.ac.uk/COVES/index.php>, accessed 15.10.2014. All objects from this museum are described there and those relevant for this article were accessed via this website.

[36] Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, 30. Petrie mentions "rectangular trays for rubbing up paint and ink" but does not disclose the number of them. Further, they were identified by him as 'syenite', 'black granite' (= gabbro according to Aston) and 'basalt', but none shown.

[37] *Cf.* Manchester Museum website: collection database. MM 137a-e, 'syenite'. The sizes appear to be very similar to our examples (15.0 x 9.0 cm; 11.8 x 7.3 cm; 13.8 x 8.7 cm; 10 x 5.8 cm; 13.0 x 9.0 cm), but the material does not seem to be greenish except perhaps 137a. The descriptions are the same as in Johns, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities*, 21, reg. nos. 137a-e ('syenite'), 139 ('diorite'), and 140 ('diorite').

[38] Engelbach, *Harageh*, 16-7, pl. 11, group 530. This context may well also date to the late Middle Kingdom. I would like to thank Wolfram Grajetzki for drawing my attention to the double scarab from this group and its discussion by Miniaci, Quirke, *BIFAO* 109, 339-83 and to the discussion by Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 17-23, 96-7. The second scarab in this group also fits well into that period as it seems to belong to the 'early Tell el-Dab'a workshop' by its back type (IIIa). *Cf.* Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds.), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, 113-22.

[39] E.g. in Petrie Museum UC 34505 from Koptos, 'diorite', Twelfth Dynasty length 12.0 cm, height 3.1 cm.

[40] *Cf.* von Pilgrim, *Elephantine XVIII. Untersuchungen*.

[41] Marchand, Soukiassian, *Balat VIII. Une habitat*, 105, 108, 296 and photo 547. The photo indicates a coarser texture of the rock than the example from Tell el-Dab'a.

[42] Tomb 416 contained at least one woman. *Cf.* Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 105-75 with further references. UC 38022 in the Petrie Museum made from 'diorite'/'serpentinite' was found in this tomb as well as a grinder of 'basalt'. The same material was used for yet another palette from that Museum UC 38023 also said to come from tomb 416.

[43] Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 118, 416.A.07.3, fig. 40 and pls. 10-2, now in the Ashmolean Museum E 3300, length 17.1 cm, width 10.6 cm, height 2.7 cm. Thus, it remains unclear whether there were only two such objects as on the photograph or more in this tomb.

[44] MMA 22.1.16a-b with a grinder, measurements: 10.4 x 6.7 by 3.5 cm.

[45] Peet, Loat, *The Cemeteries of Abydos. Part III*, 24, pl. VIII.15, tomb D 109, palette combined with a small cosmetic faience jar.

etc.), but the material is not described in detail.[46]

Another parallel of similar form with a sharp edge along the oval depression comes from a tomb at Dendera (Twelfth Dynasty) also in combination with cosmetic items.[47] Tomb 153 at Esna dates to the Middle Kingdom and was assessed as largely undisturbed, but the two palettes found are only shown on a dark photograph and seem to be very flat. It remains unclear if they show a depression at all or not. The other finds include some cosmetic containers, but the sex of the tomb owner remains unclear.[48]

At Qurna such a trapezoid palette with grinder and sharp edged depression to grind the pigments was found (tomb 33). The only other items on the plates of Petrie's publication with the same tomb number are one stone vessel of beaker shape, an oval offering tray and some pottery. The material of the palette ('ink-slab') is not stated, also no tomb register provides additional information on the group,[49] which may well date to the early Twelfth Dynasty.[50]

Tomb 53 at Edfu dateable to the Middle Kingdom contained four such items of 'serpentine', which include a shallow oval depression with a sharp edge. Their shape corresponds to that of the Tell el-Dab'a ones ("en forme de pyramide tronquée renversée"). Two different sizes are attested: 14.0 x 8.0 x 2.5 cm and 9.4 x 6.0 x 2.1 cm. One of the palettes was decorated with an incised cartouche around the oval depression.[51] This example is now in the Warsaw Museum on display[52] together with the bell-shaped grinder also from tomb 53.[53] Tombs NO 23 and NOI 28 at Edfu yielded such objects described as 'schiste', too, but they were published only in a small group photograph.[54] One palette is shown to have a rectangular depression in the middle, but the material of this example is given as 'serpentine'.[55]

One single, seemingly intact tomb at Qubaniya-North (11.1.1) contained two trapezoid palettes with one grinder, but only the grinder, again bell-shaped, is of greenish stone, whilst one of the palettes is described as 'grey slate'.[56] The middle of both palettes shows a depression from use, but no sharp edge delineates the oval grinding area. The sex of the tomb owner was not given, but the other finds tend to support an interpretation as cosmetic item because they comprised stone vessels and the remains of a possible jewellery box. All items were deposited at the feet of the deceased.[57]

A few examples of this type were found abroad at Gezer in the Levant, in a settlement area dated to the early Middle Bronze Age (IIA),[58] but the finds mentioned by Macalister vaguely in the same place also comprised a 'Bügelkanne'. The interior of the palette shows 'a dash' of red pigment and the depression is sharply delineated but rectangular.[59] Another example from gneiss-hornblende was found in a much later context (Late Bronze Age II, Tell Abu Hawam). The shallow depression was oval with an edge.[60] Interestingly this type was not produced locally.[61]

Finally a possibly late example of a trapezoid palette is kept at the Roemer-Pelizäus Museum in Hildesheim with a 'black granite' grinder with an incised inscription of Ramesses II. Unfortunately these objects are not of known provenance. Whilst they seem to have been acquired by the museum as a set, it might be possible that they had been inscribed at a later date and re-used.[62]

[46] Garstang, *El Arábah*, 25-6, pl. 10. The sex of the two adult bodies was not ascertained the third burial belonged to a child.
[47] Petrie, *Dendereh*, 26 and pl. 20, 'syenite'.
[48] Downes, *Excavations at Esna*, 4-7, 99, fig. 75 from tomb 153, 121-2. In fig. 75 the palettes are shown in the lowest row to left and right with letters 'o' and 'Wn', as one came from the shaft and one from the western chamber. The tomb register (121-2) lists a bevelled granite palette of 10.0 x 18.0 cm with a grinder in the western deposit under letter 'o'; and another granite one also under letter 'o' measuring 12.8 x 7.6 x 3.8 cm with some lumps of kohl in it.
[49] Petrie, *Qurneh*, 3-4, pl. VIII.16. Two tombs with number 33 seem to have existed A33 with VIII.14-16, and B33 with a fragmentary stela, pl. 10. It remains totally unclear to which tomb the other items marked with only '33' belong: offering tray: pl. XXI.626; pottery model dishes: pl. XIV.105, 107, 109; a deep but narrow hemispherical cup: pl. XIV.102; a pointed beaker: pl. XV.174; a model jar: pl. XV.231; two small squat jars: pl. XV. 249-50; a medium globular jar with indentations on the rim: pl. XVI.337; three bag-shaped jars: pl. XVIII.424, 439, 461; another small to medium jar pl. XVIII.421.
[50] Seiler, in Schiestl, Seiler (eds.), *Handbook of Pottery*, esp. figs. 10-2.
[51] Michałowski *et al.*, *Tell Edfou 1938*, 32, cat. nos. 11-2, pl. XI.10-1.
[52] Loan of the Warsaw University, reg. no. 139274 and 139278 for palette and grinder, now described as 'basalt'.
[53] Michałowski *et al.*, *Tell Edfou 1938*, 32, cat. no. 13, pl. XI.13, described as 'schiste'.
[54] Michałowski *et al.*, *Tell Edfou 1939*, 185, cat. nos. 151 and 153 are described as being made of 'schiste' with sizes of 2.5 x 8.9 x 7.2 cm and 2.9 x 10.6 x 6.9 cm, respectively. See also pl. XX.5 and 7. *Cf.* also Seidlmayer, *Gräberfelder*, esp. 63-8.
[55] Michałowski *et al.*, *Tell Edfou 1939*, 184, cat. no. 149, pl. XX.3, measurements: length 6.2 cm +x, height: 3.0 cm, from tomb 3.
[56] Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum ÄS 7455. *Cf.* Seipel, *Das Vermächtnis der Pharaonen*, 152, cat. no. 78.
[57] Junker, *Bericht über die Grabungen von El-Kubanieh-Nord*, 146, 155, Blatt 23, no. 27. The photo shows the second palette. All of these objects were described by Junker as 'black granite'.
[58] Sparks, *Stone Vessels*, 15-6, cat. no. 15.
[59] Macalister, *Gezer*, vol. II, 310-1, fig. 449.1. The palette is described as 'diorite' and measures 11 x 7.5 cm.
[60] Sparks, *Stone Vessels*, 15-6 and 280, cat. no. 18 shown on fig. 3.1. Cat. no. 16 is of different shape and should not be assigned to this group. *Cf.* Macalister, *Gezer*, vol. III, pl. XLIII.5.
[61] Sparks, *Stone Vessels*.
[62] Petschel, in Haslauer (ed.), *Im Reich der Pharaonen*, 158.

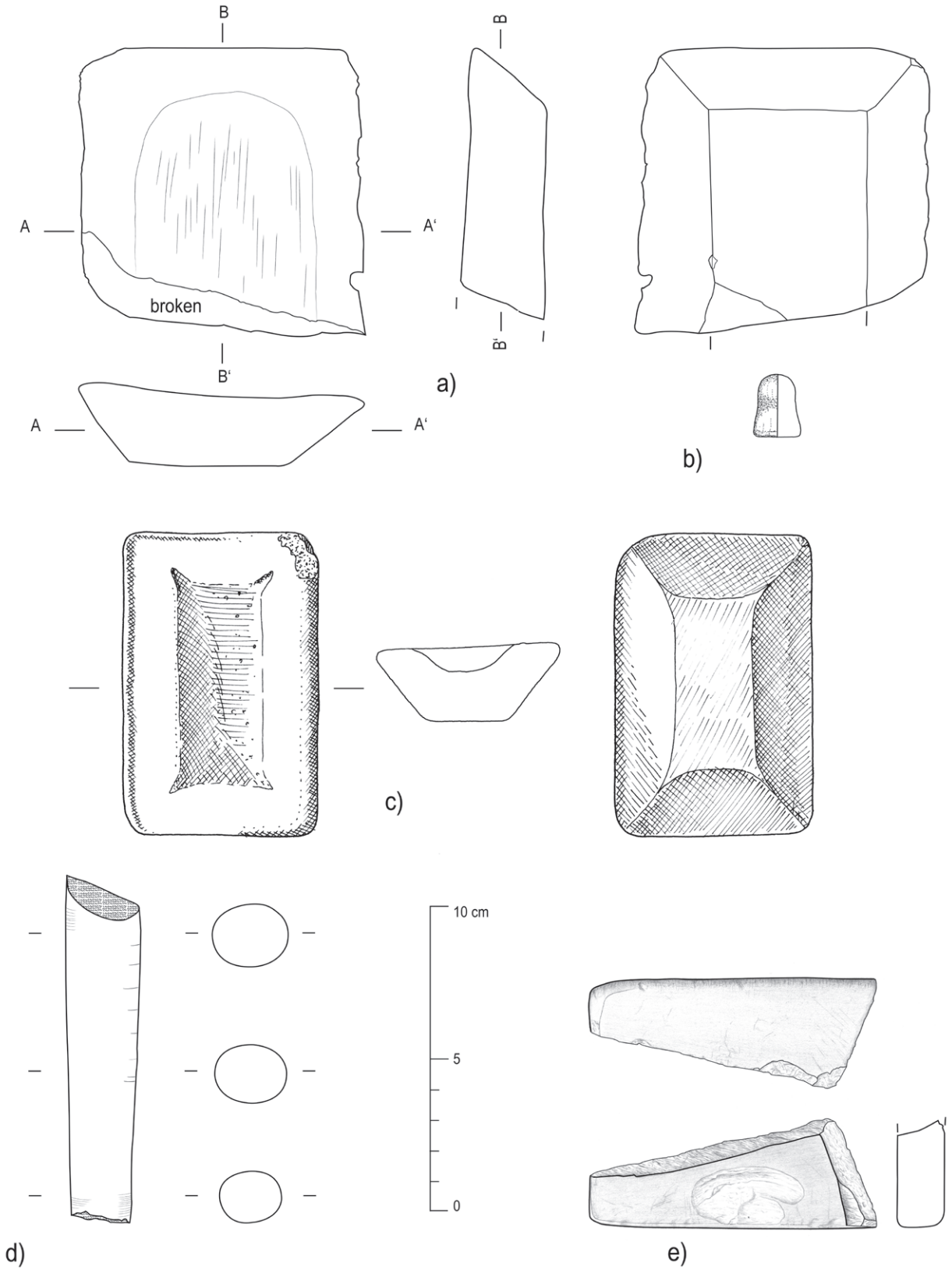

Fig. 1 - a) Palette reg. no. 2392, drawing by the author, KhM, Vienna; b) Grinder reg. no. 1969a, Tell el-Dab‘a Archive; c) Palette reg. no. 1871, Tell el-Dab‘a Archive; d) Cylindrical object reg. no. 1102, drawing by the author, KhM, Vienna; e) Palette reg. no. 3071a2, drawing by M.A. Negrete-Martinez

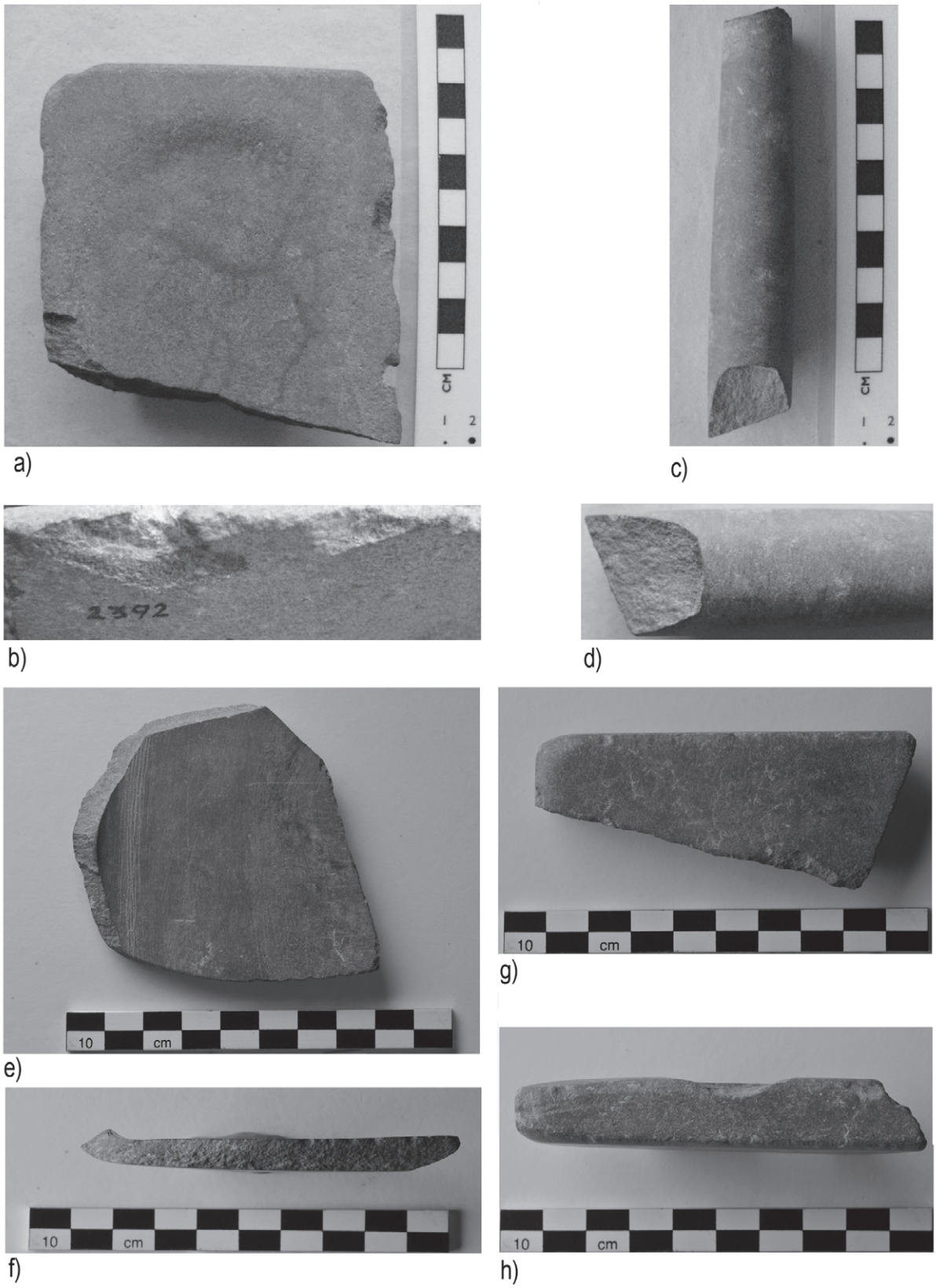

Fig. 2 - a-b). Palette reg. no. 2392, photograph by author with permission of KhM; c-d) Cylindrical object reg. no. 1102, photograph by author with permission of KhM; e-f) Stone vessel fragment reg. no. 3071a2, photograph by A. Krause © ÖAI Kairo; g-h) Palette reg. no. 3071a2, photograph by A. Krause, © ÖAI Kairo

Examples from the settlement
Reg. no. **2392** (Vienna, KhM AS 3594), part of a trapezoid, rectangular palette. Position: A/II-n/10, pl. 4-5, 1.90 m/N, 3.40 m/W, 2.40 m/d (H~ 5.00 m/NN), found inside a wall of relative phase f. Secondary deposition. Phase G/3-1 to F. Records: B/W negative SW1190/42, 44, redrawn and re-recorded. Rectangular palette with a shallow oval depression in the middle (due to wear?) edges damaged, section shows form of irregular trapezoid. In one corner remains of red paint could be observed. The material consists of greenish-grey, dense stone, the surface was polished. The depression in the middle of the object was not sharply delineated. Measurements: length= 9.4 + x cm; width= 8.8 cm; height= 2.3-2.6 cm.

Reg. no. **1871** (Cairo Museum JE 91636), rectangular, trapezoid palette. Position: A/II-k/12, pl. 5, 3.90 m/E; 1.0 m/N; 1.45–1.50 m/d (H= *c.* 4.50 m/NN) measured down from northern section. Phase G/3-1 to F, contemporary with tombs k/12-1 to 3. Records: B/W negatives SW1143/13-14; 1184/44; 1149/2-2A; 3-3A; 2777/1; ZN 195/68, E/26. The palette was made from greenish stone with a rectangular depression in the centre. One corner was damaged. Measurements: length= 9.9 cm; width= 6.2 cm; height= 2.5 cm.[63]

Reg. no. **1969a**, grinder made of greenish stone. Position: A/II-m/13, south eastern corner of test trench along southern section. Phase H to G/4-1. Records: drawing ZN 9/69. Measurements: height= 4.0 cm; max D.= 2.8 cm.

2. Flat rectangular palettes (Figs. 1.e, 2.g-h)
Probably a simpler type of palette is represented by two fragments found in the settlement of the late Middle Kingdom. They consist just of a flat rectangular platter (also described as slab or plate) of up to 2 cm thickness. The shape of the fragments indicates that the corners of the palettes were well executed and that the thickness does not taper towards the edge. Using those palettes for grinding material produces a shallow rather undefined depression on the perceived top of the object. Such a use pattern was observed in reg. no. 3254b, but not in 3071a2.

Possible examples for such flat palettes can again be found in tomb groups of general Middle Kingdom date, for example in tomb 416 at Abydos,[64] although so far no complete parallel for a flat rectangular palette was located.[65] The material remains frequently undescribed.

A function as whetstone is also possible, but the rectangular shape was kept intact as far as preserved and there are not sufficient traces of such usage on the extant pieces to warrant such an interpretation.

Examples from the settlement
Reg. no. **3071a2**, palette fragment. Position: A/II-m–n/14, from baulk, *c.* 3.0 m/E, level H= 4.30 m/NN. Phase G/3-1. Records: B/W negatives SW1466/32A, 34A, drawing ZN 154/80, 78/2008 redrawn and re-recorded. Material: hard greenish stone, very dense. Measurements: length= 8.9 +x cm; width= 3.6 +x cm; thickness= 1.5 cm.

Reg. no. **3254b**, palette fragment. Position: A/II-m/17, pl. 5-6, in north eastern part of square, courtyard, 1.30 m/E, 1.40 m/N, H= 4.78 m/NN, relative stratum e = Phase G/3-1 to F. Records: B/W negatives SW1521/25-26. Material: hard greenish stone, rectangular. Very smooth, probably reused. On the top a shallow depression was noticeable. Measurements: length= 6.0 cm +x; width= 3.8 cm + x; thickness= *c.* 1.9 cm.

3. Cylindrical tapering object (Figs. 1.d, 2.c-d)
No parallels for this object or evidence for its function came forward as yet. The fact that red pigment is adhering to this stone object might hint at a use in combination with grinding of pigments or similar. Another possibility is that the object might have been a handle or foot of a fancy form of stone vessel, but no contemporary ones are known for the Middle Kingdom.[66]

Example from the settlement
Reg. no. **1102** (Vienna, KhM AS 1845), cylindrical, slightly tapering object. Position: A/II-m/13, pl. 7, relative stratum f = Phase G/3-1, exact position not recorded. Records: B/W negative SW1085/30, drawing ZN 19c/68, redrawn and re-recorded. Material is probably siltstone: greenish, very dense and fine grained stone; traces of red paint were visible on the object. The object is very well smoothed, and even polished but broken at both ends. Measurements: length= 11.2 +x; thickness= 1.9-2.3 cm.

4. Open stone vessel fragment (Figs. 3.a, 2.e-f)
Stone dishes and bowls are not very common in the Middle Kingdom at all,[67] thus it is possible that this fragment is much older than the Middle Kingdom.[68]

[63] Bietak, Hein (eds.), *Pharaonen und Fremde*, 170, cat. no. 161.
[64] Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 125, cat. no. 416.A07.35 rectangular but thinner, and 124-5, cat. no. 416.A07.33 with a curved side, catalogue entry with parallels.
[65] If rectangular palettes are located in the literature at all, they are usually bevelled, and if they comprise flat non-tapering ends they have one curved side.
[66] I would like to thank Vera Müller for her comment on early stone vessels. Aston, *Egyptian Stone Vessels*, but no early fancy vessels are mentioned there.
[67] Aston, *Egyptian Stone Vessels*, does not list any open shapes for the Middle Kingdom.
[68] One pre-dynastic rectangular palette with the tell-tale three incisions along the edges (reg. no. 2394) was found in a wall of the late Middle Kingdom settlement of Tell el-Dab'a al-

Example from the settlement
Reg. no. **3071a1**, stone vessel fragment. Position: A/II-m-n/14, from baulk, *c.* 3.0 m/East, level H=4.30 m/NN. Phase G/3-1. Records: B/W negatives SW1466/32A, 34A, drawing ZN 154/80, 79/2008 redrawn and re-recorded. The object shows clear tool marks from the manufacturing process. There are parallel scratched in lines, which may be derived from some turning process. The surface of the dish is only partly well-polished. Material: hard greenish stone, very dense, probably siltstone. Measurements: length=7.0 cm; width=8.0 cm; thickness=0.7 cm.

5. Polished spherical object (Figs. 3.b, 4.a)
Objects of this type are very rarely attested from controlled excavations and are referred to as grinders, pounders or hammers. The fact that this example from Tell el-Dab'a in contrast to others (see below) was extremely well polished with no damage to the surface at all renders the identification as pounder or hammer at least unlikely.[69] First, the object is relatively small and not particularly heavy and second the polishing of the surface would seem as wasted effort, if the object will be damaged anyway during use.

Published parallels for such objects are rare, because they are not very specific or sometimes easy to recognise. A variety of purposes comes to mind for such objects and those undamaged with well executed and polished surfaces are in the majority in museum collections. They are generally labelled as grinders, hammers or pounders. A few examples were identified as polishing stones, some perfectly spherical, from the Lisht North Cemetery, dated to the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasty with a diameter of *c.* 6.0 cm. The stone type was not identified.[70] An undated example found at Qau was made from a greenish stone described as 'basalt' and also very well rounded and polished. This object is described as grinder or pounder although it does not seem to show any broken surfaces.[71] Another one may have been found at Balat in the advanced Second Intermediate Period.[72] One crucial question in understanding the function of these objects is, whether a mere polishing tool really needs to be exactly spherical to do its polishing job, or if this shape is rather a result of its specific use.

Another interpretation for its function is as stone weight of round shape. Especially noteworthy is that one side of the spherical object from Tell el-Dab'a is slightly flattened in a way so it became stable enough not to roll around. Possible parallels for the shape can be found in Petrie's work on weights (form 9, perhaps form 439 although this is usually dated to the Late Period). The size is very similar although the flattened part is more pronounced in Petrie's examples.[73] Moreover, Petrie's examples of this shape of weight are represented in several of his weight standard classes.[74] Similar objects are in the collection of the Petrie Museum unfortunately most of them without provenance and date,[75] but two were found at Lahun.[76] At least one object of similar description is derived from Minet el-Beida/Ugarit in the Levant[77] showing a wide distribution of such shapes of weights, probably quite independently.

In conclusion, it is not certain whether this object was indeed a weight, especially as it does not contain an inscription with numerals. Unfortunately the weight of this object is not known, but even if it was, the dangers of using uninscribed –obvious– weights to sort them into a weight standard has been pointed out quite recently.[78]

Example from the settlement
From sherd collection **K875**, spherical object. Position: A/II-o/17, pl. 3 on a bench-like mud brick feature close to western section, H= 4.17 m/NN, relative stratum c = Phase G/4-1. Redrawn and re-recorded. Material: hard greenish stone, very dense, very well polished, object

though no traces of such an early occupation are proven from the site. It could well have come from nearby much more ancient sites such as Minshat Abu Omar but it is impossible to know by what agent and when.

[69] *Cf.* Petrie, *Weights and Measures*, 5.

[70] Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, from Lisht North cemetery, e.g. MMA 11.151.733, the left example. The other two show several edges.

[71] Petrie Museum UC 20502, measurements 4.5 x 4.4 cm. Weight not given.

[72] Marchand, Soukiassian, *Balat VIII. Une habitat*, 105, 107, 143, 282-3, photo 524. The object consists of sandstone, but is very well smoothed and does not seem to show damage from pounding. Its diameter is similar with 6.6-6.8 cm.

[73] Petrie, *Weights and Measures*, pls. III.9 and V.439. In pls. 27 to 42 two references to 'ball' in the column for the form seem also to corroborate the existence of round(ed) weights, nos. 2097 and 2303 one of them dated by Petrie to the Twenty-third Dynasty. Unfortunately many of the entries with form 9 are undated or dated to the Twenty-third Dynasty suggesting a wide date range for such weights.

[74] Petrie, *Weights and Measures*, *cf.* pls. 27-42: nos. 2099, 2118, 2364, 2401, 2929, 3086, 3177, 4279. The materials are given as 'alabaster', 'grey granite', 'basalt', 'haematite', 'syenite'.

[75] E.g. Petrie Museum UC: 76860, 76861, 76881, 76879, 76869, etc. All of them are very round and polished and of greenish stone.

[76] Petrie Museum UC 27956 and UC 27956 are slightly irregular spherical weights from the settlement of Lahun and made from 'basalt' and 'grey syenite'.

[77] See Louvre AO 11675, from Ugarit, Late Bronze Age, <http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=21410&langue=fr>, accessed 15.04.2015.

[78] Mollat, *M&G* 84, 2045-77.

intact. One side of the object is slightly flattened. Measurements: diameter= 4.8-4.9 cm.

6. Other spherical objects (Fig. 3.c)
Several other spherical objects, but more irregular and lacking the finely polished surface came from various parts of the settlement. Whilst this object type was most probably used for grinding (of flour) or as pounding tool, the objects consist of a variety of stone types. Limestone, quartzite, chert and the same greenish dense hard stone occurred throughout the phases of the late Middle Kingdom settlement. The crucial difference to the last object type is the unfinished even rough surface and quite obvious damage derived from use. Contemporary parallels are rarely to be found in publications[79] or museum databases, where frequently no distinction can be made between 'pounders', 'hammers', 'grinders' and 'weights' as these categories all contain highly polished and well-rounded spherical objects from many sites and periods.[80] Only traces of use hint at the original function(s) although one does not exclude the other and these objects may be addressed as multi-purpose tools.

Examples from the settlement
From sherd collection **K587**, grinder/pounder. Position: A/II-m/16, pl. 4-5, from both sides of the wall in the north west corner, H= 4.30-4.50 m/NN, Phase G/3-1. Material: greenish hard stone, dense, not polished, damaged. Measurements: diameter= 5.4 cm x 5.2 cm; width 3.7 cm.

From sherd collection **K1084**, grinder/pounder. Position: A/II-p/16, pl. 4-5. From wall of building at eastern baulk, H = 4.00-4.30 m/NN, relative stratum c = Phase G/3-1. Old in its context. Material: greenish dense, hard stone. Damaged at one side. Measurements: diameter = 5.5 x 5.2 cm.

7. Cuboid oblong stone object with slightly domed/curved top (Figs. 3.e, 4.c-i; Pl. XIV)
Already at the time of the excavation the cuboid object of greenish stone (reg. no. 3258c) was referred to as stone weight. The general shape with domed top leaves little room for another interpretation, although the present weight does not include an inscription as some of the parallels. Most cuboid stone weights are much smaller and lighter than that from the late Middle Kingdom settlement at Tell el-Dab'a so that it most likely represents multiples of a unit.[81]

Cuboid stone objects with domed tops occur in exhibition catalogues carrying inscriptions naming a king and/or numerals as well as unit designations of certain metals, either gold or copper.[82] Several Middle Kingdom king's names from Senwosret (I) to Amenemhat III,[83] are known from weights and so far all of them are cuboid with more or less rounded edges. Unfortunately most of them lack a provenance. Hitherto there is no reason to doubt the contemporaneity of weights and inscriptions although it is (theoretically) possible that the objects were inscribed at a later time.

Vercoutter first studied a specific period with weights exclusively dated to the Middle Kingdom, and combined all of Petrie's weights, inscribed and uninscribed, that were dated to the Middle Kingdom. Most of those weights are actually oblong/cuboid[84] and he arrived at an average copper unit of 27.5 g, which is about the double amount of the gold standard of that period, ~13.75 g.[85] Those weights were found at Lahun,[86] Quft and Mirgissa.[87] Additional material is derived from Uronarti,[88] although the date of these weights is more difficult to ascertain, and from the cemetery/settlement of Lisht North.[89]

At Elephantine two weights of the same general shape, but smaller dimensions were found in the Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period levels. One was well

[79] Marchand, Soukiassian, *Balat VIII. Une habitat*, 283-5, in ceramic Phases 1-2 equivalent to the Thirteenth Dynasty and 'the early Second Intermediate Period'.

[80] E.g. Petrie Museum UC 27957 is not as well polished as the other spherical weights of Lahun, but still labelled as weight. The original context might have improved our means to interpret such objects, but if found in unspecific situations as at Tell el-Dab'a no additional evidence comes forward.

[81] For caution on imposing weight standards on uninscribed weights see Mollat, *M&G* 84, 2051.

[82] Vercoutter, in Endesfelder *et al.* (eds.), *Ägypten und Kusch*, 437-45. Petruso, *BMFA* 79, 44-7.

[83] E.g. Lacovara, in Lacovara, Teasley Trope, D'Auria (eds.), *The Collector's Eye*, 98. As only the prenomen is mentioned it remains uncertain which of the three Senwosrets is meant. The same holds true for weights from Vienna ÄS 3148 (Griffith, *PSBA* 15, 310, no. 37) and Baltimore accession no. 41.31. Definitely Senwosret III is mentioned on a weight from Mirgissa, *cf.* Vercoutter, in Endesfelder *et al.* (eds.), *Ägypten und Kusch*. A weight in the Louvre, E 9288, made from limestone, provenance unknown is inscribed with the name of Amenemhat III. It mentions also the unit 4 *nwb* with a weight of 50.8 g making the single unit 12.7 g.

[84] Compare the numbers in Vercoutter's tables with the form corpus in Petrie, *Weights and Measures*, pls. 3-8, 27-42. *Cf.* also Weigall, *PSBA* 23, 383-6; Petruso, *BMFA* 79, 44-7.

[85] Vercoutter, in Endesfelder *et al.* (eds.), *Ägypten und Kusch*.

[86] Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, 14-5.

[87] Vercoutter, in Endesfelder *et al.* (eds.), *Ägypten und Kusch*.

[88] Petruso, *BMFA* 79, 44-7.

[89] Cartland, *BMMA* 12/4, 85-90. See also Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York collections database, e.g. MMA 22.1.798, 22.1.796: inscribed with three strokes yielding a single unit of 27.016 g; MMA 15.3.608, 15.3.607, 22.1.794, 16.3.4, 22.1.792, etc. These weights show wide variation as to forms (square, cuboid, brick shaped, various thicknesses, with and without rounded tops) and materials (diorite, 'alabaster', limestone, granite, sandstone, etc.).

smoothed and described as 'dark hard stone, perhaps amphibolite' weighing 71 g with a marking of five parallel strokes on the rounded top (3.6 x 4.0 x 2.2 cm), and the other, broken one as 'diorite' with a preserved weight of 174 g (4.2 x 6.0 cm preserved).[90]

The study of weights in general concentrated on proving that weight standards were in use in ancient Egypt and to date there is a consensus about the existence of several such standards. They are thought to have been used at the same time, presumably for different commodities, but the number of these standards varies in the opinion of researchers,[91] as well as the origin of at least some of those standards.[92] This approach largely neglected dating, shape and material of weights.[93] Cour-Marty was able to show that the general shape of the weights themselves changed over time as well as the weight standard units, but because only 4% of the weights are inscribed with units and/or commodities (gold and copper only)[94] it is currently not possible to connect any further weight shapes with particular commodities.

Thus, it seems that cuboid weights are particularly frequent in the Middle Kingdom and perhaps in the Second Intermediate Period as well. Petrie arrived at relatively wide date ranges for his shape types 'square, edges greatly rounded', 'square, edges less rounded', 'square, edges slightly rounded', 'oblong', 'cylindrical top' and 'pillow', but they all include the Middle Kingdom.[95] The shapes that appear most frequently in Petrie's various charts and are dateable to the Middle Kingdom are his types 55, 62, 625, 63, 64, 642, 646, 65, 653, 658, 66, 691, 692, 694, 696.[96] Cour-Marty arrived at a similar conclusion. Most of the Middle Kingdom weights belong to her 'square and oblong class 7' and the most frequent materials belong to a collective group of 'minerals' including quartz and serpentine and another comprising limestone, travertine ('alabaster') and sandstone. Basalt, diorite and granite occur quite frequently, too. Nevertheless, Cour-Marty's work also shows that cuboid weights occur at all times albeit in significantly smaller percentages in the later periods.[97] Whilst these results lead the way, more detailed studies of the material itself with new assessments of material, shapes, weights and traces of usage are necessary to gain a more detailed picture and avoid circular arguments.[98]

Example from the settlement

Reg. no. **3258c** (Tell el-Dab'a magazine), stone weight, slightly damaged. Position: A/II-n/18, pl. 7-8, from fill in south east corner of square, in the courtyard of a house, H = 4.14–4.30 m/NN.[99] Phase G/4-1. Records: B/W negative 1523/27-28, drawing ZN 11/1980, redrawn and re-recorded. Material: hard greenish stone, very dense, probably siltstone. The object is rectangular, with a slightly domed top. The edges were worked very carefully and the object was very well smoothed although very fine scratches are visible. The surface does not seem to have been polished. Considerable damage was done to the object: it is very chipped around the edges of its top and bottom, the right top corner is missing. The long sides are also quite chipped along the edges. These features might have resulted from the use of the object as a tool to pound something hard. It would seem unlikely that such damage could have resulted just from being kicked about the courtyard where it was found. Meas-

[90] von Pilgrim, *Elephantine XVIII. Untersuchungen*, 274, fig. 119.d-.c.

[91] 8 standards: Petrie, *Weights and Measures*, vi, and passim. 8 'Normen': Karwiese, in Czerny *et al.* (eds.), *Timelines,* 172. But note that he assigned one and the same weight to two different norms: p. 179, Petrie's no. 2132, eleventh line from bottom (it does not correspond to Cour-Marty, in Berger, Mathieu (eds.), *Études sur l'Ancien Empire*, no. 53 but to her no. 44) is the same as on p. 181, sixth line from the bottom given as CM44, which is Petrie's no. 2132. 18 standards: Mollat, *M&G* 84, 2062.

[92] According to Petrie, *Weights and Measures*, 13-5, 17-9 only the 'kedet' and 'gold' standard are of Egyptian origin. Karwiese, in Czerny *et al.* (eds.), *Timelines,* 173 sees a strong Mesopotamian influence on the weights, especially on those of Deir el-Medina. Cour-Marty, in Berger, Mathieu (eds.), *Études sur l'Ancien Empire*, 130, on the other hand does not think that the Shekel is present in the Egyptian weight system of the Old Kingdom, because the weights are very typical and occur certainly but only in the Late Period.

[93] E.g. Petrie, Karwiese, and Mollat.

[94] Cour-Marty, *CRIPEL* 12, 21-7. Cour-Marty, in Berger, Mathieu (eds.), *Études sur l'Ancien Empire*, 129-30. Karwiese, in Czerny *et al.* (eds.), *Timelines,* 173, maintains that all standards existed from very early on, without being more specific.

[95] Petrie, *Weights and Measures*, 2, 4-7, 10.

[96] *Op. cit.*, pls. 6-7. Note that those shapes are kept separate by Cour-Marty in her rhomboid class, which seems not to have been discussed at all. *Cf.* Cour-Marty, *CRIPEL* 12, fig. 10 and passim.

[97] Cour-Marty, *CRIPEL* 12, 26-7 and 54-5 with fig. 26, class 7.

[98] All modern studies of ancient Egyptian weights take the work of Petrie as the basic source of research as it gives details for thousands of objects. The measurements are probably as accurate as they can be for Petrie's day because he used a "new commercial balance by Becker" but he took "70 weighings an hour" (p. 3-4). The form classification seems in need of a re-evaluation, as e.g. Petrie Museum UC 27935 from Lahun does not really correspond to shape 64 on pl. 6, as well as the rock classification. Uncertain provenance and dating of many finds complicate conclusions on developments of weight units, shapes and materials as unprovenanced examples were assigned a date by shape or material.

[99] This description is taken from the original find slip kept together with the object. The register book contains a different description ("from pit in south east corner of square").

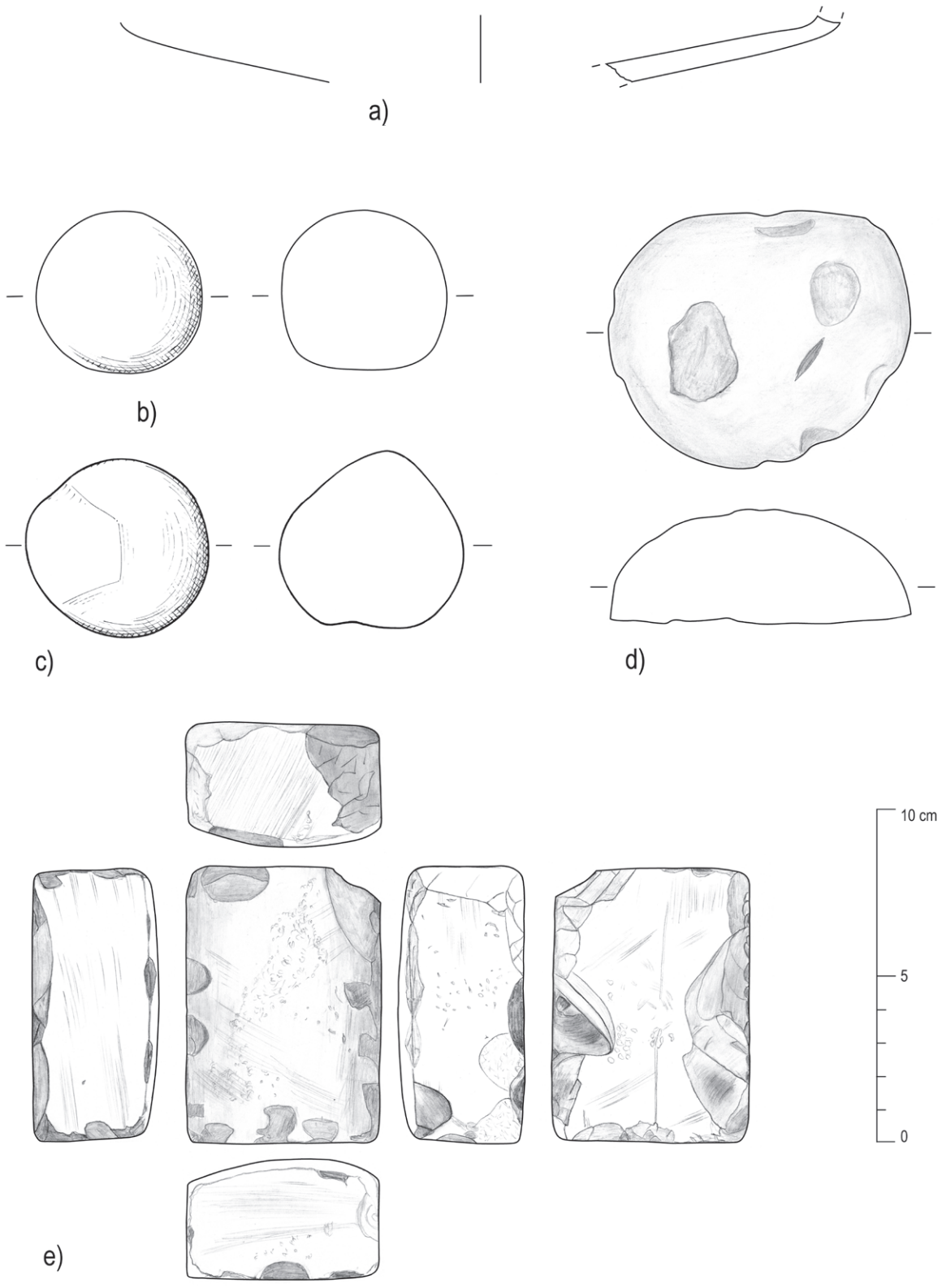

Fig. 3 - a) Stone vessel fragment reg. no. 3071a2, drawing by M.A. Negrete-Martinez; b) Polisher/weight reg. no. K875, drawing by the author; c) Pounder/grinder reg. no. K1084, drawing by the author, inked by W. Schenck; d) Grinder/hammer reg. no. K1027, drawing by the author; e) Weight reg. no. 3258c, drawing by the author

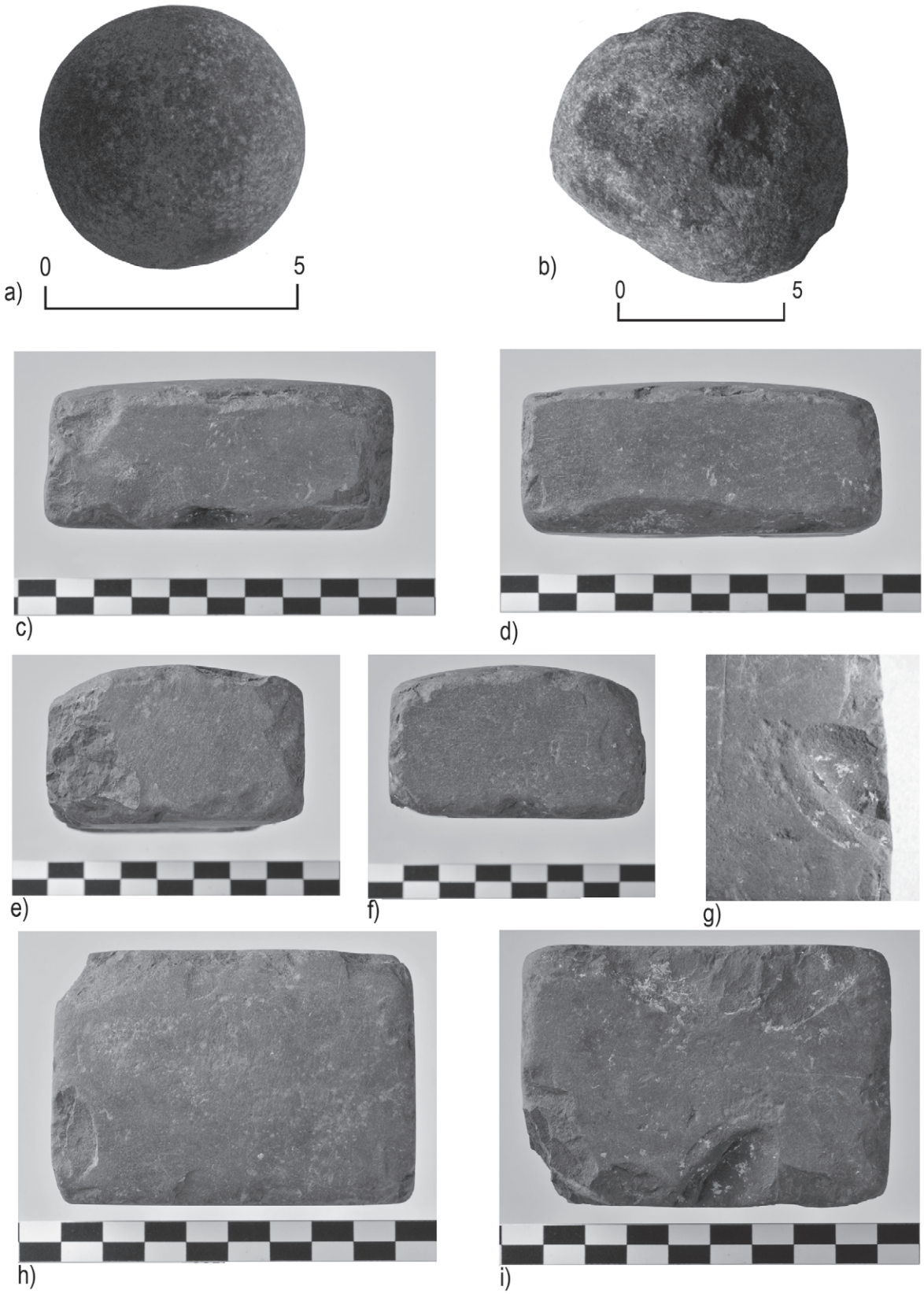

Fig. 4 - a) Polisher/weight reg. no. K875, photograph by the author; b) Grinder/hammer reg. no. 1027, photograph by the author; c-f, h-i) Weight reg. no. 3258c, photograph by A. Krause, © ÖAI Cairo; g) Weight reg. no. 3258c, photograph by the author

urements: length= 8.3 cm; width= 5.8 cm; height= 3.7 cm, current weight 404g.

8. Hemispherical object (Figs. 3.d, 4.b)
For this type of object, a spherical stone broken in half with irregular surfaces and quite damaged, no exact parallels are known from a settlement. The stone fragment might perhaps have been part of a statue (?) that was re-used as tool.

Example from the settlement
From sherd collection **K1027**, grinder/pounder. Position: A/II-o/17, laying on top of pl. 5, from south west corner, H= 3.92-4.05 m/NN, relative stratum e = Phase G/4-1. Probably already from below the house Phase G/3-1. Damaged on top in the form of hollows and holes. Material: hard dense dark green stone with some lighter veins, fine grained.

Discussion

Searching for the combination of the object groups presented here, the only site with similar finds is the settlement of Lahun excavated more than 100 years ago. In contrast to Lahun the stone type of the objects from Tell el-Dab'a is more uniform being of greenish dense hard stone. Apart from those stone objects there were only a few more stone vessel fragments of travertine ('calcite'/'alabaster') and rough to very rough limestone or sandstone implements for flour grinding to be found as well as some querns and mortars. All of these consist of different stone types.

It is noteworthy that both spherical and cuboid weights seem to occur at the same time at the settlement of Lahun[100] as well as trapezoid palettes thus ascertaining a similar range of object types available to the inhabitants there although it seems very likely that by the time they were deposited at Tell el-Dab'a they were already old due to the intrinsic value of stone in the stoneless Delta. An exception is the spherical weight found on top of a bench inside a house, which may well be contemporary.

There is no obvious spatial clustering of those stone objects in any location of the late Middle Kingdom settlement area A/II at Tell el-Dab'a, and, perhaps not unexpectedly, most of them came from fill or trash deposits and walls. It is, thus, unfortunate that the function of some of these implements still remains quite unclear although consideration of surface treatments and use traces may lead to a better awareness of possible criteria for classification, especially with regard to pounders, grinders, polishers and weights.

Although no in depth consideration of weights and their use in settlements of the late Middle Kingdom can be offered here, there seem to have been a variety of types and standards in use at the same time. The assignation of uninscribed weights to weight standards remains tentative at best, thus, it is difficult to impose any standard units onto them, but Vercoutter could show that particularly oblong cuboid weights fit well his copper unit of *c.* 26-28.3 g averaging at 27.5 g.[101] Applied to the cuboid weight found at Tell el-Dab'a, which is unfortunately damaged, it might have represented that standard as 15 times 27.5 g results in 412.5 g and its actual weight is 404 g. At the same time it is perfectly possible, if unlikely that the same weight could amount to 30 units of the gold standard, which is currently thought to be half the copper standard in the Middle Kingdom.[102] However, it is extremely difficult to estimate the missing mass, thus it is perhaps wiser not to speculate.

Cuboid weights were also thought to be essentially in use at sites where metals were worked,[103] and at Tell el-Dab'a there is some evidence for such a supposition, because several stone casting moulds for the production of metal tools were found in area A/II[104] and F/I.[105] Although one would imagine that sites with such activities should be recognisable by the presence of kilns and large amounts of slag and ash to mark them as industrial sites, no such features were specifically noted during the excavation in area A/II. Although in some places ash layers of remarkable depth were noted, no industrial kilns were located. The fact that the cuboid weight was not found in context is not surprising as it shows traces of heavy reuse, clearly being conveniently at hand for some secondary pounding task giving objects like this a very long and varied use-life.

Compared with the thousands of finds made in the late Middle Kingdom settlement located in area A/II at Tell el-Dab'a the proportion of stone objects is minis-

[100] Note that there is a sizeable occupation of the settlement of Lahun also in later periods as identified by Petrie himself, Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, 15.

[101] Vercoutter, in Endesfelder *et al.* (eds.), *Ägypten und Kusch*.

[102] Note one piece with an inscription of Senwosret and *nwb* 6. As it weighs 75 g one unit would be 12.5 g. *Cf.* Lacovara, in Lacovara, Trope, D'Auria (eds.), *The Collector's Eye*, 98. Similarly the weight with the inscription of Amenemhat III in the Louvre weighs 50.8 g with 4 units of *nwb* resulting in 12.7 g for the single unit. This standard applied to our weight would lead to 32 units. 35 units would weigh 437.5 g.

[103] Cour-Marty, *CRIPEL* 12, 22. Cour-Marty, in Berger, Mathieu (eds.), *Études sur l'Ancien Empire*, 131 for the Old Kingdom.

[104] Reg. no. 4588, made of limestone, Phase G/3-1, found in an open area between houses.

[105] Müller, *Das Stadtviertel F/I in Tell el-Dab'a/Auaris*, vol. I, 369; vol. II, 96-106.

cule, attesting either to the attractiveness of such objects, so they were re-used many times over and not easily dumped in ordinary trash deposits or the distance to stone quarries was too great or the special material was too expensive to be brought along in higher quantities in the first place. As in many other instances there are not many contemporary data sets to which to compare those of Tell el-Dab‘a, in order to judge whether it is actually normal to find so few hard stone objects in a settlement or not.

The general frequency with which stone objects were found as well as the dissatisfying information on contexts and a long use-life make it extremely difficult to speculate about distribution patterns and availability of such items, even more so if specific stone types are in the focus of study. As the identification of particular and rarer rock types and distributions of such objects within Egypt are still very difficult to discern, a long way of research is still ahead of us and collaborations with trained geologists or at least thorough instruction are sorely needed. Thus, stone objects housed in museums round the world continue to provide an immensely rich field of research and promise improvement of our knowledge about everyday life in ancient Egypt for the future.

Acknowledgements
This research was financed by an Elise Richter Project of the Austrian Science Fund (no. V147-G21). The author also greatfully acknowledges permission to work with this material by M. Bietak, I. Forstner-Müller and the Austrian Archaeological Institute.

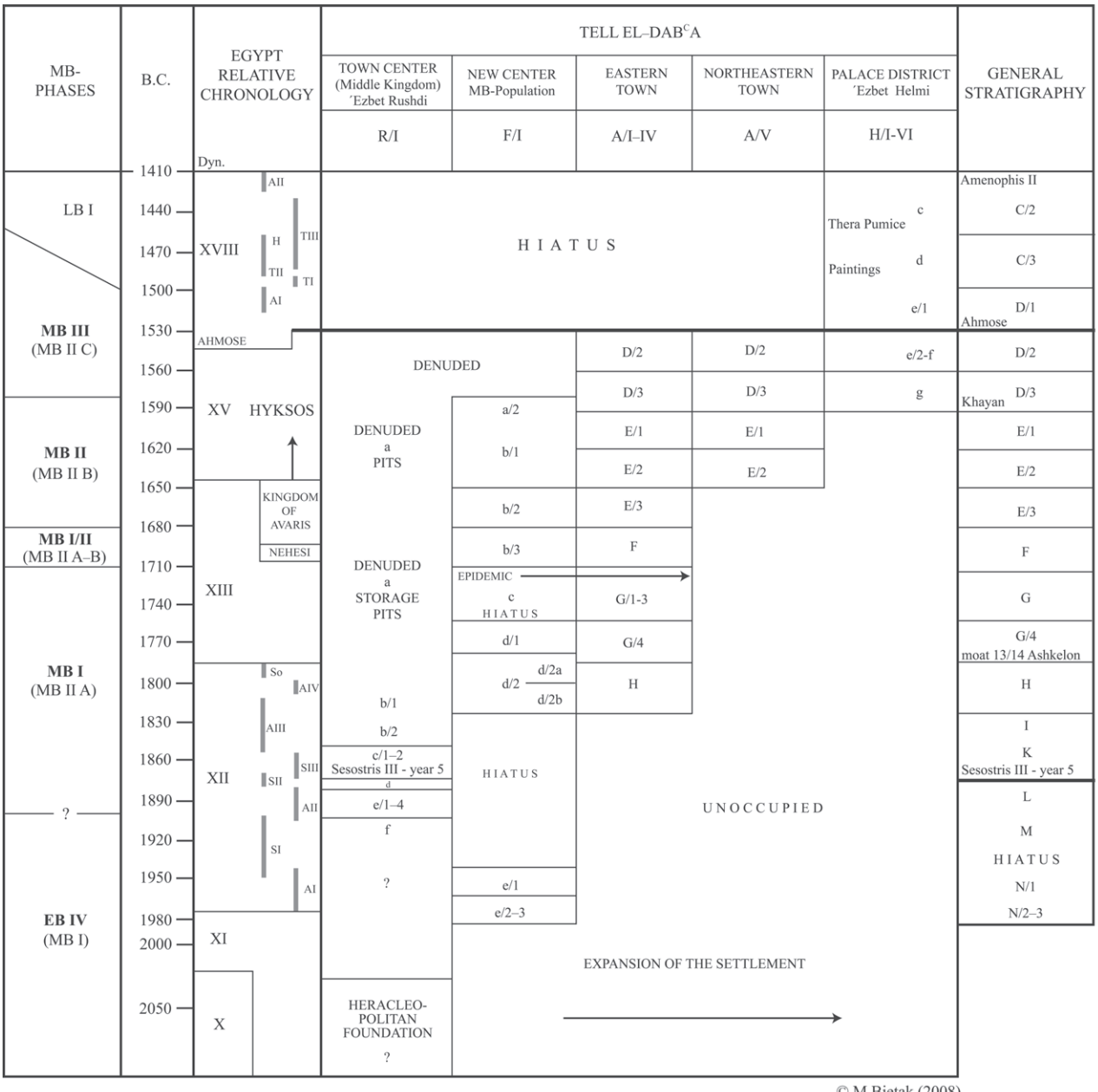

Table 1 -Stratigraphic chart of excavation areas at Tell el-Dab‘a

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Late Middle Kingdom or Late Period? Re-Considering the "Realistic" Statue Head, Munich ÄS 1622

Helmut Brandl

Abstract

A stunning quartzite head from a block statue exhibiting highly individual facial traits (Munich, ÄS 1622) is widely believed to have been sculpted during the Late Period, more precisely, during the "transitional period" of the late Twenty-fifth to early Twenty-sixth Dynasty. This dating and the identification of the subject as the Theban dignitary Montuemhat of the seventh century BC are re-considered. The comparison of ÄS 1622 with other well-dated sculptures and especially with the head of the high-priest of Ptah Nebpu in the statue group Louvre A 47 of late Twelfth Dynasty date points to a Memphite origin and late Middle Kingdom dating for ÄS 1622 which may be another representation of Nebpu.

Ancient Egyptian sculpture with non-idealising physiognomy is known from as early as the Old Kingdom.[1] 'Realistic' portraiture displaying a high degree of individuality, both royal and non-royal, must, however, be considered exceptional before the Late Period when 'realism' became, alongside idealisation, a widely used option, reaching its quantitative peak in the Greco-Roman Period.[2] Individualised Egyptian statuary of the dynastic period is usually very attractive and a focus of interest in every collection of ancient Egyptian art fortunate enough to count an outstanding example among its possessions. The work of art, which is the topic of the present study, is among the highlights of the Museum of Egyptian Art in Munich (ÄS 1622). It is a well under life-size quartzite head with a portion of the left shoulder and back also preserved that depicts a middle-aged official with strikingly individual, full facial features. The individuality expressed is such that one is led to ask how realistic this representation may be and whether it mirrors the actual physiognomy of a historic personality. The object is currently labelled as a representation of Montuemhat, the famous Upper Egyptian prince and mayor of Thebes at the turn of the Twenty-fifth to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty in the seventh century BC - an archaising sculpture inspired by much earlier works of the late Middle Kingdom. However, as the provenance is not known, and no accompanying inscriptions are preserved, every approach to dating it rests purely on art historical considerations. In the past this has resulted in various, differing assessments. Furthermore, the dating proposed below differs from the current labelling.

Although the object has been known for more that 80 years, it will be useful to give a brief idea of its character and present appearance (*cf.* Figs. 1-4, 6, 8, 10, 14-15).

The fragment is believed to belong to a block statue since the small preserved portion of the left upper arm appears to be raised nearly horizontally. However, there are no traces of a dorsal pillar; rather a vertical groove sculpted on the slightly rounded back indicates the spinal column. The complete statue showed the subject squatting on a base, his lower arms crossed above the drawn-up legs with the limbs relatively recognisable (although they may have been enveloped in a garment). The statue could originally have measured 100 cm or slightly more in height, but comparing the height of the face with the dimensions of well-preserved block statues, a total height of 80 to 90 cm appears to be more probable.[3]

[1] Bothmer, *Expedition* 24/2, 27-39. Reprinted in Cody (ed.), *Egyptian Art*, 371-93.

[2] Bothmer, *Quaderni de 'La ricerca scientifica'* 116, 47-65. Reprinted in Cody (ed.), *Egyptian Art*, 407-31; Kaiser, *MDAIK* 55, 237-51; Josephson, O'Rourke, Fazzini, *MDAIK* 61, 219-41.

[3] The fragment is 38.5 cm tall, 37 cm wide, and 33 cm deep. The distance from the hair line down to the chin is 13.3 cm. The basis for estimating the statue's original height consists of the available data on block statues of the Twenty-second Dynasty (though mainly such which display a more 'strict' block shape of the squatting body), e.g. Cairo CG 42232 (height of the face without beard: 10.5 cm; height of the body without base: 60.5 cm; total height of the statue: 72.5 cm), Cairo CG 559 (height of the face without beard: 13.5 cm, *i.e.*, almost the same as Munich, ÄS 1622; height of the body without the – exceptionally high– base: 68 cm; total height of the statue: 102

The man wears a bulky, plain bag wig which rests on the shoulders and covers much of the forehead. Only a small part of his natural hair (rendered as plain trapezoidal sections) remains visible at the temples. A stylised, block-like beard (incised horizontal lines to denote curly hair)[4] is at the chin. The fragment appears to have been well-smoothed but not highly polished. The subject's face is relatively long and rather rectangular. It still makes a very lively impression, despite considerable damage which doubtlessly diminishes somewhat the impression it must have made when complete, and painting may have once enhanced its appearance. The nose is missing; several abrasions and chips effect the mouth and the left eyebrow in particular. Prominent features include high cheekbones, fleshy cheeks, a strong jaw, and broad chin. The small eyes**,** placed high in the face and rather close to each other, appear stunningly realistic. With softly modelled irises, sharply marked eyelids, and bags under the lower eyelids, they are set in deep sockets of near triangular shape slanting towards the temples. No incised lines or ridges in raised relief delineate the brows. Most impressive are the deep diagonal folds which extend downwards from the inner corners of the eyes and either side of the nostrils (Figs. 14-15). They give the face a pronounced lined appearance, which the barely down-turned corners of the slightly asymmetrical mouth enhance: a short crease is very clearly visible at the left corner but its counterpart at the left is barely noticeable. Contrasting with this 'realism' are the unnaturally oversized well-modelled ears that protrude from the wig in raised relief.

The modern history of the sculpture begins with Friedrich-Wilhelm von Bissing, its first known owner who published the initial study of it in 1932.[5] After considering various dating possibilities including the late Middle Kingdom and the Late Period (and employing comparative criteria now outdated), von Bissing decided that it could have been made in the late Eighteenth Dynasty.

His verdict was rejected (and never defended again) in favour of another proposal made seven years later by Alexander Scharff when he published another study of the head (in the meantime the piece had been acquired for Munich's Glyptothek);[6] Scharff favoured two alternative dating options for the sculpture on which scholarly discussion of the piece have focused ever since, namely the late Middle Kingdom and the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. Scharff thoroughly considered both options and finally chose –with due reserve– the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (*c*. 722-*c*. 655 BC)[7]. He believed the sculpture was archaising, and he speculated about a possible Thirteenth Dynasty prototype.[8]

Over the years the extraordinary portrait head was variously cited and illustrated in a number of specialised publications and Scharff's proposed dating essentially adopted, though occasionally narrowed or with some emendation.

The first scholar after Scharff to comment in print on the date of Munich ÄS 1622 was Bernard V. Bothmer; he briefly referred to it in the catalogue of the 1960 Brooklyn exhibition on Egyptian Late Period sculpture.[9] Bothmer, too, believed that the head represented a work of the Late Period; his dating was somewhat more precise as he stated that the head was from the *late* Twenty-fifth or the *early* Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

Hans Wolfgang Müller, a former student of Scharff in Munich and a collaborator of Bothmer in the Brooklyn Late Period sculpture exhibition project, agreed with Bothmer's dating proposal of Twenty-fifth/Twenty-sixth Dynasty and stood firm for it from 1961 on.[10] He first began to speculate in print about a possible identification of the subject as Montuemhat in 1972,[11]

cm); Cairo CG 42225 (height of the face without beard: 18 cm; height of the body without base: 87 cm; total height of the statue: 110 cm); Cairo CG 42226 (height of the face without beard: 15.8 cm; height of the body without base: 87.5 cm; total height of the statue: 110 cm); for all quoted measurements see Brandl, *Untersuchungen zur steinernen Privatplastik der Dritten Zwischenzeit*, 160 (CG 42232), 113 (CG 559), 149 (CG 42225), and 151 (CG 42226).

[4] Schulz, *Die Entwicklung und Bedeutung des kuboiden Statuentypus*, vol. II, 625; *cf*. Brandl, *Untersuchungen zur steinernen Privatplastik der Dritten Zwischenzeit*, 389, fig. 54.

[5] von Bissing, *BAB* 7, no. 1, 1-6.

[6] Scharff, *ZÄS* 75, 93-100.

[7] Hornung, Krauss, Warburton (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 494.

[8] Scharff, *ZÄS* 75, 100: "Unter Abwägung all dieser Gesichtspunkte möchte ich also mit den nötigen Vorbehalten in dem Münchner Kopf den Porträtkopf eines im gereiften Mannesalter stehenden, hohen Beamten der 25. Dyn. sehen, den der Künstler nach einem Vorbild des späten MR. (13. Dyn.) gearbeitet hat".

[9] Bothmer, Müller, de Meulenaere, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*, 83. The head was cited for its "tabs which protrude from under the wig and which (…) mark the natural hair (…)".

[10] Müller, Wessel, von Beckerath, *5000 Jahre Aegyptische Kunst*, 10, cat. 127: "Das Altersgesicht mit den verkniffenen Augen und den Mundfalten greift zwar auf Bildnistypen des ausgehenden Mittleren Reiches zurück, gehört aber in dieser realistischen Ausprägung der Züge eindeutig der ausgehenden 25. oder der beginnenden 26. Dynastie an".

[11] Müller, in *Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst* (1972), 86, cat. 79: "Das bedeutendste Werk der Altersbildnisse in der Spätzeit ist das des Fürsten Monthemhêt im Museum zu Kairo. Vermutlich gehört der Münchner Kopf zu einem Würfelhocker dieses Fürsten".

an opinion which he reiterated in 1975[12] and 1976.[13] By that time the sculpture's attribution to the Late Period was firmly established and adopted by other scholars.[14]

In 1984 Dietrich Wildung presented the Munich sculpture in a popular book on Middle Kingdom art and culture as a Late Period work. He considered that the head had been regarded as a typical work of the late Twelfth Dynasty for a long time before it was proven, through detailed stylistic comparison, that the sculptor had only been inspired by works of the Middle Kingdom.[15] Wildung added that the sculpture might come from Memphis. This statement implicitly rejected Müller's 'Montuemhat option' which would have pointed to an Upper Egyptian (Theban) origin of the work; however, Wildung did not give a reason for the alternative geographic attribution, and the speculation about a possible Memphite origin of the sculpture remained unexplained.

In 1988 Donald Spanel called the Munich head an example of Late Period archaism which revived the features of Middle Kingdom sculpture.[16]

Five years later Sylvia Schoske attributed it to the "transitional period from the Twenty-fifth to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, c. 660-650 BC",[17] a dating which she confirmed in 1995.[18]

Wildung, five years later, repeated his claim that the head had been regarded as a work of the late Twelfth Dynasty for a long time before it was recognised as a work from the time around 650 BC.[19] This statement was probably related to the author's erroneous claim that Scharff had assigned the head to the Middle Kingdom (ignoring von Bissing's earlier Eighteenth Dynasty proposal);[20] in the same publication Wildung further noted that "the most recent research re-dates it [*i.e.* the head, ÄS 1622] once more to the Middle Kingdom".

The results of this research apparently survived only briefly since Wildung as well as Schoske soon ignored it. In 2010 the latter dated the head once again "um 660 v. Chr.",[21] while most recently Schoske and Wildung jointly revived Müller's idea that the head could represent Montuemhat. By contrast to Müller, however, the authors recognised a "strong similarity" between ÄS 1622 and early (?) representations of Montuemhat.[22]

Unsurprisingly, the history of the Munich quartzite head does not end at this point. Dating uninscribed and fragmentary 'realistic' sculptures is difficult[23] and at

[12] Müller, *MJbK* 26, 3, pl. 26, 11.

[13] Müller, in *Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst* (1976), 155, no. 96 (with identical description as in Müller, *Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst* (1972), 86, cat. 79 (see n. 11).

[14] Altenmüller, Hornbostel, *Das Menschenbild im Alten Ägypten*, 78, cat. 30: "Das Porträt lehnt sich an Bildwerke des ausgehenden Mittleren Reiches an, bei denen die schweren Oberlider, die Tränensäcke, die hervortretenden Backenknochen und die nach unten gezogenen Mundwinkel eine ähnliche Gestaltung gefunden haben".

[15] Wildung, *Sesostris und Amenemhet*, 19: "Lange Zeit galt dieser Kopf einer Würfelstatue als typisches Werk der späten 12. Dynastie. Erst detaillierte stilistische Vergleiche beweisen, dass der Künstler dieses Porträts sich von Werken des Mittleren Reiches inspirieren ließ".

[16] Spanel, *Through Ancient Eyes: Egyptian Portraiture*, 15.

[17] Schoske, *Egyptian Art*, 47, cat. 41: "A restrained aggression belonging to the Kushite era and a concentration of the facial expression at the base of the nose distinguish this piece from those of the Middle Kingdom and make it possible to date it to the period of transition from the Twenty-fifth to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty".

[18] Schoske, *Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst*, 61, fig. 62: "Die gerunzelte Stirn über der Nasenwurzel, die angespannten Brauen und Lider bestimmen den leicht schmerzlich wirkenden Ausdruck dieses Gesichtes, wie er nur bei den archaisierenden Bildnissen der Spätzeit, nicht aber bei ihren Vorbildern zu finden ist".

[19] Wildung, *Ägypten – 2000 v. Chr.*, 166: "Der Quarzitkopf (Kat. 85) galt lange als ein Werk der späten 12. Dynastie, bevor er in seinem kühlen Formalismus als eine Arbeit der Zeit um 650 v. Chr. erkannt wurde".

[20] Wildung, in Tait (ed.), *'Never Had the Like Occurred'*, 65: "A quartzite head in Munich […] first published as a work of the Middle Kingdom (Scharff 1939) […]".

[21] Schoske, in Schoske, Grimm, *Friedrich Wilhelm Freiherr von Bissing*, 154, cat. 42: "Die verhaltene Aggressivität des Ausdrucks und der ungeschönte Realismus der Gesichtszüge sprechen eindeutig für die späte Datierung. Unter dem Einfluss der kuschitischen Dynastie aus dem Nordsudan tendiert das Menschenbild dieser Zeit zu extremem Realismus".

[22] Schoske, Wildung, *Das Münchner Buch der Ägyptischen Kunst*, 139: "Den Realismus der kuschitischen Skulptur als engste stilistische Parallele heranzuziehen, wird nahegelegt durch die Statuen des Monthemhet […]. Obwohl von rein ägyptischer Abkunft, ließ er sich zu Beginn seiner Karriere unter den Kuschiten im Stil des afrikanisch geprägten Königsbildnisses darstellen. Die starke Ähnlichkeit des Quarzitkopfes mit diesen Bildnissen und die beachtliche Größe der Würfelstatue, von der er gebrochen ist, legen es nahe, den Dargestellten als Monthemhet zu bezeichnen". For Müller's awareness of the lack of similarity between ÄS 1622 and the 'realistic' Theban representations of Montuemhat, see Müller, *MJbK* 26, 3, pl. XXVI, 11: "Möglicherweise stellt er den 'Stadtfürsten' selbst dar, obwohl keine formalen Übereinstimmungen mit jenem berühmten Kopf aus dem Mut-Tempel (…) oder anderen Altersbildnissen Monthemhêts festzustellen sind".

[23] *Cf.* Bothmer, *Egyptian Antiquities*, 2-6, cat. 2 (M. Hill kindly pointed out to me that this 'realistic' dark hardstone head which Bothmer attributed to the Thirteenth Dynasty re-appeared at Sotheby's in 1999 reattributed to the "Kushite Period"); see also Russmann, *Eternal Egypt*, 117-8, cat. 42, where she discusses a sandstone head of a "man with a shaven cranium" (BM EA 64350) previously assigned to the late Dynastic/ the Greco-Roman Period but which she argues should be attributed

times proves impossible to reach a definitive decision.[24] However, the reasons for affirming the Late Period date which was –mainly instinctively–[25] assigned to the Munich head by Scharff, and especially the identification of the subject as Montuemhat, may not appear conclusive or convincing to everyone today. Moreover, the only attribution of the piece to the late Middle Kingdom which can be cited was but short-lived and rapidly dismissed by its originator himself, without further explanation. Seventy-five years after Scharff's appropriately careful Kushite Period attribution, the sculpture merits a thorough re-consideration based on comparisons with well-dated sculptures of both the Late Period and the late Middle Kingdom. The evidence brought to bear on the question discussed below may stand at least for the moment in favour of the earlier option.

But first a word about the attribution of the Munich block statue head to Montuemhat. Comparing the facial features of this head, Munich ÄS 1622, with the two known 'realistic' statues of Montuemhat cited in the past as testimony in favour of the suggested identity of the Munich sculpture –*viz*. the highly polished black granite 'bust' Cairo CG 647 (Fig. 20), and the similarly well-polished black granite striding statue Cairo CG 42236 (Fig. 21)– the differences are rather evident.[26] The physiognomy of Montuemhat's 'realistic' depictions is so distinctive and, as I believe, recognisable that I regard it unlikely that ÄS 1622 could possibly represent the same person as CG 647 and CG 42236. The faces of those two sculptures clearly resemble each other, although they appear to depict the official at different ages.[27] Montuemhat's 'realistic' statues depict him with a full oval face, elongated almond-shaped eyes and eyebrows in raised relief. His wide mouth is rendered in a rather stylised way. Such features are missing from ÄS 1622, while the prominent cheekbones, flat cheeks, and massive jaw which characterise ÄS 1622 so pronouncedly are absent from both CG 647 and CG 42236. Furthermore, there is no stylistic resemblance whatsoever between the Munich sculpture and what remains of the two Theban block statues of Montuemhat.[28]

The 'rough realism' of the Munich block statue head seems quite different not only from the 'realism' displayed by the statues of Montuemhat but also from that of other Kushite or Saite dignitaries such as the Theban Petamenophis (Fig. 22),[29] and also the elaborate, softly modelled portrait head of a (Memphite?) anonymous aged official in the British Museum (Fig. 23).[30] Of course, there are Late Period statues which may seem to display a similar facial expression as ÄS 1622, but on them it appears milder. The late Saite or Persian Period naophorous statue of Amenhotep in the British Museum (Fig. 24)[31] whose face displays markedly raised eyebrows perhaps indicating religious devotion, may be quoted in this context. Also the exceptionally sensitively sculpted basalt head (from another naophorous statue?) in the Bastis collection[32] comes to mind here. A similar expression of 'concern' is found in the face of a highly polished statue head of an anonymous official in Berlin (Fig. 25),[33] which displays very fine creases above the brow and crow's feet. It may be the youngest of the five sculptures quoted in this paragraph.

The 'stylised realism' of these faces –as well as the bag wig they wear– is likely to have been influenced by

to the Thirteenth Dynasty); New York MMA 02.4.191 which was tentatively dated to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty by Bothmer, Müller, de Meulenaere, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*, 8-9, no. 7 – a view Bothmer and De Meulenaere corrected, 26 years later, in favour of a Thirteenth Dynasty date.

[24] A new example for a statue head which appears to bear characteristics of both periods, the late Middle Kingdom and the Late Period, was published by Teeter, in D'Auria (ed.), *Offerings to the Discerning Eye*, 313-5.

[25] Scharff, *ZÄS* 75, 100: "in der Hauptsache gefühlsmäßig".

[26] See also Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture*, 172-3; for a thorough description of the 'realistic' face of Montuemhat *cf*. Josephson, in Eldamaty, Trad (eds.), *Egyptian Museum: Collections around the World*, vol. I, 623-5.

[27] However, note the *caveat* of Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture*, 174; one unusually 'realistic' relief depiction of Montuemhat cannot be overlooked (Bothmer, Müller, de Meulenaere, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*, cat. 14, pl. 13; *cf*. Josephson, in Eldamaty, Trad (eds.), *Egyptian Museum: Collections around the World*, 620); elongated eyes are a feature here as well. However, since the work is executed in a different medium, no strong reasons *pro* or *contra* the identification of Munich ÄS 1622 can be deduced from this sculpture.

[28] Montuemhat's better preserved block statue is Cairo CG 646; see Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 65-76, doc. 10, pls. 16-8. Although much of the head is missing enough remains to state that the highly stylised and polished black granite statue differs stylistically from of the Munich quartzite fragment. Montuemhat's block statue wears a striated wig and has a dorsal pillar. For the second block statue, see Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 76-8, doc. 11, pl. 19-20; this sculpture is also well-polished and finely executed but unfortunately headless; judging from the stylised body it is unlikely that the head was sculpted in a 'realistic' manner.

[29] Berlin ÄM 23728; Anthes, *ZÄS* 73, 25-35; Kaiser, *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, 94, cat. 941; Bothmer, *Quaderni de 'La ricerca scientifica'* 116, 47-65. Reprinted in Cody (ed.), *Egyptian Art*, 410, fig. 27.2.

[30] London BM EA 37883; Hall, *JEA* 13, 27-9; Russmann, *Eternal Egypt*, 243-4, cat. 133; *cf*. Josephson, *GM* 184, 15-25 (not excluding a Middle Kingdom date).

[31] Selim, *JEA* 76, 199-202; *cf*. Russmann, *Eternal Egypt*, 241-3, cat. 132 (with additional bibliography).

[32] Bothmer, *Egyptian Antiquities*, 61-4, cat. 22.

[33] Berlin ÄM 31196; Kaiser, *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, 94, cat. 941.

Middle Kingdom works. I suspect that the Munich block statue head, however, has more in common with genuine works of the late Middle Kingdom, including certain likenesses of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III. What they share with the Munich block statue head amounts to an exceptionally high degree of individuality expressed in their faces and a specific, characteristic physiognomic trait, *viz*. the deep 'double' diagonal furrows on either side of nose and mouth. In royal sculpture such furrows are found on a number of portraits of Senwosret III – e.g., the head of the gneiss sphinx in the Metropolitan Museum[34] (Fig. 16). The schist head of Amenemhat III in Copenhagen[35] is perhaps the best example (Fig. 17).

Similar furrows appear on private statues attributable to the late Twelfth[36] or the Thirteenth[37] Dynasty. The finest example of unquestionably late Middle Kingdom date displaying an unusually high degree of 'realism' is the seated quartzite statue of the steward Sikaherka (Figs. 18-19).[38] It was discovered in Karnak and appears to represent a mature work, harking back to a long sculptural tradition. Sikaherka's introspective face depicts a modelled forehead with finely incised creases, small hooded eyes, a broad mouth, and wide, clear-cut, nasolabial folds. Presumably after the creation of this statue, the 'realistic' trend in sculpting faces of officials during the Thirteenth Dynasty developed into a nearly grotesque 'realistic' style represented, e.g., by a Theban dark hard stone head in the Petrie Museum, combining many wrinkles and creases with a smile.[39]

Outside Thebes other currents may have dominated the artistic landscape. Multiple creases on the forehead, for example, may not have developed in the traditions of private temple sculpture throughout all of Egypt during the Late Middle Kingdom. As in royal sculpture, private statuary employed a full range of styles, which included idealised, slightly individualised, and, as I would like to assume, stunningly 'realistic' faces such as ÄS 1622. The heavily proportioned quartzite block statue of Senwosret-senebefny in Brooklyn which is quite securely datable primarily on the basis of style, to the reign of Senwosret III or Amenemhat III, may be regarded as an example of broad plain facial features (Fig. 6).[40] Raised, softly modelled eyebrows, full cheeks, a broad chin and down curving lips are significant elements. The statue's provenance is not known but due to the lack of similar pieces from Thebes, it must have originated elsewhere.

The late Middle Kingdom provides more parallels for the oblong and quasi rectangular form of the face exemplified in ÄS 1622. The block statue of a certain Ta, son of Henut (Fig. 13) in the Louvre is a good example.[41] The face of Ta has hooded eyes, clear nasolabial furrows, prominent cheekbones, flat cheeks, and oversized ears.[42] According to its inscription it comes from Shedet in the Fayoum which was at that time a focus of royal attention. The best parallel for the 'face type' of the Munich quartzite head, ÄS 1622, may, however, be found in the quartzite statue group, Louvre A 47 (Fig. 5).[43] This unusual block-shaped sculpture, perhaps from a niche in the owner's tomb, depicts, in its present state of preservation, two high-priests of Ptah Sehetepibre-ankh-nedjem and his son Nebpu. The statues are partly executed in high relief; only the heads and lower legs are rendered in nearly three dimensions. Originally three men were depicted. The figure of Nebpu, who commissioned the group, took the central position between the figures of his father and son, the high-priest Sehetepibre-khered, now lost. The two surviving figures share a back slab, their left legs slightly advanced. They wear identical priestly attire which includes a broad angular *sah* collar, a sash, and a projecting-panel kilt. Between their arms which rest outstretched on the kilt in a devotional gesture, strands of beads hang from a knotted girdle. Identifying hieroglyphic inscriptions above them, between them, and at the edges of their kilts enhance the geometry of the sculptural composition. Bothmer once dat-

[34] New York MMA 17.9.2; Habachi, *MMJ* 19-20, 11-6. Another, uninscribed, example is the obsidian head Lisbon, Gulbenkian Museum inv. 138, for which see, most recently, Müller, in Nyord, Kjölby (eds.), *'Being in Ancient Egypt'. Thoughts on agency, materiality and cognition*, 47-61.

[35] Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek ÆIN 924; Polz, *MDAIK* 51, 231, n. 24 (as sculpted in a 'realistic-expressive style').

[36] E.g. the squatting statue of Khakaureseneb, from Bubastis; Bakr, Brandl, Kalloniatis (eds.), *Egyptian Antiquities from the Eastern Nile Delta*, 2, 24, 309-11, cat. 10.

[37] E.g. Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture*, 69-75, nos. 31-2: Cairo CG 42041 –already cited by Scharff, *ZÄS* 75, 97-9– and Cairo CG 408.

[38] Cairo JE 43928 (currently on exhibition in the National Museum in Alexandria); Terrace, Fischer, *Treasures of the Cairo Museum*, 89-92; Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture*, 74-7, no. 33.

[39] London UC 16451; Quirke, in Trope, Quirke, Lacovara (eds.), *Excavating Egypt*, 25, cat. 20.

[40] The Brooklyn Museum of Art no. 39.602; Fazzini, *Images for Eternity*, 54, cat. 41; Schulz, *Die Entwicklung und Bedeutung des kuboiden Statuentypus*, vol. II, 104-5, no. 35, pl. 14c-d.

[41] Louvre E 10985; Schulz, *Die Entwicklung und Bedeutung des kuboiden Statuentypus*, vol. II, 451 (269), pl. 118b, c.

[42] Bothmer, *BMA* 2-3, 35, fig. 15 (XXVIII). Reprinted in Cody (ed.), *Egyptian Art*, 142, fig. 8.15.

[43] Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie Égyptienne,* vol. III, 242, pl. 83.4; Wildung, *Sesostris und Amenemhet*, 220-1; Delange, *Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire*, 81-3; Wildung, *Ägypten – 2000 v. Chr.*, 186 (77); *cf*. most recently, Rigault, in Etienne (ed.), *Les Portes du Ciel*, 330-1, cat. 291 (with additional bibliography).

ed the sculpture to the Thirteenth Dynasty,[44] but Henry G. Fischer assigned it to the reign of Amenemhat III.[45]

The main arguments for the attribution of Munich ÄS 1622 to the late Twelfth Dynasty rest in the similarity of the head to the head of the high-priest Nebpu's statue (Figs. 7-12). Both sculptures display a similar wig form (though only ÄS 1622 depicts the 'tabs' at the temples) and the faces of both heads also display rather similar high cheekbones and flat cheeks. The Munich head being worked on a larger scale includes more details such as the nasolabial folds which seem to be only slightly indicated on A 47. The mouth of Nebpu's head appears to be only summarily modelled but the effect may be the result of weathering (Fig. 7). The high-priest Sehetepibre-ankh-nedjem's face on the Louvre group clearly resembles that of Senwosret III, as seen for example on the Metropolitan Museum's gneiss sphinx (Fig. 16) which is believed to have once stood in a Theban temple (but could have been sculpted elsewhere, including Memphis). The face of Sehetepibre-ankh-nedjem's son and eventual successor as high-priest of Ptah, Nebpu, may in turn reflect some facial traits of Amenemhat III. Nebpu's face appears to be a simplified version of the more detailed and more elaborately carved statue head ÄS 1622 depicting facial furrows as in Amenemhat III's Copenhagen head (Fig. 17). I would regard this as the key to attributing the Munich sculpture to the late Twelfth Dynasty, *i.e.* the reigns of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III, who apparently enjoyed a long coregency of twenty years.[46] Moreover, a Memphite background should be assumed for both sculptures. During the late Middle Kingdom, the block statue of the anonymous 'Munich official' would very probably have been outstanding. According to R. Schulz, larger block statues (80 cm and more in height) are only rarely attested from the middle and late Twelfth Dynasty.[47] The bodies of such statues were more likely to be modelled in an abstract 'cuboid' shape – instead of the more 'realistic' rendering which may have been exemplified in the sculpture to which ÄS 1622 belonged.[48]

With that in mind, let me return to the main question which has intrigued all those who discussed ÄS 1622: Late Middle Kingdom or Late Period? – Does Nebpu's face provide confirmation of Scharff's theory that ÄS 1622 may have been based on a model from the late Middle Kingdom? Could the elaborate statue head, ÄS 1622, arguably in the Late Period, have been modelled after the statue head of Nebpu? – I regard this as improbable. ÄS 1622 is the larger and more detailed work for which the comparatively modest statue head of Nebpu could hardly have provided a model. To postulate a common prototype or 'sculpture's model' for both statue heads may seem more appropriate. This, however, would add another argument in favour of their being contemporaneous rather than separated by approximately one thousand two hundred years. Moreover, quartzite was apparently a preferred material for private sculpture including block statues during the late Twelfth and early Thirteenth Dynasties. This may be another indication in favour of the period when I believe the head was created.[49] It is, of course, not decisive but it may be noted that during the first millennium quartzite was less popular than varieties of dark hard stone in particular, and nearly went out of use for statuary after the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.[50] Another remarkable though equally inconclusive feature is the sculpture's vertical depression at the back indicating the spinal column. Among block statues this detail is best known from Late Period specimens.[51] However, the naturally modelled back has a long tradition in ancient Egypt and appears in private sculpture as early as the Third Dynasty.[52] Moreover, the 'spinal groove' is very clearly rendered on certain royal statues of the Twelfth Dynasty.[53] Their body modelling could have served as a source of inspiration for the sculptors of an outstanding private sculpture. The finely sculpted Munich head belongs to a statue which was certainly a valuable work in antiquity and which must have been greatly appreciated. Other block statues of the late Middle Kingdom, though somewhat individualising, do not represent such artistic quality by far.[54] The facial expres-

[44] According to de Meulenaere, in *Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen*, 181, with n. 6.

[45] Fischer, *Varia*, 64-6; for Fischer the name transliterated *Nbpw* "Nebpu" was likely to be a shortened version of *Nb*(*.i*)*-pw-Ny-Rᶜ, i.e.* the name of a Memphite high priest known to have officiated during the late Twelfth Dynasty; hence the name may include a reference to the contemporary ruler, Amenemhat III.

[46] Jansen-Winkeln, *SAK* 24, 115-35; Schneider, in Hornung, Krauss, Warburton, (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 170-5.

[47] Schulz, *Die Entwicklung und Bedeutung des kuboiden Statuentypus*, vol. II, 558.

[48] *Op. cit.*, 577.

[49] *Op. cit.*, 548.

[50] Josephson, O' Rourke, Fazzini, *MDAIK* 61, 61, n. 3.

[51] See for instance, Fay, de Meulenaere, *BES* 17, 68, pls. 3, 4.

[52] See for instance, Eaton-Krauss, in Russmann, *Eternal Egypt*, 69-70, cat. 4 (illustration).

[53] E.g. the finely sculpted greywacke statue of Senwosret I seated; New York MMA 25.6; Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, vol. I, 181, fig. 110; for a view of the statue's back see <http://www.joanannlansberry.com/fotoart/met-muzm/12th-2.html>, accessed 07.11.2014.

[54] *Cf.* Schulz, *Die Entwicklung und Bedeutung des kuboiden Statuentypus*, vol. I, 64, pl. 4c-d; 100, pl. 13a-c; 106-7, pl. 15; 143-4. pl. 26a; 302, pl. 76; 307-8, pl. 77; 446-7, pl. 117;

sion, however, is unlikely to express 'sorrow' or 'aggressiveness' –characteristics which have been assigned to it–[55] since this would hardly be congruent with the desirable qualities an Egyptian official wanted to possess. Such a modern impression may partly be the result of the damage above the left eye. The head is more likely to represent a high-ranking courtier of charismatic character, an efficient official and someone the king could rely upon.[56] Thus the figure could well depict the high-priest of Ptah Nebpu, whose appearance in the Louvre group statue is remarkably similar and whose father was depicted alongside him with some facial characteristics of Senwosret III. Jacques Vandier recognised a certain similarity between the appearance of private and royal Memphite sculptures of the Twelfth Dynasty, but he also thought he could detect a general disparity in quality. This he attributed to the manufacture of private statuary in non-royal workshops.[57] But the sculpting of Munich ÄS 1622 is so 'realistic' and sensitively carved that I propose to see in it a work commissioned for Nebpu, and sculpted in a workshop specialising in realistic, royal portraiture, probably by special favour of the king.

Postscript:
Two early photographs of the quartzite head, Munich ÄS 1622 (now in Paris, Musée du Quai Branly, no. de gestion: PP0147683.1), were shown in the recent special exhibition *Sésostris III, pharaon de légende* in the Palais des Beaux-Arts in Lille. They are reproduced in the exhibition catalogue Andreu-Lanoë, Morfoisse (eds.), *Sésostris III: Pharaon de légend*e, 294, no. 26. An anonymous handwritten note on the photographs indicates that the head probably came from Thebes and would date to the 12th Dynasty.

Acknowledgement
The author is grateful to various institutions and individuals for providing photographs to illustrate this contribution. His sincerest thanks are due Sylvia Schoske (State Museum of Egyptian Art, Munich), Irmgard Ernstmeier (Hirmer Fotoarchiv, Munich), Vincent Rondot, Catherine Bridonneau and Audrey Viger (Musée du Louvre), Caris-Beatrice Arnst and Olivia Zorn (National Museums of Berlin – Egyptian Museum), Tine Bagh (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen), Yekaterina Barbash and Kathy Zurek-Doule (The Brooklyn Museum), Simon Connor (Université Libre de Bruxelles), Nicole Kloth (University of Heidelberg, H.W. Müller Archive), The Trustees of the British Museum, and especially, Gabriele Wenzel (Munich) who also readily discussed the sculpture with him. Further thanks are due Simon Connor, Thomas Liepsner, and Olivier Perdu, who generously shared their (differing) views on this work of art with him.

475-6, pl. 125; 332, pl. 139.

[55] See nn. 17, 18.

[56] For these qualities ascribed to Egyptian officials of the Middle Kingdom on the basis of contemporary literary evidence *cf*. Müller, in Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, 790-2.

[57] Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie Égyptienne*, vol. III, 264: "Il semble qu'on puisse dire, en conclusion, que les statues privées originaires de Memphis sont assez proches de quelques statues royales trouvées dans cette ville. La tendance et la meme, mais la qualité est différente, et il est évident que les statues civiles n'étaient pas faites dans les ateliers royaux".

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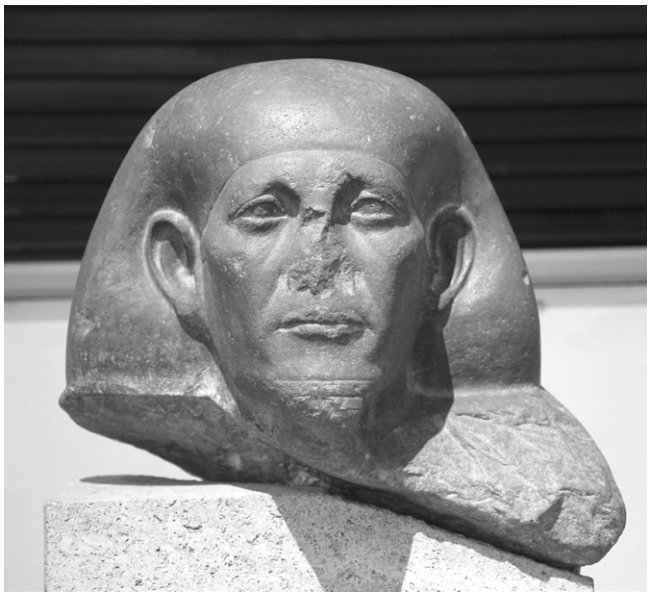


Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

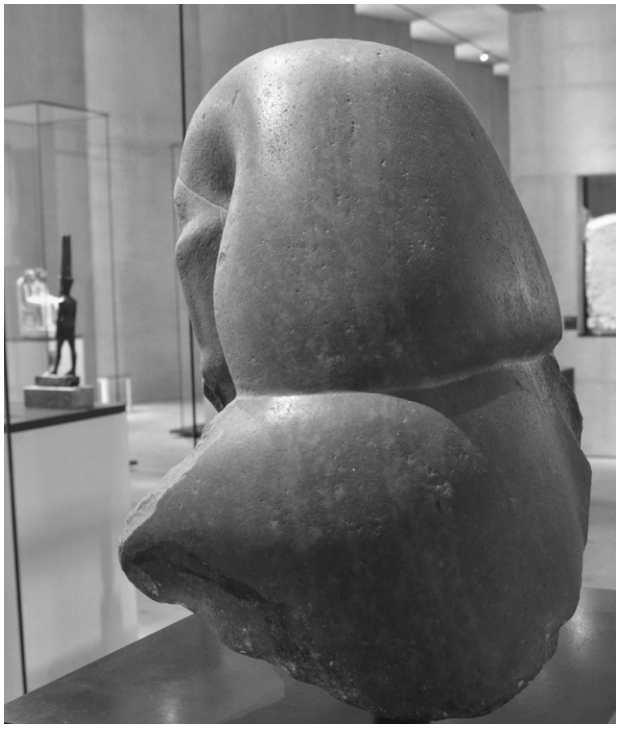


Fig. 4

Figs. 1-4 (repeated in **14-15**) - Block statue fragment of an anonymous official. Quartzite. Height: 38.5 cm. Provenance unknown. Munich, Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, ÄS 1622 (photos: G. Wenzel)

Fig. 5

Fig. 5 - Group statue of two (originally three) high priests of Ptah. Quartzite. Height: 92 cm. From Memphis. Paris, Musée du Louvre, A 47 (© 2000 Musée du Louvre, photo: Georges Poncet)

Fig. 6 - Head of a block statue of Senwosret-senebefny. Quartzite. Statue's height: 68.3 cm. Provenance unknown. The Brooklyn Museum, 39.602 Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund (photo: © The Brooklyn Museum)

Fig. 7 - Statue head of Nebpu. Quartzite. From Memphis. Paris, Musée du Louvre, A 47 (© 2000 Musée du Louvre, photo: Georges Poncet)

Figs. 8, 10 - Block statue fragment of an anonymous official. Quartzite. Height: 38.5 cm. Provenance unknown. Munich, Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, ÄS 1622 (photos: G. Wenzel)

Figs. 9, 11 - Statue head of Nebpu. Quartzite. From Memphis. Paris, Musée du Louvre, A 47 (photos: author with kind permission of the museum)

Fig. 12 -Block statue fragment of an anonymous official. Quartzite. Height: 38.5 cm. Provenance unknown. Munich, Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, ÄS 1622 (photo: D. Wildung)

Fig. 13 - Head of a block statue of Ta. Gabbro. Height: 25 cm. Probably from Shedet (Crocodilopolis). Paris, Musée du Louvre, E 10985 © Musée du Louvre/Chuzeville)

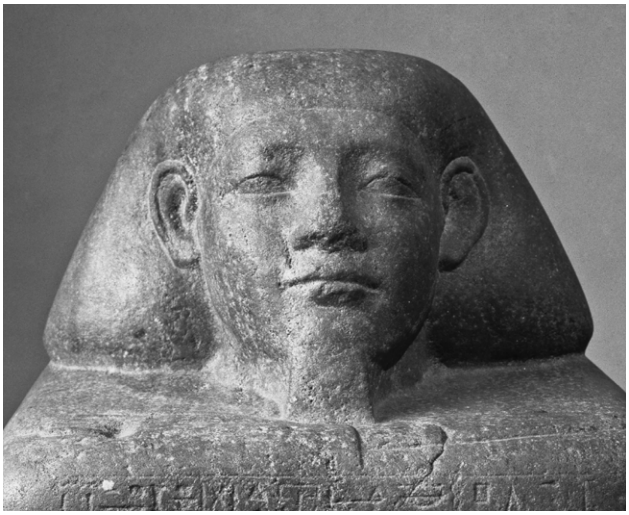
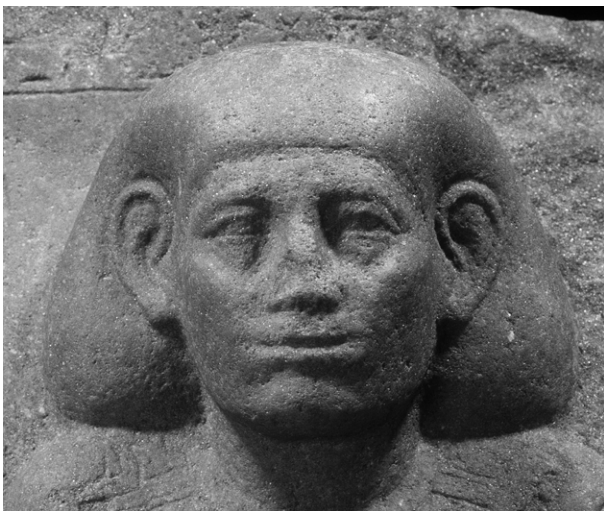


Fig. 6



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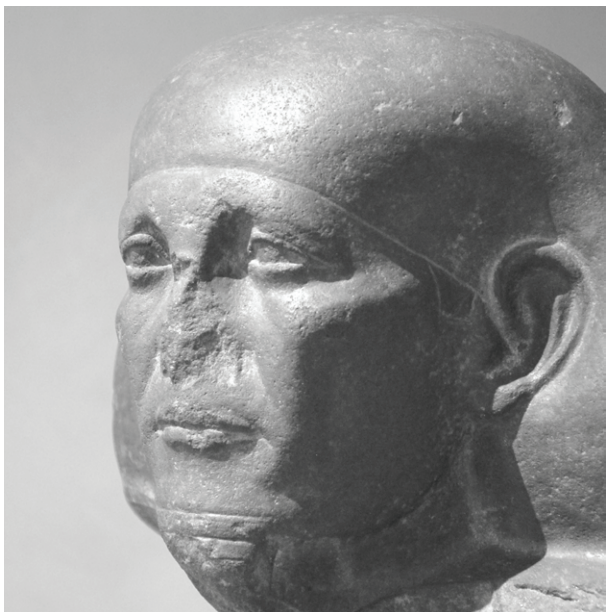


Fig. 8

Fig. 9

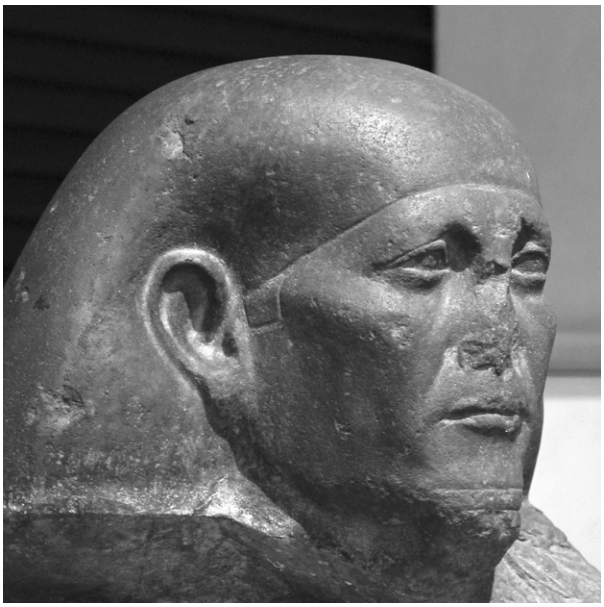
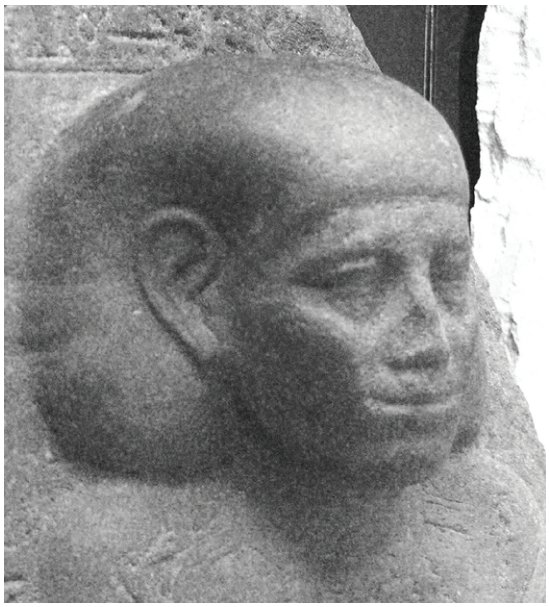


Fig. 10



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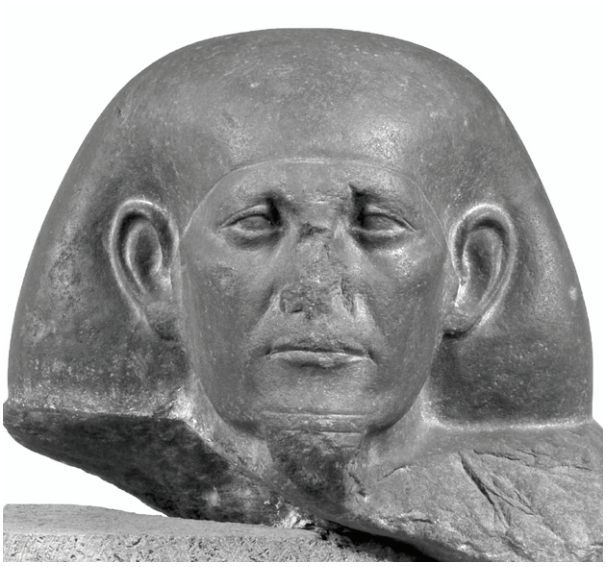
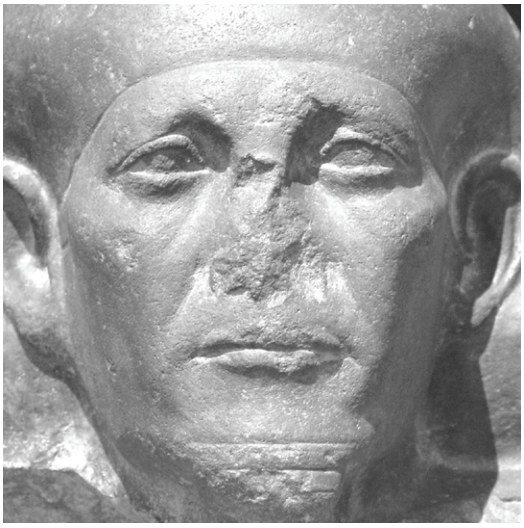


Fig. 12

Fig. 13



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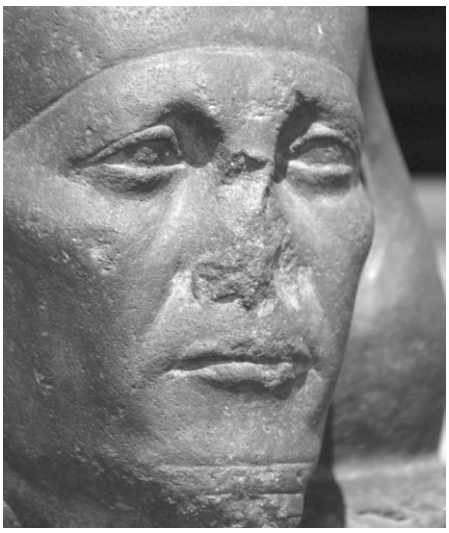
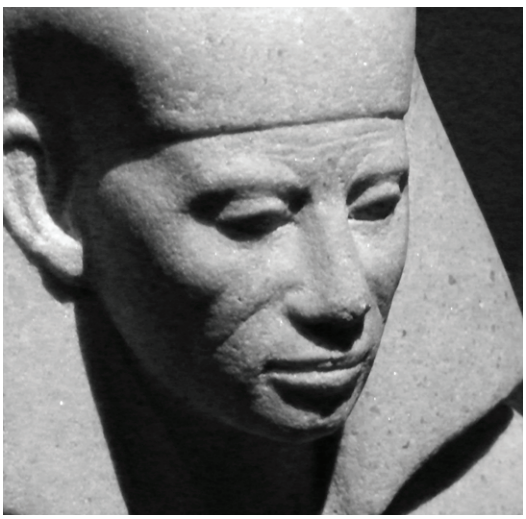


Fig. 15

Fig. 16

Fig. 17



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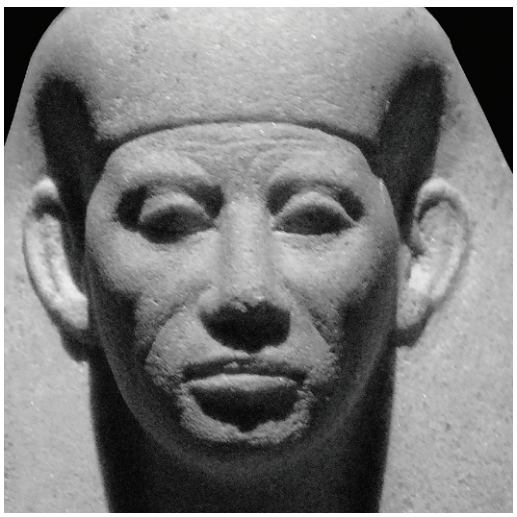

Fig. 19

Figs. 14-15 - Block statue fragment of an anonymous official. Quartzite. Height: 38.5 cm. Provenance unknown. Munich, Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, ÄS 1622 (photos: G. Wenzel); **Fig. 16** - Sphinx statue head of Senwosret III (detail). Anorthositic Gneiss. Statue's height: 42.5 cm. Probably from Karnak. MMA 19.9.2, Gift of Edward S. Harkness, 1917 (photo: © MMA); **Fig. 17** - Statue head of Amenemhat III (detail). Greywacke. Preserved height: 46 cm. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, ÆIN 924 (photo: M. Salomon with kind permission of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek); **Fig. 18** - Statue head of Sikaherka. Quartzite. Statue's height: 65 cm. From Karnak. Egyptian Museum Cairo, JE 43928, currently exhibited at the National Museum Alexandria (photo: author); **Fig. 19** - Statue head of Sikaherka. Quartzite. Statue's height: 65 cm. From Karnak. Egyptian Museum Cairo, JE 43928, currently exhibited at the National Museum Alexandria (photo: S. Connor)

Fig. 20

Fig. 21

Fig. 22

Fig. 23

Fig. 24

Fig. 25

Fig. 20 - Statue head of Montuemhat. Granite. Preserved height: 46 cm. From Karnak, temple of Mut. Egyptian Museum Cairo, CG 647 (after: H.W. Müller, Ägyptische Kunst, Umschau-Verlag: Frankfurt 1970, 169); **Fig. 21** - Statue head of Montuemhat. Granite. Statue's height: 139 cm. From Karnak (Cachette). Egyptian Museum Cairo, CG 42236 (photo: Hirmer Fotoarchiv München); **Fig. 22** - Head of a block statue of Petamenophis. Granite. Statue's height: 32 cm. Probably from Thebes. Egyptian Museum Berlin, ÄM 23728 (© Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, photo: M. Büsing); **Fig. 23** - Statue head of an official. Quartzite. Height: 24.3 cm. Said to be from Memphis. London, British Museum, EA 37883 (photo © The Trustees of the British Museum); **Fig. 24** - Statue head of Amenhotep. Greywacke. Statue's height: 41 cm. Probably from Sais. London, British Museum, EA 37883 (photo © The Trustees of the British Museum); **Fig. 25** - Statue head of an official. Greywacke. Height: 25.5 cm. Provenance unknown. Egyptian Museum Berlin, ÄM 31196 (© Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, photo: M. Büsing)

Miniaci, Grajetzki (eds.), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1550 BC) I,* MKS 1, London 2015, 57-79

The Statue of the Steward Nemtyhotep (Berlin ÄM 15700) and some Considerations about Royal and Private Portrait under Amenemhat III

Simon Connor

Abstract

The statue of Nemtyhotep shows all the characteristics of the upper-elite sculpture of the Late Middle Kingdom. The material, size and quality are typical for statues of high officials and indicate that the statue probably came from a royal workshop. The style suggests a date in the reign of Amenemhat III; indeed, the face shows the features of the 'softened' portrait of this king. Basically, the royal portrait of Amenemhat occurs in two main variants: a stern and expressive one, intended mainly for large-scale statues made of hard stones which were probably installed in open-air spaces, and a more human and sensitive one, meant for smaller-size statues, often of precious or less durable materials. Private statuary from this reign usually follows the latter model; the former seems to be reserved to the king and intended for a specific message and function.

The quartzite statue in Berlin ÄM 15700[1] represents a man seated on a cubic chair, wrapped in a long coat, dressed with a heavy shoulder-length undulated wig with the sides falling forward triangularly on to the chest. His arms are crossed on his chest, the left hand flat, while the other one is holding the coat. The piece, bought in 1902 by Ludwig Borchardt for the Ägyptisches Museum, is said to be from "el-Burg el-Hamam, in the region of Asyut".[2] We will see later what might have been the context in which it was installed.

The sculpture is of high quality: the balance of proportions, the features of the face, the carving of the surface, although not much detailed, are similar to the characteristics of the upper-elite and royal statuary during the Late Middle Kingdom. However, some indications show that the piece might have not been completely finished. Nails are missing; nostrils are more outlined than really sculpted. One could also expect a finer polishing of the surface, with comparison to the corpus of this quality from the same period. The inscription, instead of being carved vertically on either side of the legs as it is common during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties, is only roughly sketched on the proper right side of the seat. A single horizontal (or more or less horizontal) line is awkwardly incised and identifies the owner of the statue as the "The honoured in front of the Great God, lord of the sky, the steward Nemtyhotep, justified" (*imȝḫy ḫr nṯr ʿȝ nb pt imy-r pr Nmty-ḥtp mȝʿ ḫrw*).[3]

Nothing, in the shape of the statue, designates a specific function or identity. At the first look, it could represent any high official. The way this inscription is written suggests that it might have been only temporary, perhaps intended as a mark, a short note, easy to erase, meant to identify the statue, perhaps also intended for the sculptor who would have been charged to cut it carefully into the stone.

The costume

The man wears a mantle, which covers most of his body, until the ankles. It is maintained by the right hand, while the left one lays flat on the chest. This costume is quite common during the Middle Kingdom – according to the preserved corpus, it appears in around 15 % of cases. In sculpture, it can be worn by anybody. Without precise archaeological contexts, it is difficult to associate this coat with a type of architectural or iconographical environment. Statues with a mantle can be found in temples (Abydos,[4] Karnak[5]), as well as in funerary contexts (Haraga,[6] Lisht-

[1] H. 77 cm. Bibliography: see Lembke, *GM* 150, 81-6.

[2] PM IV, 268; von Bissing, *Denkmäler ägyptischer Skulptur*, 23.

[3] Lembke, *GM* 150, 81-6. The name of the man, difficult to read, had been proposed before as Khertihotep (Roeder, *Ägyptische Inschriften*, vol. I, 145) or Antihotep (Yoyotte, *Die Kunstschätze der Pharaonen*, 53, 193, pl. 52).

[4] Bologna KS 1839 (PM VIII, no. 801-537-050; Pernigotti, *La statuaria egiziana*, 30-1, pls. 30-1).

[5] Beni Suef 1632 (before Cairo CG 42206, Legrain, *Statues et statuettes*, vol. I, 15-7, pl. 14), Cairo CG 42041 (*op. cit.*, 24, pl. 25).

[6] Manchester 6135 (Engelbach, *Harageh*, 13, 29, pl. 19; Bourriau, *Pharaohs and mortals*, 56, no. 43).

North,[7] Abydos,[8] Thebes[9]). However, the association of different characters in a group statue highlights the 'dignifying' nature of this dress, joined with the gesture of the hands. In the sculptural group of Senpu,[10] for example, the only man wearing this mantle is the main one, in the middle position, whom the statue and the offering table are dedicated to. On either side of the group, the two men in the praying position, with both arms stretched out in front of them, wear the traditional long kilt. Another example of this dignifying aspect is the little naos in the Louvre in which a man is represented wrapped in this mantle. Finally, the only statue of a governor wearing it in the sanctuary of Heqaib in Elephantine, was commanded by a son for his father;[11] it appears then to be a statue of an already deceased man, realized in homage to him. One might be tempted to see an analogy between this coat and the *heb-sed* royal costume. Nothing permits to affirm that the jubilee dress constituted a direct inspiration for the private one. However, the same idea of dignity and sacredness appears through this association between the mantle and the gesture of the hand on the chest.

The wig

Different forms of headdresses are attested during the Middle Kingdom. For men, the most common is a shoulders-length wig, which can be represented released behind the shoulders or framing the face, with two pointed lappets on the clavicles. It can be smooth or striated. There is no evidence that connects a form of wig with a social status or a context. Even the reasons of the choice of a wig or of a bald skull cannot find any explanation in the framework of the corpus of the considered period. However, the shape of wigs provides at least indications of dating.

Nemtyhotep wears a smooth and undulating wig. Undulations on the wig are typical of private statuary of the time of Senusret II, Senusret III and Amenemhat III.[12] Until the reign of Senusret III, wigs are usually striated, while smooth ones become more and more common under Amenemhat III, and quasi systematic during the Thirteenth Dynasty. The combination of smoothness and undulations indicates thus most probably a dating around the reign of Amenemhat III.

This dating is confirmed by the stylistic analysis of facial features. The comparison with royal statuary and representations of other private sculpture allows a more precise dating.

Royal statuary under the reign of Amenemhat III

Amenemhat III is, with his predecessor Senusret III, the Middle Kingdom king who is the most attested in statuary. Around eighty statues can be attributed to him (*cf.* list at the end of the paper).[13] From a stylistic point of view, Amenemhat III's statuary pursues the tendencies of Senusret II and III. Artisans of royal workshops, whose creativity had been particularly encouraged under the reign of Senusret III, continue to represent the king with a peculiar physiognomy, which mixed naturalism and a powerful expressivity, reflecting his complex nature.

Senusret III broke with tradition by creating a new, severe, powerful and expressive physiognomy. His successor Amenemhat III sought for a continuation of this representation. He could hardly intensify the plastic treatment of the features of the face. He therefore used other original ways to express the strength of royal ideology, either with new forms inspired from a distant past, with huge dimensions, with unusual materials or with reinterpreted ancient iconographic details. A high number of statues, often life-size, depicting the king associated with a wide range of deities, have been found in a temple, which was itself of unusual type and dimensions: Hawara. Every aspect was thus intended to find new ways of expressing an ideological and political message.

[7] Caracas R. 58.10.37 (Quirke, *Cultura y arte egipcios*, 105), New York MMA 15.3.226 and 15.3.576 (Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, vol. I, 213, 244).
[8] Cairo CG 480 (Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, vol. I, pl. 97b).
[9] MMA 35.3.110 (Lansing, *BMMA* 30, 15, fig. 10).
[10] Paris E 11573 (Delange, *Statues du Moyen Empire*, 144-7).
[11] Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, no. 27: statue of the governor Heqaib II, commanded by his "beloved son and excellent heir" Imeny-seneb, "to perpetuate his name".
[12] See for example the statue found in the cemetery of *mastabas* next to the funerary complex of Senusret III in Dahshur (Amsterdam 15.350, *cf.* de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, 35, fig. 72), the group statue of Ukhhotep IV in Meir (Boston 1973.87, *cf.* Freed *et al.*, *Arts of Ancient Egypt*, 129), the statue of the governor Sarenput II (Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, no. 13, pl. 30), the statue of the high steward Khentykhety(wer) (Rome Barracco 11, *cf.* Sist, *Museo Barracco*, 38-42), a statue of a vizier usurped in the Third Intermediate Period (Baltimore 22.203, *cf.* Steindorff, *JEA* 25, 30-3; Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture*, 49, pl. 25, no. 145), a head in Brussels, with facial features undoubtedly similar to those of Senusret III (MRAH E. 6748, *cf.* de Smet, Josephson, *BMRAH* 62, 5-14) or the torso in Basel (loan of the British Museum, EA 848, *cf.* Wiese, *Antikenmuseum Basel*, no. 26).
[13] This number does not take into account all the limestone fragments found in Hawara, as it is sometimes difficult to identify if they represented the king or deities (*cf.* Blom-Böer, *Die Tempelanlage Amenemhets III. in Hawara*, 166-91, no. 56-93).

Rita Freed has recently highlighted the originalities concerning new forms and types of statuary, in order to identify the sources of this creativity:[14] groups associated the king with animal-headed figures of gods, often carved in high-relief inside a naos,[15] dyads representing the king in an archaising shape, perhaps in a priest costume, offering goods to the Nile,[16] dyads representing two figures of the king standing side by side, one holding the role of the deity giving life, while the other is in the prayer position.[17]

There is a clear inspiration from ancient forms. As usual in Egyptian art, when new forms and concepts had to be invented, the artisans looked to the past, to recreate something inspired from ancestral models.

For the statues in a praying position,[18] the model refers to the predecessor of Amenemhat III, Senusret III (*cf.* statues from Deir el-Bahari)[19]. To create new types such as the king represented as a priest, or the Nilotic dyads, the royal artisans took their inspiration from images of Early Dynastic times. The beard and the wide wig of the colossal priest-statue from Kiman Faris are a striking reminder of archaic private statuary.[20] The U-shaped beards of the Nilotic figures of the king, as well as the curls of the headdresses, seem reminiscent of those of the Min-colossi in Coptos.[21] These statues of new type thus borrow and combine elements from a very ancient corpus, which goes back to the beginning of the dynastic period.

The same practice can be observed for the 'mane sphinxes', at least one example of which is attested at the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty, in Abu Rawash, in the funerary complex of Djedefre,[22] and another one in the middle of the Twelfth Dynasty.[23]

Some iconographic details of headdresses also appear for the first time in the corpus of representations of Amenemhat III: the king is shown for example with a crown very similar to that of Amun or Min: a mortar with two high feathers (*cf.* Figs. 4-5).[24] This exact crown appears also on a relief recently discovered in Hawara during cleaning work of the canal crossing the site. The represented figure is the king, not a god, as he bears an uræus above his forehead – the crown of the god is devoid of it.

Amenemhat III is also represented by statues of more traditional types; however, other aspects are used to highlight their originality. Unusual and beautiful materials are used, like for example a white indurated limestone for statues in Hawara, Medinet Madi, or Abydos: obsidian, chalcedony, or copper alloy, for sculptures, which present a real virtuosity in their execution. The statue of the Ortiz collection,[25] for example, shows a great expertise: despite its quite large dimensions, the torso and face are parts of a single piece of metal, shaped in lost-wax casting. The *nemes* is a separate piece, as well as were the missing arms, kilt and legs. The eyes are finely inlaid of white limestone, rock crystal and a dark metal pastille for the pupil.

[14] Freed, *RdE* 53, 103-24, pls. 15-20.

[15] Statues associating the king to deities are known from the Old and early Middle Kingdom (for example the triads of Menkaure (Boston 09.200, Cairo JE 40678, 40679, 46499) or the sculptural groups of Amenemhat I (Cairo JE 67430, *cf.* Seidel, *Die königlichen Statuengruppen*, vol. I, docs. 32-3). The novelty consists here in the way these deities are represented: for the first time, they are depicted with their attributes and animal heads in sculpture in the round and in high dimensions: crocodile-, bovine-, falcon- or snake-headed, momiform deities, or unusual figures like the goddesses holding fishes in their hands.

[16] Cairo CG 392, CG 531, and Rome, Palazzo Altemps 8607. They are the transposition in sculpture in the round of temple reliefs which depict the king presenting offerings to the gods. Given the unusual character of the offerings presented on the trays –fishes and ducks–, Rita Freed suggests that it could have been the product of hunt and fishing in the marshes, canonical scene which is the symbol of victory against, as well as the expression of gratitude from the king towards the high floods during his reign (Freed, *RdE* 53, 118). An inspiration from the "fecundity figures" of the temples decoration is not impossible, even if the king is represented here, and not genies (Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, 112-8).

[17] Copenhagen ÆIN 1483, Cairo JE 43289 and a fragment of a third one, the present location of which is unknown (Petrie *et al.*, *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazghuneh*, 30).

[18] Berlin ÄM 1121, Berlin ÄM 17551 (+ Cairo CG 42019), Cairo CG 42014 (= Luxor J. 117), Cairo CG 42015, New York MMA 45.2.6, Paris AF 2578 (+ Cairo JE 43596), Cleveland 1960.56 (+ Cairo CG 42019).

[19] Cairo TR 18/4/22/4 (Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, vol. I, pl. 83), London BM EA 684, 685 and 686 (Wildung, *L'Âge d'Or*, 202, figs. 176-7; Russmann, *Eternal Egypt*, 101-4, n. 29; Strudwick, *Masterpieces of Ancient Egypt*, 90-1).

[20] See particularly the kneeling statue found in Hierakonpolis (Cairo JE 32159, *cf.* Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie Égyptienne*, vol. III, 209; Fay, in Ziegler (ed.), *L'art de l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, 116 ; Freed, *RdE* 53, 114-5).

[21] Freed, *RdE* 53, 117.

[22] Cairo JE 35137, *cf.* Sourouzian, in Warmenbol (ed.), *Sphinx*, 101-2, fig. 4.

[23] Berlin ÄM 22580, perhaps Amenemhat II (Fay, *The Louvre Sphinx*, 26-7, pls. 53-4, no. 2).

[24] Cairo TR 13/4/22/9 and Philadelphia E 6623. Nb.: the dating of the latter is uncertain. Freed proposed to see it as a king of the Thirteenth Dynasty (Freed, *RdE* 53, 113). The treatment of the eyes evokes rather the portrait of Amenemhat III; however the fragmentation of the piece does not allow a secure argumentation.

[25] Most probably a representation of Amenemhat III, despite the difficulty to compare this statue with the stone ones, because of the peculiarity of the material. However, the large, slightly flattened nose, the sinuous lips, the prominent arches of the eyebrows and cheekbones are in favour of such identification, as is the supposed provenance of the piece, from Hawara.

The sculptural program of Amenemhat III stands out also by the number and dimensions of statues. It is the first time that such a quantity of colossal statues is produced. He is also the king, who has been represented by the tallest monolithic statues ever sculpted until then –except the Giza Sphinx. Only Amenhotep III, in the Eighteenth Dynasty, would surpass him– he was probably himself greatly influenced by his predecessor of the Middle Kingdom, for his statuary program in Kom el-Hettan.[26] One can cite the two quartzite colossi of Biahmu,[27] the granite colossus of Hawara,[28] and the two granodiorite statues of Bubastis.[29]

Finally, the treatment of forms and features of the face differs from what had been done so far in royal statuary. As during the previous reigns, the search for formal perfection and aesthetic ideal is undeniable. During the mid-Twelfth Dynasty, one could assist to a research of a balance between purity of forms and refinement of details. The sculptors of Amenemhat III went further in this aesthetic exploration, with a more subtle carving of flesh and skin, as well as with an extreme polishing of the surface (as we can see for example with the fragments of the quartzite colossi of Biahmu, or the indurated limestone statues from Hawara). For the statuary of the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty, the face was composed of simple forms, artificially constructed. Under Senusret III, it was transformed into a very imperious 'mask'. Amenemhat III opts for a representation, which is closer to the human reality:[30] flesh appears more flexible, the bone structure more visible, furrows and marks more subtle, the nose slightly flattened, naturalistically thin and sinuous lips. Only the eyes keep more geometric contours: wide, elongated, with sharp *canthi*, they still attract the attention of the observer, despite the disappearance of the painting, which had indicated the pupil.

Variations in the royal physiognomy

One can recognize the official facial features of Amenemhat III on his representations, allowing an attribution to him of several usurped or uninscribed statues. A flattened and slightly humpy nose, a large mouth with sinuous lips, receding lower jaw and chin, prominent arches of the eyebrows and cheekbones, almond-shaped eyes, irregularly and subtly modelled cheeks, two large furrows falling down from the inner *canthi* and two others from the corners of the nostrils, wide ears with a heavily pronounced lobe are all characteristics of his official portrait. Nevertheless, several variations, sometimes important ones, divide the corpus of his statues in different groups. The chin may be more or less receding, the lower jaw more or less strongly marked, the eyes more or less large (sometimes even disproportionate), the lips more or less severe, the general expression sometimes human and sensitive, although a bit cold and austere, sometimes violent and almost wild. The body itself appears sometimes almost childish, with thin members and a smooth torso, while other statues present a muscular appearance, with flexed pectorals.

These differences seem sometimes to be due to the provenance: for example, statues of Amenemhat III found in Karnak seem to belong to a homogeneous style. Other sites, like Hawara, have delivered effigies of the sovereign with a varied physiognomy. Some peculiar features, like the broad chin or the smiling mouth, appear on pieces from different sites: for example the most massive statues (mane-sphinxes, colossi of Bubastis and Fayum statues). In other cases, the material seems to have influenced the manner of sculpting: statues in greywacke, for example, show a certain stylistic coherence.

Several interpretations (chronological, geographical or ideological) might be proposed to explain these differences. It is difficult to favour one interpretation or another, for they may have been all true and combined. The most advanced stylistic study so far of the statuary of Amenemhat III has been published by Felicitas Polz twenty years ago.[31] The author distinguished between four different styles in the corpus, which she attributed to the sovereign: "realistische Stil, idealisierende Stil, stilisierende Stil, jugendliche Typus".

1° The 'realistische Stil' gathers the statues with a strong accentuation of musculature, bones structure, furrows and modelling of the skin. Polz classed in this group the praying statues from Karnak, the mane-sphinxes, the priest-statues, and the statues in greywacke.[32] These statues are, according to the author, the closest to those of Senusret III, reminding us of the expressivity. The three

[26] Bryan, in Kozloff, Bryan (eds.), *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 110-1; Bryan, in Quirke (ed.), *The Temple in Ancient Egypt*, 57-81.
[27] Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe*, 53-5. The biggest fragment found on the site is a nose, in Oxford AN 1888.759A.
[28] Only fragments of it have been found until now (the foot is in Copenhagen ÆIN 1420).
[29] London BM EA 1063 + 1064 and Cairo CG 383 + 540.
[30] Only the face of the king is concerned. The anthropomorphic deities, as for them, keep more idealistic, and elongated features, and a slightly smiling expression.
[31] Polz, *MDAIK* 51, 227-54 (esp. 230-7).
[32] *Op. cit.*, 231. Praying statues from Karnak: Cairo CG 42014, 42015, 42016, 42017, 42018, JE 43596, Berlin 17551, Cleveland 60.56, New York MMA 45.2.6 (Nb.: Cairo CG 42016 and 42018 might be rather representations of Amenemhat IV, although they clearly mean to belong to the same style). Mane-sphinxes: Cairo CG 393, 394, 530, 1243 and JE 87082. Priest-statues: Cairo CG 392, 395 and Rome, Palazzo Altemps 8607. The statues in greywacke, said to be 'realistic-expressive': Paris N 464, Copenhagen ÆIN 924, Cairo TR 13/4/22/9.

following styles of Polz are characterized by a younger appearance, by softening this expressivity.

2° The 'idealisierende Stil', with the pieces, the modelling of which avoids sharp transitions, shows few folds and an attenuated relief between the surfaces. Polz proposed to put in this group the two black limestone heads of Cambridge and New York, the bust of Moscow and the calcite head in the Louvre.[33]

3° The 'stilisierende Stil', characterized by a naturalistic treatment of the skin, of the bone structure and musculature. The face, simplified, appears devoid of graphic elements or marked furrows. This group would gather the statues from Medinet Madi, the granite dyads from Hawara, the seated colossi from Bubastis and the seated statue of the Hermitage.[34]

4° The 'jugendliche Typus', illustrated mainly by the seated statue from Hawara, where the king appears with a triangular face, delicate features and a physiognomy which seems generally less marked by age.[35]

The statues of the first group (at least those in granodiorite)[36] clearly have to be separated from the others, even if 'expressive Stil' would perhaps be more appropriate than 'realistische'. However, the distinction between the three others groups is less obvious. Stylistic features allow indeed the granodiorite statues from Karnak and the massive statues found the Fayoum and the Delta to be distinguished from the rest of the corpus. They all present large jaws, deep furrows, and strong contrasts in the modelling of the face, conferring a quite unfriendly expression.

The praying statues from Karnak: these statues present a more elongated face, the lower lips particularly prominent, expressing a kind of pout. They can be organized in two series: three or four statues of 110 cm high[37] and three others of 80 cm high.[38] The two series follow the peculiarities of the same model. The curve of the flanks rises very high, while the pelvis is narrow. The arms look then surprisingly powerful. The musculature is very pronounced, particularly the pectoral muscles. A ventral furrow marks the connection between the breastbone and the navel. These elements give the king a firm and strong, but slim, geometric and somewhat 'naturalistic' body. One can observe some slight differences between the six faces: the eyes may be more or less widely opened, the *canthi* more or less sharply sculpted, the lips more or less fleshy. Nevertheless, one should not identify each of these differences as the mark of a sculptor. The six pieces obviously follow the same particular model. They were probably produced for the same program, by a sculptor or a group of sculptors of the same level of excellence.[39]

[33] Polz, *MDAIK* 51, 232: Cambridge E 2.1946 and New York MMA 29.100.150, Moscow 4757 and Paris E 10938. (Nb.: Polz also included the torso of Baltimore 22.251, probably reworked in modern times, as one could observe in the area of the eyes, the nose and the mouth. In this article, we propose to date it rather to the Thirteenth Dynasty, because of the *nemes* proportions, the very elongated eyes and particularly the ears, devoid of this prominent lobe proper to Amenemhat III. However, the transformation of this piece prevents further analysis).

[34] *Op. cit.*, 232-3. Statues from Medinet Madi: Milan E.922 and Beni Suef JE 66322. Granite dyads from Hawara: Cairo JE 43289 and Copenhagen ÆIN 1482. Colossal heads from Bubastis: Cairo CG 383 and London BM EA 1063. Statue of the Hermitage: Saint-Petersburg 729. Polz also added a face of statue from Hawara (Leiden F 1934/2.129), difficult to compare with the other pieces, given its level of fragmentation, as well as a quartzite head, which we would rather date to the first third of the Thirteenth Dynasty: MMA 12.183.6. Indeed, the treatment of the facial musculature, the wide space between the eyes, the protruding lower lip and chin differ too much from the corpus, which can be attributed to Amenemhat III.

[35] *Op. cit.*, 233: the seated statue from Hawara (Cairo CG 385), the granodiorite head of the Petrie Museum (London UC 14636), and the little bust in chalcedony (Munich ÄS 6762). The author also attributes to this group the limestone head from Lisht (New York MMA 08.200.2), which might however represent one of the successors of Amenemhat III, as well as the quartzite head in Basel (Lg Ae NN 17), which belongs more probably to the beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasty, for the same reasons as the New York head MMA 12.183.6 (*cf.* previous note).

[36] The statues in greywacke (Cairo TR 13/4/22/9, Copenhagen ÆIN 924, Paris N 464, and most probably also Boston 20.1213) present a more triangular face, a more pointed chin and more hollow cheeks than the granodiorite statues. The sinuous lips have their corners turned down, while those of the granodiorite colossi are often more serene. Particularly, the greywacke figures show a great virtuosity in the chisel and polishing skills, in the shadow and light contrasts, in the suppleness of the flesh and the balance of proportions. The most striking characteristic of the greywacke statues is their precisely chiselled appearance, which is probably due to the nature of the material, requiring particular processes of carving. The grain of greywacke is extremely fine and homogeneous, and the hardness of the stone renders its carving and polishing much longer than granite and granodiorite.

[37] Cairo CG 42014, Luxor J. 117 (= CG 42015) and Cairo JE 43596, which might be a fragment of the same statue as Paris AF 2578.

[38] Berlin ÄM 17551, New York MMA 45.2.6 and Cleveland 1960.56 (probably upper part of Cairo CG 42019).

[39] The available photographs do not allow the most objective comparison. The angles and light influence the perception we might have of them. Nevertheless, they all show the same proportions, the same modelling of the face (particularly strong on these six statues), the same manner of sculpting the contour of the eyelids and lips, wrinkles and furrows of the skin. The statues, which completed this group in the following reigns, present a different treatment, despite the similarity of the model (Cairo CG 42016, 42018, 42020, Berlin ÄM 10337).

The colossi (mane-sphinxes and the priest-king): they present a wider face, with sharp features, a massive bone structure (strong jaws, prominent arches of the eyebrows and cheekbones, protruding chin). The mouth is large and sinuous. The corners of the mouth are slightly raised up, expressing a feeling of confident majesty. On the statues where the king is depicted as a priest, this strong appearance is completed by a particularly developed musculature, flexed pectorals underlined by a double curve.

Some statues should be included in this group, as they share the same features, though Polz suggested qualifying them as belonging to a 'stilisierende Stil': the two granodiorite seated colossi from Bubastis, the granite dyads from Hawara, as well as the hard limestone statues from Medinet Madi. Although they are deprived of the wide beards, which cover the cheeks of the mane-sphinxes and priest-statues, they present an identical facial and body structure: massive, male, strongly modelled, with prominent muscles and bones, with fleshy and sinuous lips, and corners of the mouth raised up. The pectoral muscles are strongly underlined by a double curve, which separates them from the abdomen. This physiognomy is obviously proper to all the preserved colossi of Amenemhat III (Figs. 7, 9). These characteristics seem to be proper to the statues of biggest dimensions, and not only to those in granodiorite. One can also observe them on the torso holding the flail found in Hawara, and the seated statues from Medinet Madi. On those, the material, an indurated limestone, reduces the contrast between shadow and light, and confers to the faces a semblance of softness, which would have been absent if the same features had been given to statues in granodiorite.

None of the colossal statues has been found in a primary context, however, according to their dimensions and types of statuary (sphinxes and seated colossi), one can assume that they were meant to be 'visible', on either side of the gate of a temple. They show then the physiognomy, which was intended to be seen by the widest public.

In contrast to the colossi, the statues in smaller dimensions present a softened face. The athletic body gives way to a slim and sleek torso, with a simplified modelling, and a thinner face, with a calmer, almost sullen expression. Polz qualified this style "juvenile". Freed preferred to see this representation not as a "young" one, but as a return to a more traditional type of an ageless, "perfect" and eternal portrait.[40] This look is also much more 'human': the king does not appear there with an athletic or wild body. The physiognomy becomes finer, in order to focalize the attention of the observer on the face, which concentrates all the intelligence of the individual. The modelling of the legs becomes 'academicized' and summarized: the tibias and kneecaps are represented by real ridges; the calf is simplified as a rounded geometric form, instead of the complicated relief on the statues of the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty. The most characteristic and best-preserved example is the limestone statue from Hawara, Cairo CG 385. Folds and furrows, bone structure and expressive musculature give way to a figure of flesh and skin, with an attenuated and subtler modelling. Only the eyes are still highlighted by their large size and clearly indicated dark rings. Several other statues are related to this softened and humanized physiognomy of Amenemhat III (*cf.* Figs. 10-13): Berlin ÄM 11348, London UC 14363, Cambridge E.2.1946 and New York MMA 29.100.150.[41] All are of quite modest dimensions. The tallest, Cairo CG 385, is slightly under life-size. All are carved in materials of which the grain, colour and surface confer more softness than the granodiorite of most of the monumental statues of the sovereign. Several are in unusual materials, not always easy to identify: a flecked serpentine (?) for the head in the Petrie Museum, a brown serpentine (?) for the Berlin torso, a dark and fine limestone for the heads in Cambridge and New York. Other statues, of smaller dimensions and also in unusual stones, seem to follow the same model, though with less subtlety in the modelling and simplified features: calcite (Paris E 10938), chalcedony (?) (Munich ÄS 6762), steatite (Private Coll. 2003), indurated yellow limestone (Boston 1978.54).

To summarize, within the statuary corpus of Amenemhat III, two main tendencies can be distinguished:

– An expressive one, illustrated by the group of praying statues from Karnak, inspired from those of Senusret III, and by the colossal statues;

– A softened, 'humanized' style, presenting slight variations, for statues in different materials and quite modest sizes.

It is probably abusive to identify several different groups and subgroups and to include each statue in one of them. Within the two opposite tendencies, each statue

[40] Freed, *RdE* 53, 106.

[41] The heads of Cambridge E.2.1946 and New York MMA 29.100.150 have been categorized in an 'idealisierende Stil' (Polz, *MDAIK* 51, 232, n. 26), although they do not really present different features than the statues of the 'jugendliche Typus'. They should probably be included in the wider group of the softened and 'humanized' statues. The New York head is carved in the same unusual dark-brown limestone as the Cambridge bust. Both present similarities, which push one to see them as sculptures produced for the same occasion, in the same workshop and perhaps by the same sculptor: large eyes, eyelids indicated only by an edging, two thin and clear lines incised from the inner *canthi*, little prominent cheekbones, the arches of the eyebrows accentuated only at the basis of the nose. The nose itself is quite thick and rounded, with small circular nostrils. The upper lip is fleshier than usual, the chin slightly protruding but short, and the contours of the face are quite square.

shares common features and slight differences with the others, which do not seem to be of significance. Such characteristics can be due to the dimensions, the material, the capability of the sculptor, or a specific phase within the long reign. The two above-mentioned tendencies emerge with more precision because they show more extreme trends and objective common features.

The series of Karnak and the colossal statues show homogeneous and pronounced characteristics, probably because they were produced for specific purposes, in the same hard materials and dimensions, and for a precise destination. The other statues, which are usually less expressive, might have been produced more regularly, in fewer quantities, for different temples or chapels, in diverse materials and dimensions, as well as by sculptors of various levels. Despite some variations, these statues with a softened expression constitute probably the most traditional and representative portrait of the sovereign. They are indeed using the most classic forms, seated or standing, in traditional dress.

A stylistic evolution within the reign?

The reign of Amenemhat III is particularly long: forty-six years. The hypothesis that an evolution, conscious or not, might have characterized his statuary, would thus be legitimate. Although not improbable, this could hardly be demonstrated in the current state of knowledge. It would be difficult to try to see an ageing or rejuvenation in his portrait. The most marked effigies do not represent him 'older', but, on the contrary, they are the most powerful and intimidating. The musculature of these statues reinforces this impression. The statues with a softened expression do not seem necessarily younger; they are in fact ageless, out of time. They simply look more human, softer and interiorized.

The statues from Medinet Madi (Beni Suef JE 66322 and Milan E. 922, *cf.* Fig. 8) are the only ones, which might be datable. They belong probably to the late phase of the reign of Amenemhat III, as the small temple had been finished by Amenemhat IV.[42] These statues, bigger than life-size, present the characteristic physiognomy of the colossal statues. However, they can hardly suffice to give a date to all the other statues with this appearance.

Another one might be dated, though with less precision: the seated statue from Hawara (Cairo CG 385), prototype of the softened and 'humanized' portrait. It should belong to a date later than the year 15 of his reign, according to a double argument: first, because of the writing form of the royal name, more common after this date.[43] Secondly, it may be estimated due to its provenance, Hawara, second complex of Amenemhat III, the construction of which had logically begun after the abandonment of Dahshur. This argument does not really help to date the style of this statue and establish a stylistic development within the reign. Indeed, no statue can be securely dated to the first fifteen years of his reign. It is also not impossible that the statue had been originally installed in Dahshur, then moved out to Hawara during the construction of this second funerary complex. No statue has indeed been found in Dahshur so far. Finally, even if the statue Cairo CG 385 belongs to the second part of the reign, this would leave us with a long period of around thirty years after the year 15. Let us note also that statues of both styles have been found in Hawara: the most expressive as well as the most softened.

Regional or functional differences?

No regional style can be determined with certainty. Statues of different styles were found on the same sites. Only the group of praying statues present a peculiar style, but one should not try to identify it as a 'Theban style', as their unusual physiognomy may be due to a specific program and does not appear on any other royal or private statue.

It is thus rather to specific cases that particular styles may correspond, apparently related to materials, dimensions and types of statuary:

– On one side, colossi in hard stones, which are the most expressive statues, often depicted with unusual attributes;

– On the other side, statues with a softened physiognomy, for statues of more modest sizes, in different materials, using more traditional forms of statuary.

This difference of physiognomy related to the type of statuary might suggest that both opposite styles were simultaneous but endowed with different functionalities. Although it cannot be demonstrated, for lack of a sufficient number of primary archaeological contexts, it is even likely that these functionalities were dependent on the place where the statues once stood. The most expressive ones, which are the most massive and in the hardest materials, were probably standing in open areas, in courtyards or at the gates of temples. Intended to be visible by the widest range of people, these would manifest the strong, severe, wild, powerful and protective nature of the king.

The others, smaller and often in more precious stones, were showing another, more human and sensitive nature

[42] Laboury, *EAO* 30, 58.

[43] Matzger, *Die letzten Könige der 12. Dynastie*, 184; Freed, *RdE* 53, 106.

of the royal person. According to their size and materials, they were probably sheltered in niches or *naoi*, inside the chapels and temples.

Conclusion on the royal portrait

The sculptors of Amenemhat III used a number of new or reinterpreted statuary forms. New creations in an audacious style, were intended to complete the architectural works of the sovereign, projects which were themselves extraordinary, particularly in Biahmu and Hawara.

Some of these forms of statuary were used as models during the following reigns: the series of praying statues in Karnak, for example, which was enlarged by several sovereigns until the Thirteenth Dynasty. The style of the last long reign of the Middle Kingdom considerably marked the sculpture of the following century. All sovereigns of the Thirteenth Dynasty borrowed, with some variations, a physiognomy inspired from the portrait of Amenemhat III, to such an extent that it is often easy to confuse the precursor and successors.

Private statuary under the reign of Amenemhat III

Private sculpture, however, keeps the traditional forms of the previous reigns. The officials are mainly represented seated, standing or squatting. They generally wear a long kilt tied above the navel[44] or a mantle covering most of the body, and a long wig, pushed back behind the shoulders or falling on the clavicles in pointed lappets.[45]

None of the private statues attributable to the reign of Amenemhat III has been found in archaeological context. However, the large corpus of the Late Middle Kingdom allows us to consider that most of the upper-elite statues were installed in courtyards of temples and local sanctuaries, while the lower elite figures belonged mainly to funerary chapels.

A distinction must indeed be made between the two main different layers of the elite, people able to afford a statue. On one side are the officials holding rank titles (*iry-pˁ.t, ḥ3ty-ˁ* and particularly *ḫmtw bity*). Their function apparently does not enter into consideration for the category of statue. Ministers, governors, officers seem to have acquired the same kinds of statues: the largest ones, in hardest stones (mainly granodiorite and quartzite) and of the higher quality. They adopt with exactitude the physiognomy of the king, in such a way that the same sculptors or workshops seem to have produced them – which would not be surprising as these officials, according to their rank titles, are members of the court and close to the king. It is noticeable that only the softened version of the portrait of the king is adopted for the representations of the officials. The expressive, male and wild face of the mane sphinxes and colossi seems to have been exclusive to the king.

The statue of Nemtyhotep in Berlin is perhaps one of the most representative examples of the high officials corpus of the reign of Amenemhat III. It shows very close similarities with the softened version of the portrait of the king: an oval face with a slightly receding chin, a large mouth with an austere expression, thin but fleshy lips, a quite large nose a bit flattened at the end, particularly large almond-shaped eyes, with heavy eyelids, prominent arches of the eyebrows, deprived of make-up, wide ears, and a very sensitive manner of modelling the skin and bone structure of the cheeks, the corners of the mouth falling down, and the nasolabial folds.

One of the closest other examples of the upper-elite corpus of this reign is the quartzite statue of the director of priests Amenemhat-ankh (*cf.* Fig. 14).[46] The quality of the carving is comparable to royal sculpture of the late Twelfth Dynasty. The inscriptions indicate that the represented character was close to the king, clearly identified as Amenemhat III: Amenemhat-ankh is said to be "beloved of the Horus Aabaw", "estimated of Nimaatre", and "known of Amenemhat". The material, quartzite, is generally reserved for the upper levels of the hierarchy, and the high quality of the sculpture suggests that the statue came from the chisels of the most experimented sculptors, most likely attached to royal workshops. The treatment of the body and face follows the model of the less expressive sculptures of the sovereign (*cf.* above): the torso is firm, the waist narrow, the musculature is discretely indicated, the shoulders are broad, the face shows a U-shape, the chin is slightly receding, the eyes are wide, almond-shaped, the eyebrows are heavily marked. Only the mouth is less delicately modelled than the king's: austere and geometric, it is rather reminiscent of some statues of the reign of Senusret III.[47]

[44] The long kilt becomes more and more common in the second part of the Twelfth Dynasty. It can be used as a quite good dating criterion. Under Senusret II and III, it is tied under the abdomen; under Amenemhat III, above the navel; in the first half of the Thirteenth Dynasty, it is raised until the breast. The abdomen appears gradually more and more prominent by following this development.

[45] These two forms of wigs, attested since the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty, with some variations, can still be striated, but appear more and more often smooth. On high quality figures, it can then be undulating.

[46] Paris E 11053, Delange, *Statues du Moyen Empire*, 69-71. Probably from the Fayoum.

[47] Amsterdam 15.350, London BM EA 848 (on loan in Basel Antikenmuseum). *Cf.* Connor, in Andreu, Morfoisse (eds.), *Sésostris III*, 65-7, figs. 9, 13.

Other close comparisons are the statues Brooklyn 62.77.1,[48] Rome Barracco 9,[49] New York 59.26.2,[50] Baltimore 22.203 (Figs. 15, 17-19). All of them present the same U-shaped face, the wide almond-shaped eyes, the heavy upper eyelids, the large and severe mouth, the thin lips, the corners of the mouth slightly falling down, the pointed chin a little bit receding, the nose generally flattened at the level of nostrils, the wide ears, the short neck, the large shoulders, the firm but discrete musculature. Except for the usurped statuette of a vizier, eyebrows are never incised, but only suggested by the bone structure – however, they were perhaps painted. A statue found in Serabit el-Khadim also shows the same quality and features, though carved in a much less fine material, a local sandstone (*cf.* Fig. 20). It represents the chief of a mining expedition.[51] Despite the coarseness of the stone, the fineness of the sculpture is comparable to the contemporary royal sculptures – this suggests the presence of a royal sculptor, or a sculptor trained in the royal workshops, in the team of the expedition of both characters. All features of the soften version of the face of Amenemhat III are present. The long kilt is tied above the navel, and the wig is smooth and undulating, following the characteristics of the style of this reign. The 'embonpoint' is suggested by incised curved lines, indicating rolls of fat; however, the sculptor applied the stylistic criteria of his time, by representing a very flat torso.

Besides these statues of royal quality, a more modest production seems to expand under Amenemhat III, intensifying a tradition, which characterizes the Late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period. It is not, strictly speaking, a 'popular' statuary. The represented characters certainly do not belong to the modest levels of the population, but more probably rather local elites or lower levels of the national elite (officials, but also artisans and staff serving the highest dignitaries). Statues from this category follow the model of the upper-elite sculpture. However, their dimensions are smaller, materials are generally softer (mainly limestone and steatite) and their style is usually of less fine quality. Dating them is then often difficult, as soon as they deviate too far from the style of the royal statuary.

The only one, which may be dated from other sources is the small sandstone triad of the overseer of workmen of the necropolis Senbebu (*cf.* Fig. 21).[52] The father of Senbebu, Sobekhotep, who held the same title as him, was in charge under Amenemhat II, according to the stela Berlin ÄM 1203. The inscription on the statuette explains that it was produced on behalf of the son's initiative, Ptah-wer, also with the same title, two generations then after Amenemhat II, which leads us to the beginning of the reign of Amenemhat III. The sculpture does not lack of care from the sculptor, however it does show certain awkwardness, which forbids us to see it as the product of a royal workshop: unequal proportions (legs too large, torso too narrow), inclined axis of the lateral figures, imprecisions in the features of the face. However, the model is clearly inspired from the royal style, with the large eyes and heavy eyelids, the oval face, and the sullen mouth. The kilt of the owner is tied above the navel; he wears the traditional striated wig, pushed back behind the shoulders.

It is thus possible to identify a lower-elite style, perhaps a provincial one, of the reign of Amenemhat III. A series of other statuettes, single or groups, may be attributed to the same period, according to stylistic criteria (shape of the kilt, the wig, the contours of the face, the treatment of the eyes, eyelids, mouth, musculature, etc., *cf.* Figs. 21-24): Baltimore 22.349, Basel Lg Ae OG 1, Boston 27.871, Cairo CG 476 and JE 37891, Cleveland 1985.136, New York 66.123.1, Oxford 1913.411, Paris E 22771.[53] Stylistic features allow us to date them approximately to the reign of Amenemhat III. However, they present a modelling less subtle and a quality somewhat lower than the statues of the king and of the high officials. They are all of small dimensions and in materials less prestigious than the stones of the upper-elite statuary: limestone, sandstone, steatite and serpentine.

The private statuary attributable to the reign of Amenemhat III seems then to have followed, for the higher officials as well as for the lower levels of the elite, the model of the softened portrait of the king (style of the

[48] Brooklyn 62.77.1 (Fazzini *et al.*, *Ancient Egyptian Art in the Brooklyn Museum*, no. 24).

[49] Rome Barracco 9 (Sist, *Museo Barracco*, 44-5).

[50] New York MMA 59.26.2 (Seipel, *Gott-Mensch-Pharao*, no. 64).

[51] The "deputy of the treasurer" Nebaawer and the "chamberlain of Djedbaw" Khentykhety (Brussels MRAH E. 2310, *cf.* Valbelle, Bonnet, *Le sanctuaire d'Hathor*, 154, fig. 178). These two officials are not known from other monuments. However, at least twenty-eight expeditions were sent to Sinai under Amenemhat III (*op.cit.*, 10-1), which makes the dating of this dyad under this reign highly probable, as suggested by its style.

[52] New York MMA 56.136 (Fischer, *BMMA* 17, 145-53.

[53] Baltimore 22.349 (Schulz, Seidel, *Egyptian Art*, 48-9), Basel Lg Ae OG 1 (Page-Gasser, Wiese, *Ägypten: Augenblicke der Ewigkeit*, 74, no. 41), Boston 27.871 (Dunham, Janssen, *Semna Kumma*, 33, pls. 39-40), Cairo CG 476 (Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, vol. II, 60-1, pl. 79), Cairo JE 37891 (Hornemann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary* V, no. 1165), Cleveland 1985.136 (Berman, *The Cleveland Museum of Art*, 158-9, no. 96), New York MMA 66.123.1 (Fischer, in *Egyptian Studies III*, 108, n. 3, frontispiece), Oxford 1913.411 (Whitehouse, *Ancient Egypt and Nubia in the Ashmolean Museum*, 67-8, fig. 19, pl. 9), Paris E 22771 (Delange, *Statues du Moyen Empire*, 199). Nb.: also the unpublished pieces Chicago Field Museum A.30821 and Oxford 1872.86.

seated statue from Hawara, Cairo CG 385). Some variations may be due to the quality of sculpture and the material, however one can identify the inspiration from the official features of the sovereign. The expressive physiognomy of the mane sphinxes and the colossal statues of the king seem to have had no echo in the private repertoire. It is obviously a style, which is reserved to a particular production of royal statues. The same phenomenon is observable under Senusret III: except for a few rare statues[54] no preserved private representation shows the features of the expressive version of the portrait of the sovereign. Under Senusret III as well as under Amenemhat III, the sculptors borrowed for private statuary the softened, less personalized, version of the royal portrait.[55]

Conclusion

Higher officials and members of the lower levels of elite were using the same forms of statuary. Both categories are represented in the same positions, the same gestures, the same costumes and wigs and the same stylistic model: the softened version of the royal portrait.

On the other hand, the quality and the material, as well as in many cases the size of the statue, depend on the status of the represented person. Statues of the highest officials, ministers and familiars of the king, may come from the royal workshops: they are usually in quite large dimensions, in hard materials (granodiorite, quartzite, fine limestone) and present the same quality and physiognomy as the royal representations. Statues of the lower officials and provincial elites are of smaller dimensions, lower quality of carving and in less prestigious materials (soft limestone, sandstone, serpentine and steatite). These tendencies are observable through all the Late Middle Kingdom, from Senusret III until the late Thirteenth Dynasty.

The statue of Nemtyhotep in Berlin definitely belongs to the upper class corpus.

The represented man bears the title of a "steward" (*imy-r pr*). However, as this kind of statue, of large size, prestigious material, and royal-like quality, is typical of the upper-elite, it may be proposed then to attribute it, as suggested by W. Grajetzki and D. Stefanović, to the "high steward" (*imy-r pr wr*) Nemtyhotep, attested by a seal in New York.[56] If it is the case, the owner of the statue would then bear the rank titles of "royal chancellor" (*ḫtmw bity*) and perhaps "follower of the king" (*šmsw n*(*i*)-*sw.t*), which would make him one of the highest members of the court. As noted above, the inscription on the statue seems to consist only in a rough draft. It is then possible that only the abbreviated title of the owner has been written – it was probably just meant to identify it, perhaps in a workshop, waiting for a more careful inscription, which has finally never been carved. Such a statue is indeed typical of the category of upper-elite sculpture and would be suitable for a high official.

The statue was bought by Borchardt in Asyut in 1902. It was said to be from its region, from the now unknown locality of "el-Burg el-Hammam". Was it installed in a temple, which has now disappeared? Late Middle Kingdom statues of such quality and size of high officials are usually found in temples or local sanctuaries. However, it may also come from the Siutian necropolis, where the nomarchs of the first half of the Twelfth dynasty have been buried.

No major tombs seem to have been cut as late as during the late Twelfth Dynasty. The last ones seem to date to the middle of it.[57] No tomb, even smaller, of a Nemtyhotep has been found in the necropolis. Nevertheless, the name of the owner of the statue, based on the name of the local deity "Nemty", makes probable the origin of the steward in the region of Asyut.[58] The statue might then have been placed not in the funerary chapel of the represented man, but in one of an ancestor/predecessor. This practice is indeed attested in other places in the Late Middle Kingdom.

The closest example is the necropolis of Qaw el-Kebir, where the large statue of the governor Wahka III (Turin S. 4265)[59] seems to have been installed in the

[54] The statue of the governor Heqaib II in Elephantine (Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, no. 17) and a head in Brussels (MRAH E. 6748, de Smet, Josephson, *BMRAH* 62, 5-14).

[55] The corpus of statues of gods from the reign of Amenemhat III shows also several anthropomorphic representations, which follow also an attenuated version of the face of the sovereign. The few preserved faces present a still smoother physiognomy:
- Leiden F 1934/2.89 (Blom-Böer, *Die Tempelanlage Amenemhets III. in Hawara*, no. 40)
- Copenhagen ÆIN 1415 (Blom-Böer, *op. cit.*, no. 35)
- Cairo JE 36359 (Fay, *MDAIK* 52, 115-41)
- Perhaps also Geneva Eg. 4 (Chappaz, *BSEG* 26, 5-12)

However, they show the wide and elongated eyes of the sovereign, as well as his ears with prominent lobes. The torsos of the male deities (including those with a crocodile- or a bull-head, for example) are more related to the monumental and expressive statues of Amenemhat III, with a strong musculature and flexed pectorals, underlined by a clear curve. For example:
- Boston 12.1003 (Petrie *et al.*, *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazghuneh*, pl. 24d)
- Cairo TR 1/10/14/2 (deity with a crocodile-head), Petrie *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pl. 24c
- Probably also Philadelphia E 12327 (unpublished)

[56] New York MMA 22.2.245 (Grajetzki, Stefanović, *Dossiers of Ancient Egyptians*, no. 103.)

[57] Zitman, *The Necropolis of Assiut*, 319-56.

[58] Chappaz, in Limme, Strybol (eds.), *Aegyptus Museis Rediviva*, 63-75, figs. 1-5.

[59] Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, vol. I, pl. 77; Steckeweh, Stein-

monumental tomb of his ancestor Wahka I. The dating of this statue has been subject to many discussions. However, its style points to the very late Twelfth Dynasty or even perhaps more probably the beginning of the Thirteenth (according to the form of the wig, the modelling of the facial features, the treatment of the elongated almond-shaped eyes and the large mouth with a smile). None of the three huge funerary chapels in Qaw el-Kebir can however be dated so late in the Middle Kingdom. The monumental program of the architecture and of the decoration of these tombs of quasi royal appearance, correspond to the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty. The style of the reliefs and of the owners' statues confirms this dating, not later than Amenemhat II or Senusret II. The governor represented by the statue 4265 is named Wahka son of Neferhotep, while the two monumental tombs in Qaw el-Kebir belong to Wahka (I) son of Henu (tomb 7) and Wahka (II) son of Nakht(i) (tomb 18). The style of the statue clearly points to a much later date, and its owner has thus to be identified as a third governor named Wahka. Instead of building, like his predecessors, a fourth large funerary complex, which was no longer allowed or economically possible for a provincial governor at this time, Wahka III son of Neferhotep installed a large statue of himself in the chapel of the founder of his lineage. An offering table found in the tomb of Wahka II, also attests to another governor of Qaw el-Kebir, named Nemtynakht.[60] It appears then as a common practice for governors of the Late Middle Kingdom to pay homage to their ancestors through monuments placed in their chapels.[61]

Acknowledgment
I express my thanks to Nora Shalaby for her comments and revision of English writing.

dorff, *Die Furstengraber von Qau*, 15, 46; Curto, *L'antico Egitto nel Museo Egizio di Torino*, 96; Franke, *Personendaten*, no. 199; D'Amicone, in Donadoni Roveri (ed.), *Civiltà degli Egizi. Le credenze religiose*, 119, pl. 160; Grajetzki, *GM* 156, 56-7; Melandri, *V&MO* 15 (2011), 252-70.

[60] Petrie, *Antaeopolis*, pl. 17.

[61] The cult of ancient nomarchs seems indeed to have constituted an important part of the religious practices during the Middle Kingdom, perhaps even more important, at least in the provinces, than the cult of deities. *Cf.* Kemp, *CAJ* 5, 25-54; Willems, *Les textes des sarcophages et la démocratie*, 127-8, 226-7.

Appendix

List of statues inscribed for Amenemhat III or which may be attributed to him according to stylistic criteria or archaeological context[62]

	Museum/site + Inv. Nb.	Type of statue	Material	Provenance	Dating method	Short bibliography
1*	Abydos, temple of Sethy I, 2nd courtyard	Osiriaque, in a naos	Limestone	Abydos	Style	Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III*, 43-6
2	Alep 6450	Sphinx	Granodiorite	Alep	Inscription	Scandone-Matthiae, *RdE* 40, 123-9, pl. 4
3*	Berlin ÄM 1121	Standing, praying	Granodiorite	Mit Rahina	Inscription	Wildung, *Ägypten 2000 v. Chr.*, no. 56
4*	Berlin ÄM 11348	Seated? (bust with nemes)	Serpentine?	Unknown	Style	Wildung, *Ägypten 2000 v. Chr.*, no. 55
5*	Berlin ÄM 17551	Standing, praying	Granodiorite	Probably Karnak	Style	Wildung, *Ägypten 2000 v. Chr.*, no. 54
6*	Beirut DGA 27574 (might be also identified as Senusret III)	Undefined (head with nemes)	Gneiss	Byblos	Style	Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, 596, pl. 156, no. 13377
7-8*	Colossi of Biahmu (nose: Oxford AN1888.759A)	Seated colossi	Quartzite	Biahmu	Inscription	Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe*, 3, 53-6, pls. 26-7
9*	Boston 13.3968	Undefined (bust with nemes)	Serpentine	Kerma	Style	Freed, in Petschel, von Falck (eds.), *Pharao siegt immer*, 214, no. 205
10*	Boston 1978.54	Undefined (face with nemes or khat)	Limestone	Unknown	Style	PM VIII, no. 800-493-350
11*	Boston 20.1213	Undefined (head with nemes)	Greywacke	Kerma	Style	Reisner, *Excavations at Kerma VI*, no. 12
12*	Boston (loan)	Sphinx	Granodiorite	Unknown	Inscription	Fay, *The Louvre Sphinx*, 57, 66, pl. 89, no. 39
13*	Cairo CG 383 + 540	Seated colossus	Granodiorite	Bubastis	Style	Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, vol. I, 113-4, 117; vol. II, § 431-4, 699
14*	Cairo CG 385	Seated	Limestone	Hawara	Inscription	Wildung, *L'âge d'or*, 206, fig. 181
15	Cairo CG 391	Mane sphinx	Limestone	Elkab	Style	Verbovsek, *Die sogenannten Hyksosmenumente*, 24

[62] An asterisk indicates when the author has personally examined the statue.

16*	Cairo CG 392	Dyad, king-priest offering Nilotic goods	Granodiorite	Tanis	Style	Freed, *RdE* 53, 116-8, pl. 19b
17*	Cairo CG 393	Mane sphinx	Granodiorite	Tanis	Style	Verbovsek, *Die sogenannten Hyksosmenumente*, 19-20
18*	Cairo CG 394	Mane sphinx	Granodiorite	Tanis	Style	Verbovsek, *Die sogenannten Hyksosmenumente*, 21
19*	Cairo CG 395	King as a priest	Granodiorite	Kiman Fares	Style	Freed, *RdE* 53, 114-5, pl. 19a
20	Cairo CG 423	Seated	Granodiorite	Kom el-Ahmar	Inscription	Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, vol. II, 31, pl. 68
21*	Cairo CG 487	Undefined (head with nemes)	Gneiss?	Unknown	Style	Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, vol. II, 65-6, pl. 81
22*	Cairo CG 488	Undefined (head with nemes)	Gneiss	Unknown	Style	Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, vol. II, 66, pl. 81
23*	Cairo CG 530	Mane sphinx	Granodiorite	Tanis	Style	Verbovsek, *Die sogenannten Hyksosmenumente*, 22
24	Cairo CG 531	Dyad, king-priest offering Nilotic goods	Granodiorite	Tanis	Style	Leibovitch, *JNES* 12, 99-100, 111-2, figs. 25-6
25*	Cairo CG 1243	Mane sphinx	Granodiorite	Tanis	Style	Verbovsek, *Die sogenannten Hyksosmenumente*, 22
26	Cairo JE 41472	Sphinx (front part)	Granodiorite	Karnak	?	PM II^2, 281
27*	Cairo CG 42015	Standing, praying	Granodiorite	Karnak	Style	Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, vol. I, pls. 131-2
28	Cairo CG 42019 (+ perhaps join with Cleveland 1960.56)	Standing, praying	Granodiorite	Karnak	Inscription	Legrain, *Statues et statuettes*, 12
29*	Cairo JE 42995	Heb-sed? (head with white crown)	Granodiorite	Kom el-Hisn	Style and provenance	Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, vol. I, pl. 101
30	Cairo JE 43104	Triad, Heb-sed	Granodiorite	Kom el-Hisn	Inscription	Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, vol. I, 91-2, fig. 23, pls. 99-100
31*	Cairo JE 43289	Dyad in a naos	Granite	Hawara	Provenance	Seidel, *Die königlichen Statuengruppen*, 101-3, pl. 28a, fig. 27

32*	Cairo JE 43596 (perhaps same statue as Paris, Louvre AF 2578)	Probably standing, praying	Granodiorite	Karnak	Style and provenance	PM II², 281
33*	Cairo JE 66322 (now in Beni Suef)	Seated, holding a tray	Limestone	Medinet Madi	Inscription	Vogliano, *Un'impresa archeologica milanese*, pl. 7
34*	Cairo JE 87082	Dyad of mane sphinxes	Granodiorite	Bubastis	Style	Habachi, *SAK* 6, 83, fig. 1, pl. 23a
35*	Cairo TR 13/4/22/9	Undefined (head with Amun crown)	Greywacke	Unknown	Style	Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture, Cairo and Luxor*, 68, no. 30
36*	Cambridge E.2.1946	Undefined (bust with nemes)	Dark limestone	Unknown	Style	Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt*, 113, fig. 121
37*	Cambridge E.GA.82.1949	Undefined (face)	Granodiorite	Unknown	Style	Bourriau, *Pharaohs and mortals*, 42-3, no. 29
38*	Chicago OIM 14048	Undefined (head with nemes)	Limestone	Unknown	Style	PM VIII, no. 800-493-750
39*	Cleveland 1960.56 (+ perhaps join with Cairo CG 42014)	Standing, praying	Granodiorite	Probably Karnak	Style	Berman, *The Cleveland Museum of Art*, 155-7
40*	Copenhagen ÆIN 1417	Colossus	Limestone	Hawara	Provenance	Bagh, *Finds from W.M.F. Petrie's Excavations*, 108-9, fig. 3.20
41*	Copenhagen ÆIN 1420	Seated colossus	Granite	Hawara	Provenance	Blom-Boër, *Die Tempelanlage Amenemhets III. in Hawara*, 180-1, no. 85
42*	Copenhagen ÆIN 1482	Dyad in a naos	Granite	Hawara	Provenance	Seidel, *Die königlichen Statuengruppen*, 103-4, pl. 28b, fig. 27
43*	Copenhagen ÆIN 924	Undefined (head with White Crown)	Greywacke	Unknown	Style	Jørgensen, *Egypt I*, 168-9, no. 68
44	Damascus 471	Sphinx	Greywacke	Ugarit	Inscription	Schaeffer, *Ugaritica 4*, 223, fig. 25
45	Damascus 473	Sphinx	Greywacke	Ugarit	Inscription	Schaeffer, *Ugaritica 1*, 21, pl. 3
46	Hawara?	Dyad in a naos (fragment)	Granite	Hawara	Provenance	Blom-Boër, *Die Tempelanlage Amenemhets III*, 138
47*	Hawara	Statue in a naos, with flail	Limestone	Hawara	Provenance and style	Blom-Boër, *Die Tempelanlage Amenemhets III*, 160-2, no. 53

48	Hawara	Group with fish-goddesses	Limestone	Hawara	Provenance	Blom-Boër, *Die Tempelanlage Amenemhets III*, 137-8, no. 28
49	Karnak, Akhmenu SX.2	Fragment of base	Limestone	Karnak	Inscription	Carlotti, *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III*, 116, fig. 67
50	Leiden F 1934/2.129	Fragment of a head	Limestone	Hawara	Provenance and style	Blom-Boër, *Die Tempelanlage Amenemhets III*, 165, no. 55
51*	Leiden F 1934/2.83	Undefined (fragment of a royal kilt)	Limestone	Hawara	Provenance	Blom-Boër, *Die Tempelanlage Amenemhets III*, 172, no. 67
52*	London BM 1063 + 1064	Seated colossus	Granodiorite	Bubastis	Style	Strudwick, *Masterpieces of Ancient Egypt*, 92-3
53*	London BM EA 65506 (might also be a successor of Amenemhat III)	Miniature mane sphinx	Obsidian	Unknown	Style	Warmenbol, *Sphinx*, 92, 208, no. 50
54*	London UC 14363	Undefined (head with nemes)	Serpentine? Gneiss?	Unknown	Style	Trope, Quirke, Lacovara, *Excavating Egypt*, 22, no. 17
55*	Luxor J. 117 (= Cairo CG 42014)	Standing, praying	Granodiorite	Karnak	Inscription	Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, vol. I, pls. 131-2
56*	Milan E. 922	Seated, holding a tray	Limestone	Medinet Madi	Inscription	Lise, *Museo archeologico: Raccolata egizia*, 28, figs. 109-13, no. 80
57	Moscow 4757	Seated	Granodiorite	Unknown	Style	Berlev, Hodjash, *Sculpture of Ancient Egypt*, 87-8, no. 18
58*	Munich ÄS 6762	Undefined (bust)	Chalcedony?	Unknown	Style	Wildung, *L'âge d'or de l'Égypte*, 204, fig. 180
59*	Munich ÄS 6982	Standing	Copper	Hawara?	Style	Wildung, *Ägypten 2000 v. Chr.*, no. 60
60*	Munich ÄS 7132	Sphinx	Limestone	Unknown	Style	Warmenbol, *Sphinx*, 93, 210, no. 53
61*	Munich ÄS 7133 (might also be a successor of Amenemhat III)	Mane sphinx	Serpentine	Unknown	Style	Warmenbol, *Sphinx*, 73, 210, no. 55
62*	Munich ÄS 7268	Standing, praying	Limestone	Unknown	Style	Wildung, Schoske, *Last Exit Munich*, 63, no. 47
63*	New York MMA 24.7.1	Undefined (head with Double Crown)	Granodiorite	Unknown	Style	Aldred, *MMJ* 3, 48

64	New York MMA 29.100.150	Undefined (head with nemes)	Dark limestone	Unknown	Style	Arnold, in Frelinghuysen *et al.*, *Splendid Legacy: the Havemeyer Collection*, 114
65*	New York MMA 45.2.6	Probably standing, praying	Granodiorite	Probably Karnak	Style	Aldred, *MMJ* 3, 47, figs. 32-3
66	New York Art Institute S. 439	Seated	Granodiorite?	Unknown	Inscription	Unknown?
67*	Paris AF 2578 (+ Cairo JE 43596?)	Standing, praying	Granodiorite	Probably Karnak	Style	Delange, *Statues du Moyen Empire*, 46-7
68*	Paris E 10938	Sphinx	Calcite	Unknown	Style	Delange, *Statues du Moyen Empire*, 38-9
69*	Paris N 464 + Cairo CG 769	Standing	Greywacke	Fayum	Inscription + style	Fay, in Goring *et al.*, *Chief of Seers*, 97-103
70*	Philadelphia E 6623	Undefined (head with Amun crown)	Granodiorite	Hu	Style	Unpublished
71*	Rome Altemps 8607	Fragment of a priest-statue	Granodiorite	Unknown (found in Rome)	Style	Freed, *RdE* 53, 116
72	Saint-Petersburg 729	Seated	Granodiorite	Unknown	Inscription	Polz, *MDAIK* 51, 246, n. 108
73	Saint-Petersburg 18113	Standing	Greywacke	Unknown	Inscription	Polz, *MDAIK* 51, 246, n. 110
74	Current place unknown (Karnak-Nord E. 133)	Kneeling	Granodiorite	Karnak-Nord	Inscription	Barguet, Leclant, *Karnak-Nord IV*, 139, pl. 116
75*	Private collection (Ortiz)	Undefined (head with a nemes)	Copper	'Hawara'	Style	Ortiz, *In Pursuit of the Absolute*, no. 36
76*	Private collection (Ortiz)	Kneeling	Copper	'Hawara'	Style	Ortiz, *In Pursuit of the Absolute*, no. 37
77	Private collection (ex-Nubar collection)	Undefined (head with a nemes)	Quartzite	Unknown	Style	Capart, *L'art égyptien*, vol. II, pl. 287
78	Private collection	Undefined (fragment of a face)	Limestone	Unknown	Style	*Sale Catalogue Bonhams*, May 14th 2003, 7, no. 11
79	Private collection	Undefined (bust with a nemes)	Serpentine or steatite	Unknown	Style	Fay, *EAO* 31, 17-8, figs. 14-5

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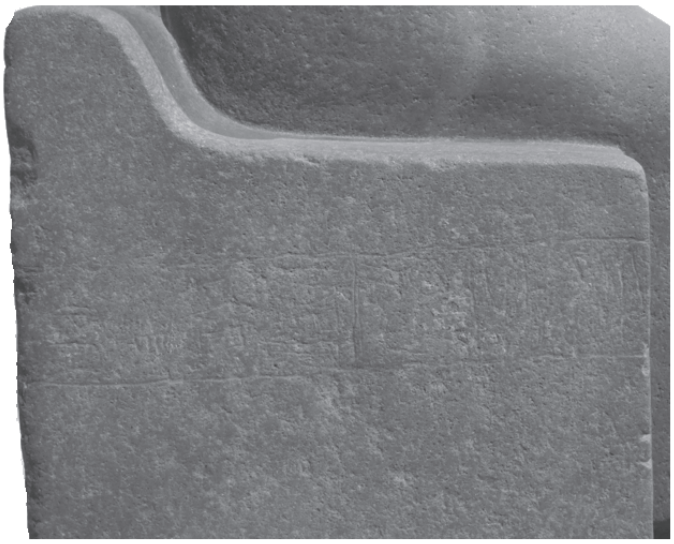
Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Figs. 1-3 - Berlin ÄM 15700 and detail. Quartzite. H. 77 cm. With courtesy of the Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin



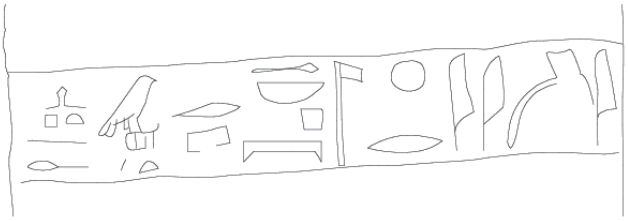


Fig. 3

Fig. 4 - Relief from Hawara (unpublished). Quartzite
Fig. 5 - Cairo TR 13/4/22.9. Head of Amenemhat III with Amun-crown. Greywacke. H. 18 cm

Statues of Amenemhat III ("expressive portraits")
Fig. 6 - Cleveland 1960.56. Granodiorite. H. orig. 80 cm. Most probably from Karnak
Fig. 7 - London BM 1063. Granodiorite. H. orig. 425 cm. Found in Bubastis
Fig. 8 - Cairo JE 66322 (now in Beni Suef museum). Limestone. H. 170 cm. From Medinet Madi.
Fig. 9 - Rome, Palazzo Altemps 8607. Granodiorite. H. orig. 300 cm. Found in Rome

Statues of Amenemhat III ("softened portraits")
Fig. 10 - London UC 14363. Serpentine? H. orig. 80-96 cm. Unknown provenance
Fig. 11 - Berlin ÄM 11348. Serpentine? H. orig. ca. 80 cm. Unknown provenance
Fig. 12 - Copenhagen ÆIN 924. Greywacke. H. orig. ca. 150 cm. Unknown provenance
Fig. 13 - Cairo CG 385. Limestone. H. 160 cm. From Hawara

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

Fig. 6

Fig. 7

Fig. 8

Fig. 9

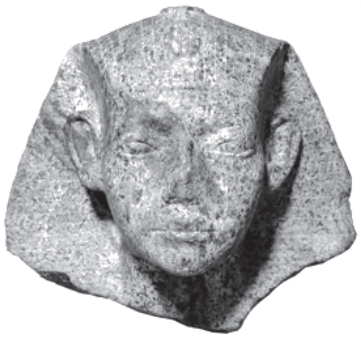


Fig. 10

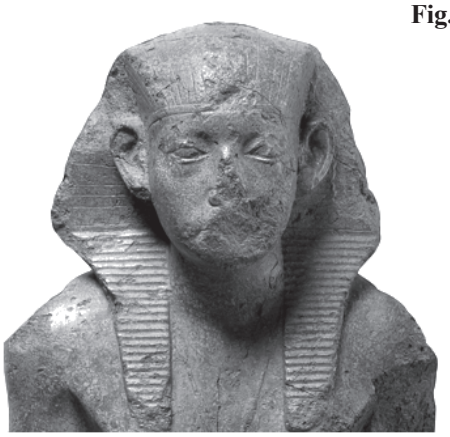


Fig. 11

Fig. 12

Fig. 13

Fig. 14

Fig. 15

Fig. 16

Fig. 17

Fig. 18

Fig. 19

Fig. 14 - Paris E 11053. Quartzite. H. orig. 72 cm. Probably from Fayum
Fig. 15 - Brooklyn 62.77.1. Quartzite. H. 69,8 cm. Unknown provenance
Fig. 16 - Berlin ÄM 15700
Fig. 17 - Rome Barracco 9. Quartzite. H. orig. 36-48 cm. Unknown provenance

Fig. 20

Fig. 18 - New York MMA 59.26.2. Quartzite. H. orig. 38-50 cm. Unknown provenance (photo © MMA)
Fig. 19 Baltimore 22.203. Greywacke. H. orig. 40 cm. Unknown provenance
Fig. 20 - Brussels E. 2310. Sandstone. H. 34 cm. From Serabit el-Khadim
Fig. 21 - Group statue of Senbebu. New York 56.136. Sandstone. H. 21 cm. Probably from Elephantine (photo © MMA)
Fig. 22 - Oxford 1913.411. Limestone. H. 18,6 cm. From Abydos, Middle Cemetery
Fig. 23 - New York MMA 66.123.1. Limestone. H. 26,6 cm. Unknown provenance (photo © MMA)
Fig. 24 - Statuette of the steward Mentuaa. Basel Lg Ae OG 1. Steatite. H. 15,3 cm. Unknown provenance

Fig. 21

Fig. 22

Fig. 23

Fig. 24

Miniaci, Grajetzki (eds.), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1550 BC) I,* MKS 1, London 2015, 81-83

Thoughts on the Sculpture of Sesostris I and Amenemhat II Inspired by the Meket-re Study Day

Biri Fay

Abstract

Progress made in the understanding and dating of Middle Kingdom royal sculpture since the publication of the Louvre sphinx in 1996 make it possible to look at the sculpture of Sesostris I and Amenemhat II with a fresh eye.

The Study Day, Change and Innovation in Middle Kingdom Art, was held May 3rd, 2013 in Vienna, and was organized by Lubica Hudaková, Peter Jánosi, and Andrea Kahlbacher under the auspices of The Meketre-Project, the Austrian Science Fund, and The University Vienna in collaboration with The Department of Egyptian Antiquities in the Kunsthistorisches Museum. Publication of the papers is forthcoming.

Much progress has been made in the understanding and dating of Middle Kingdom royal sculpture[1] since the publication of the Louvre Sphinx in 1996 as the only inscribed image of King Amenemhat II.[2] David Lorand's important study of the reign of Sesostris I has contributed to this progress.[3] Lorand's catalogue of sculptures inscribed for, or attributed to King Sesostris I is invaluable for the light it sheds on the king's sculpture style and the transition to that of his son and successor Amenemhat II. But, a question arises, could images of Amenemhat II be amongst the uninscribed sculptures assigned to Sesostris I?

David Lorand divides his catalogue of nearly 90 sculptures into 4 groups**: Group C**, fifty-one sculptures assigned to Sesostris I on the basis of inscription or archaeological context; **Group A**, twenty-two sculptures attributed to the king on the basis of style or archaeological context; **Group P**, twelve sculptures attributed by others to Sesostris I, but questioned by Lorand; and **Group Fr**, five fragments from statues of Sesostris I with insignificant iconography to classify them.

Despite Amenemhat II's reign of at least 35 years, little sculpture can be attributed to the king, and only one is inscribed, the Louvre sphinx. In contrast, Sesostris I ruled approximately 45 years for which Lorand lists fifty-one statues inscribed for, or attributed to the king on the basis of secure archaeological context, and twenty-one more on the basis of style and archaeological context. If over seventy statues can be put forth as representations of King Sesostris I, where are Amenemhat II's statues? Sa-Hathor, an official who served Amenemhat II, records on his stela from Abydos (British Museum EA 569) that he oversaw the carving of fifteen statues destined for Amenemhat II's pyramid Temple at Dahshur in less than two months. This gives an idea of just how much sculpture made during the king's reign is not accounted for.[4]

Could representations of Amenemhat II be hidden amongst the sculptures attributed to his father? Lorand himself notes similarities between the styles of father and son.[5]

One candidate for a representation of Amenemhat II in Lorand's **Group A** (Fig. 1) is a colossal royal head excavated at Heliopolis in 2005 by The Joint Egyptian-German Mission under Yussuf Hamid, Aiman Ashmawy, Gamal Faris, and Dietrich Raue.[6] The stylistic treatment of

[1] Particularly the work of the following scholars should be noted: Dorothea Arnold, Helmut Brandl, Simon Connor, Rita Freed, David Lorand, Daniel Soliman and Hourig Sourouzian.

[2] Fay, *The Louvre Sphinx.* Most Egyptologists agree that numerous stylistic features that cannot be earlier than Twelfth Dynasty, as well as unequivocal traces of the original inscription naming Amenemhat II are conclusive. See, for example, Vandersleyen, *BiOr* 56, 98-103; Hutterer, *Historische Studien zu Amenemhat II*, vol. I: Text, 53. An alternative opinion is expressed by Zorn, *Sokar* 22 (1/2011), 48-57; "Im Gegensatz zu seinen Vorgängern und Nachfolgern… ist von Amenemhat II. keine Statue erhalten, die ihm auf Grund einer Inschrift unzweifelhaft zugewiesen werden kann".

[3] Lorand, *Arts et politique sous Sésostris Ier,* and Lorand, in Kóthay (ed.), *Art and Society*, 47-55.

[4] Taylor, *Apollo*, July 1998, 54-5, cited this and a second important ancient reference to statues for Amenemhat II that I had missed.

[5] Lorand, *Arts et politique sous Sésostris Ier*, 339.

[6] *Op. cit.,* A 10, 155-6, pl. 452C, where complete bibliogra-

the facial details is strikingly similar to the corresponding features of the Louvre sphinx (Fig. 2) and the two busts attributed to Amenemhat II.[7] The horizontal brows, however, are not what are expected for Amenemhat II whose brows on the three sculptures dip at the bridge of the nose. Three images, however, are not a sufficient sampling to exclude the presence of the feature during Amenemhat II's reign.

Raue's excavation also recovered fragments of colossal seated statues including a backpillar with the beginning of Sesostris I's titulary. Thus far nothing associated with Amenemhat II has been found by his team at the site.[8]

Presumably the Heliopolis head is a representation of Sesostris I, but the similarity between Amenemhat II's known stylistic presence, and that of his father, Sesostris I is exceptional. It is, in fact, remindful of the similarity between some representations of Queen Hatshepsut and her stepson Tuthmosis III who like Sesostris I and Amenemhat II also shared co-regency. Perhaps what appears to be a dearth of sculpture inscribed for Amenemhat II may in part be explained by its reuse and restyling in the Ramesside Period.[9]

Included in Lorand's **Group A** of sculptures attributed to Sesostris I on the basis of style or archaeological context are a number of statues restyled by the Ramessides.[10] Not only are the original features partially or completely lost through restyling, but the original inscriptions identifying the king for whom the statues were carved are replaced by Ramesside inscriptions. Many of these statues were presumably moved, sometimes several times, from the sites for which they were intended, and their modern archaeological context offers little to identify the original royal owners.

The so-called Delta School comprising the statues found in the Delta to which many of these statues belong has interested scholars since Vandier's time and most recently has been discussed by Lorand who correctly points out that it is no longer possible to reject other Middle Kingdom sites such as Memphis, Heliopolis, or even Ezbet-Rushdi as their origin.[11] The statues of the 'Delta School' would go a long way toward accounting for sculpture that must have stood at Heliopolis. Could the 'Delta School' be the 'Heliopolis School' and the statues originally from Heliopolis?[12] It would not be surprising to find representations of Sesostris I and Amenemhat II amongst the so-called Delta School camouflaged by Ramesside alterations.

A colossal seated royal statue, Berlin ÄM 7264 (Fig. 3), probably originally carved for Sesostris I or Amenemhat II, is an excellent example of the restyling carried out under the Ramessides. It also emphasizes the problems associated with attempts to identify the original owner of a remodeled statue. With a certain amount of reservation, Evers attributed the statue to Sesostris II but did not fail to point to the bold relief rendering of the brows and cosmetic lines that was not in keeping with the stylistic criteria he had established for Sesostris II.[13] Subsequently, von Bissing argued for Amenemhat II or Sesostris I as the owner of the statue,[14] or even a king of Dynasty Thirteen.

During preparation of the publication of the Louvre Sphinx (Fig. 2) it was possible to study Berlin ÄM 7264 up close. I expressed my findings as follows:

"Examination of the sculpture revealed that Ramesside recutting is evident in the total modernization of the mouth, the wings and crown of the nemes, and the ears. Ramesside sculptors also removed the lower edge and sides of the uraeus hood, and recarved portions of the eyes (Plate 76a, c, 77a). A number of original details […] are so similar to those of the Louvre sphinx that Berlin 7264 must seriously be considered a candidate for a restyled Amenemhat II, or even Sesostris I".[15]

Most recently Olivia Zorn also examined Evers' attribution to Sesostris II and concluded the statue represented Amenemhat II.[16] Apparently not aware of the extent of the reworking, she notes:

"Der schräger angelegte Stirnreif wurde flacher umgestaltet, wie die Aufrauhung deutlich zeigt. Ansonsten wurden keine Veränderungen im Gesicht und am Körper vorgenommen".

In addition to the restyling mentioned above, the body of the king was reshaped to meet the Ramesside prototype, for example, the slimming of the torso. Subtle changes were also made to stylistically update the image. Creases were incised on the upper eyelids, a detail first appearing

phy is cited, and on p. 156, describes the size of the statues as twice life size up to 2 1/2 times life size.

[7] Fay, *The Louvre Sphinx*, pl. 66 (= Boston, MFA 29.1132, Catalogue 5 + Private collection, Catalogue 6).

[8] Dietrich Raue generously discussed a number of points with me sharing his own findings, as well as providing me with photographs for this article.

[9] Fay, *The Louvre Sphinx*, 59.

[10] Lorand, *Arts et politique sous Sésostris I^er^,* A 13-A 21, 157-67, pls. 47-50A-B. For the discussion of this material, see Sourouzian, *MDAIK* 44, 229-54, pls. 62-75.

[11] Lorand, in Kóthay (ed.), *Art and Society,* 50-4.

[12] See also most recently Lorand, in Kóthay (ed.), *Art and Society*, 50. As suggested elsewhere (Fay, *The Louvre Sphinx*, 56-8) with its fabled avenue of sphinxes, Heliopolis temple certainly would have been an appropriate site for the Louvre Sphinx and its companion.

[13] Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, vol. I, pl. 64; Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, vol. II*,* §§ 676-87. Most scholars have followed Evers.

[14] von Bissing, *Ägyptische Kunstgeschichte*, vol. I, 173-4, 177.

[15] Fay, *The Louvre Sphinx,* 59, pls. 75-7, Berlin 7264.

[16] Zorn, *Sokar* 22, 48-57.

in Dynasty Eighteen, and added by Ramesses II to statues he remodeled, and the ears were reduced to a more manageable size.[17] The piercing of the ear, a fashion first documented in the New Kingdom, is another fussy detail added by Rameses II.

Further study of the restyled sculptures in Lorand's **Group A,** and others like Berlin ÄM 7264, where hints of the original features are still visible, will enable their attribution to Sesostris I, Amenemhat II or Sesostris II.[18]

During Berlin ÄM 7264's stay in New York at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptologists specializing in ancient Egyptian art history and philology will have the opportunity to update and supplement my findings with observations of their own and perhaps identify with certainty the king represented.

Fig. 1 - Heliopolis Head; Courtesy of Ägyptisches Museum – Georg Steindorff – Universität Leipzig. Photo: P. Collet

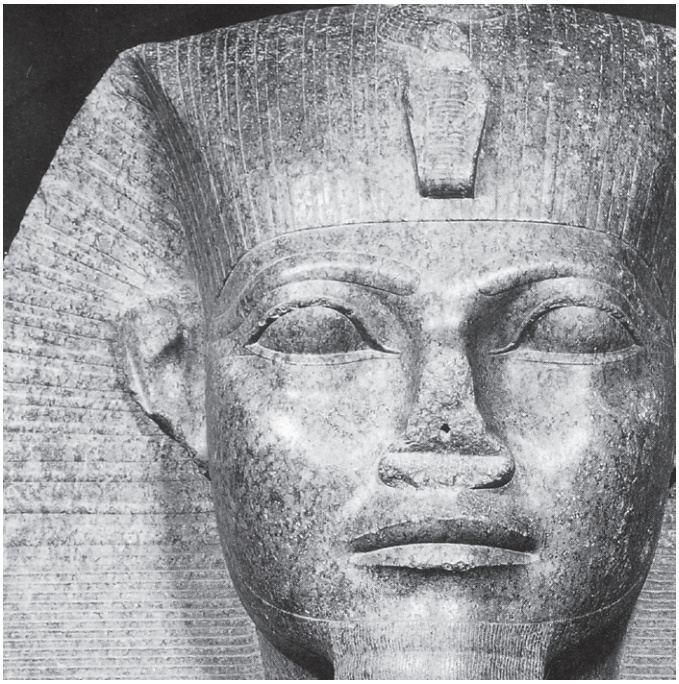


Fig. 2 Paris, Louvre A 23. Photo: Biri Fay

Fig. 3 - Berlin, ÄM 7264. Photo: Biri Fay

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[17] Which Zorn sees as large and typical for the Middle Kingdom.

[18] See Magen, *Steinerne Palimpseste*, for an important study of the sculpture appropriated by the Ramessides and their followers, and for Berlin ÄM 7264, specifically, 13-5, 17-9, 21, 31, 34, 288-9, 429, 433, 438.

Miniaci, Grajetzki (eds.), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1550 BC) I,* MKS 1, London 2015, 85-88

London BM EA 288 (1237) – a Cloaked Individual

Biri Fay

Abstract
A Middle Kingdom statue in the British Museum depicting a cloaked and striding individual projects into three-dimension a representation of cloaked priest known from a single Old Kingdom representation in a private tomb, and several Heb-sed scenes.

Im Memoriam Detlef Franke

Detlef Franke and I never met, but for many years we exchanged ideas,
discussed discoveries, and traded observations and viewpoints
from our areas of interest within the study of Middle Kingdom Egypt

I wish I had had the chance to discuss this statue with him

> "*Dem Libierenden folgt nunmehr ein Priester* […]. *Es handelt sich um die in einen langen Mantel gehüllt Gestalt mit schulterlanger Perücke und Knebelbart, die einen zepterförmigen Stab vor sich mit beiden Händen gepackt hält*".[1]

A statue acquired by The British Museum in 1897 projects into three-dimension the cloaked priest wearing a shoulder length wig and chin beard described in the quotation.[2] A single Old Kingdom representation from a private tomb where the individual appears in the procession of the coffin of the deceased[3] (Fig. 5), and several representations in *Heb-sed* scenes with a different title,[4] testify to the antiquity of the image.

Representations of the individual seem to skip the Middle Kingdom, but appear again frequently in New Kingdom funerary (Fig. 6) and *Heb-Sed* scenes.

The function of the individual is clearly quite ancient and it has been suggested, that already by the late Old Kingdom, it was no longer completely understood[5]. The fact that the men are depicted wearing a cloak, sometimes with a vertical border similar to the king's *Heb-sed* cloak, and sometimes with fringe, points to the importance of the individual.

The role of the priest is enigmatic. From our point in history, the tendency is to interpret the cloaked individual in funerary and *Heb-sed* scenes as one and the same official, although it need not be the case.

The base of the statue in the British Museum is lost and there is no inscription on the remainder of the sculpture to help identify the man or his function. The records in The British Museum cite Tell Atrib as its provenance, but this is unlikely since Middle Kingdom material is not otherwise documented at this site. Even if the statue was acquired there, it is doubtful that this is its original provenance.[6]

Cloaked statues are rare in ancient Egyptian sculpture during any period, even more so when the individual is represented striding instead of standing. During the

[1] Settgast, *Untersuchungen zu Altägyptischen Bestattungsdarstellungen*, 36-7, pl. 3. Marianne Eaton-Krauss provided this reference.
[2] London, BM EA 1237, grano-diorite, height 63 cm, width 14 cm, depth 20 cm, from Tell Atrib, acquired 1897. Bibliography: PM IV, 65, with earlier bibliography, Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie Égyptienne*, vol. III, 228, pl. 75, 5-6, most recently, Russmann, *Eternal Egypt*, 100-1, no. 28, also with selected earlier bibliography.
[3] *LD* II, pl. 101b; Wilson, *JNES* 3, pl. 13, redrawn by Cantor after Lepsius.
[4] von Bissing, Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-Woser-Re*, vol. III, 59.
[5] This may explain variations in the representations at different times. Altenmüller, in *LÄ* I, col. 756, and note 16, mentions the "Priester im langen weißen Gewand".
[6] For Tell Atrib see, Vernus in, *LÄ* I, col. 519-24 (Athribis).

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Figs. 1-4 - London, BM EA 288 (1237), photos courtesy of the Trustees of The British Museum

Middle Kingdom, less than a handful is known[7]. Several features set this statue apart from the others. This man wears a short, wide beard, but the other cloaked men are clean shaven. The British Museum man's cloak drapes comfortably and loosely around his body and flares outward at the lower front wrapped edge. The other men wrap their cloaks snugly around their body and the front lower corner of the cloak does not flare out.[8] Finally, the other striding cloaked statues are at most 44 cm in height including the base, while the British Museum statue is over 63 cm without the feet and base.

The British Museum statue could represent the priest who wears the flowing cloak, wig and short beard depicted in two-dimension during the Old Kingdom. In two-dimensional representations the priest holds a staff, but, it is not unusual for sculptural and relief representations of one and the same individual to differ in some aspects, especially when auxiliary objects such as a staff are present that would project beyond the confines of a three-dimensional sculpture. For example, in two-dimensional representations, the vizier holds a staff before his body: in sculpture, he does not.[9]

The British Museum statue is stylistically datable to the first half of Dynasty XII, around the reign of Amenemhat II,[10] an era when ancient glory and tradition were emphasized through archaizing in sculpture as well as relief.[11] In contrast, other cloaked statues are datable to the latter part of Dynasty XII.

Conceivably, The British Museum cloaked figure is based on an Old Kingdom prototype of the mysterious figure wearing a cloak and beard that is otherwise know today only from two-dimensional representations. Ann Russmann pointed out that during the Middle Kingdom, cloaked statues were set up in temples, not tombs[12] – it is tempting to see the British Museum individual as a participant in Amenemhat II's *Hed-sed*.

Acknowledgment
All members of the Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan, were helpful during my visits to the department. I thank especially, W. Vivian Davies, Richard Parkinson, Jeffrey Spencer, John H. Taylor, Marcel Marée, and the members of the technical staff.

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[7] Berlin 12485, Kaiser (ed.), *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, no. 304; New York MMA 14.4.6, from Riqqeh, Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie Égyptienne*, vol. III, 228, 263; New York MMA 66.123.1, from Saqqara; Sotheby, 21 May 1930, 31, no. 281, pl. 4; perhaps also Middle Kingdom, Cailliaud, *Voyage à l'Oasis de Thèbes*, vol. II, 4, pl. 35, 1-2, or Dynasty Eighteen.

[8] For cloaks in the Middle Kingdom and thereafter, see Russmann, *Eternal Egypt*, 100-1. Cloaks were also certainly an important expression of rank and social status.

[9] Some viziers in sculpture and relief are illustrated in Fay, in D'Auria (ed.), *Servant of Mut,* 89-101.

[10] Although, Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, vol. I, pl. 98 and Russmann, *Eternal Egypt*, 100-2 suggested later dates for the statue, *i.e.* reign of Amenemhat III and late Twelfth Dynasty, respectively, the broad face, wide full mouth, brows in relief and the presence of cosmetic lines at the outer canthi are diagnostic for works created around the reign of Amenemhat II.

[11] Most notably, Amenemhat II took inspiration for his own colossal sphinx from the Great Sphinx at Giza. Official garments and regalia in all periods are often intentionally archaizing to associate the subject and his office with long and honourable traditions, even if their meaning was no longer completely understood.

[12] Russmann, *Eternal Egypt*, 100-1.

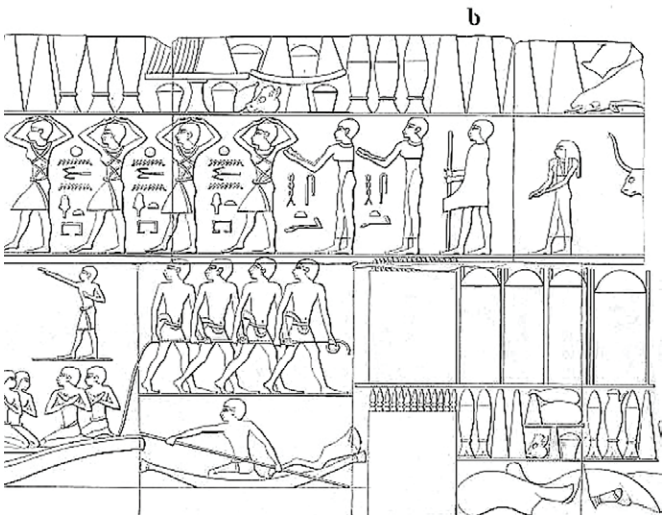

Fig. 5 - Ptahhotep I, Saqqara after Lepsius, *Denkmaeler II*, pl. 101b

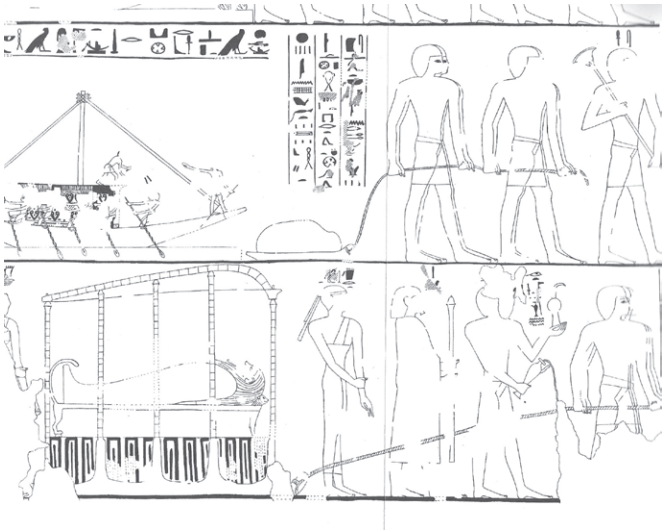

Fig. 6 - After, Davies, *The Tomb of Amenemhet*, pl. 10 (detail)

Miniaci, Grajetzki (eds.), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1550 BC) I,* MKS 1, London 2015, 89-91

Neferusobek Project: Part I

Biri Fay, Rita E. Freed, Thomas Schelper, Friederike Seyfried

Abstract

The bust of a royal woman lost during World War II, Berlin 14475, can now be identified as the late Dynasty Twelve Queen, Neferusobek, the second ruling queen of Egypt.

The bust of a woman lost during World War II, Berlin 14475,[1] may soon be reunited with the lower part of her statue thanks to a mold and cast made over 100 years ago by the Gipsformerei of the then Königliche Museen Berlin.[2] The subject of the sculpture can now be identified as Queen Neferusobek, the second ruling queen of Egypt who reigned for less than 4 years (1798/97-1794/93) almost 4000 years ago. The reconstruction is the first complete statue of this female pharaoh and finally provides a face that can with certainty be associated with her name.

The authors are grateful for the opportunity to present the Neferusobek Project in this volume devoted to the Middle Kingdom. The project will coordinate the work of several international institutions, their experts, and independent scholars. The success of the project will depend upon a seamless coordination amongst the participants who share the ultimate goal of creating a virtual reconstruction of an ancient Egyptian royal statue, half of which is lost.

The project began with a suggestion that the lost Berlin bust (Figs. 1-4) could be the missing upper part of the seated statue depicting a royal woman found by George A. Reisner at Semna Fort (Figs. 5-8) and now in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston.[3] The initial test of the join shows that the two parts work well together: proportion, balance, and style of carving are closely related even though the metal rod mounting the bust on a base and the plaster fill on the underside complicated faultless positioning of the two parts.

A new plaster cast of the lost bust prepared especially for this project will be joined with the base in Boston. The objective is to generate a three dimensional scan uniting the parts, and to produce from that an image. The participants also envision an exchange of casts between the two museums, providing each museum with a complete statue.

Upon completion of the project, a final report will present our findings including the implications, both technical and art historical.

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[1] Berlin 14475, greywacke, height 14 cm, width 9 cm, depth 6.2 cm. Bequeathed by Dr. Deibel, 1899, and although lost during Second World War, excellent photographs and even more importantly, a mold taken in 1905 by the Gipsformerei, makes it possible to work with the lost bust as if it still exists. Most recently discussed by Schoske, in Wildung (ed.), *Ägypten 2000 v.Chr.*, 140, 143, 185, Cat. 67, where, using the small size of the bust as evidence, she suggests it is from a pair statue depicting a king and a queen.

[2] Now Gipsformerei Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

[3] Boston, MFA 24.742, greywacke, h. 21.4 cm, w. 8.5 cm, d. 17.7 cm, Dunham, Janssen, *Semna Kumma,* 33, no. 323, pl. 40, a, b, c; note the *sm3 t3wy* symbol incised in the small quadrants on the sides of the throne, symbol of a ruling pharaoh.

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Figs. 1-4 - Berlin ÄM 14475, lost during the Second World War. Photos taken prior to the Second World War, courtesy of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz

Fig. 5

Fig. 6

Fig. 7

Fig. 8

Figs. 5-8 - First test: plaster cast of Berlin, ÄM 14475 with Boston, MFA 24.742. Photos: Biri Fay

Miniaci, Grajetzki (eds.), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1550 BC) I,* MKS 1, London 2015, 93-100

A Torso gets a Name: an Additional Statue of the Vizier Mentuhotep?

Rita E. Freed

Abstract

A headless, uninscribed, unprovenanced upper torso of an Egyptian scribe, once described in an auction catalogue as "probably (from) Radjastan", upon close examination, proves to be more interesting than would initially appear. Both what is present and what is lacking provide clues to not only its date but also to its identity. Primarily through art historical analysis, the author demonstrates that the subject is likely to have been Mentuhotep, who worked his way up to the position of vizier during the last years of Senwosret I. She further suggests it was set up, with other statues of the same person, at Karnak in front of the Senwosret I temple, the building of which Mentuhotep is likely to have overseen.

The ideal of every Egyptologist is to work with perfectly preserved, inscribed and dated material. Reality seldom matches the ideal, as is certainly true with an uninscribed fragmentary torso recently acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Nevertheless, thanks to style and attributes which are unique to the Middle Kingdom, it is possible not only to postulate a specific date, but also an identity for this object.

Description

Although headless, broken below the waist and uninscribed, what remains (Fig. 1; Pls. XXII-XXIII)[1] indicates it came from the statue of a seated scribe; it has a scribal kit draped over the left shoulder, undulating flesh folds across the abdomen and bent arms resting on the beginnings of a lap. First appearing in a 1962 Sotheby's London auction, it was identified as the torso of an Eighteenth Dynasty scribe.[2] It reappeared 27 years later (1989) at the auction of the Stöcker Collection where it was dated to the Thirteen Century AD, included in the section on Indian art, and labeled "probablement Radjastan".[3] The MFA purchased it from Royal Athena Galleries, where it was described as a torso of a Middle Kingdom scribe.[4]

Fig. 1 - Torso of a Scribe. Boston, MFA 2012.567. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

The MFA torso is approximately life-size and naturalistically carved from granodiorite. Its rough surface implies it never received a final polish. Only a small part of the bottom of the neck remains, and the relatively flat surface of the break, together with a circular depression in the center, suggests at some point in its history the head

[1] Boston, MFA 2012.567, granodiorite, h. 36.8 cm, Marilyn M. Simpson Fund.

[2] Sotheby's and Co., *Catalogue of Greek, Roman, Egyptian and Near Eastern Antiquities,*15, item 49.

[3] Ader Picard Tajan, *Une Vente pour La Nature*, 107, item 251.

[4] Royal Athena Galleries, *Art of the Ancient World*, 77, no. 205.

was destroyed and replaced, before being lost again.

Swollen, sagging breasts compress a roll of flesh, which expands in the middle (Pl. xxii). In contrast, the width of a flesh fold below the one just described is equal across the chest. Both folds end at the negative space between the upper arm and torso; they do not continue across the back. Despite the volume of the breasts and flesh folds, the torso overall is trim. The abdomen is flat, the waist is proportional to the canon of a fit Egyptian male, and the upper torso is sufficiently slender to show clavicles, which are represented by raised diagonal lines meeting below the neck at its midpoint. The navel is represented as a horizontal cut with a triangular depression above it. A tight-fitting kilt, only the upper border of which is preserved, is secured by a tight-fitting kilt,

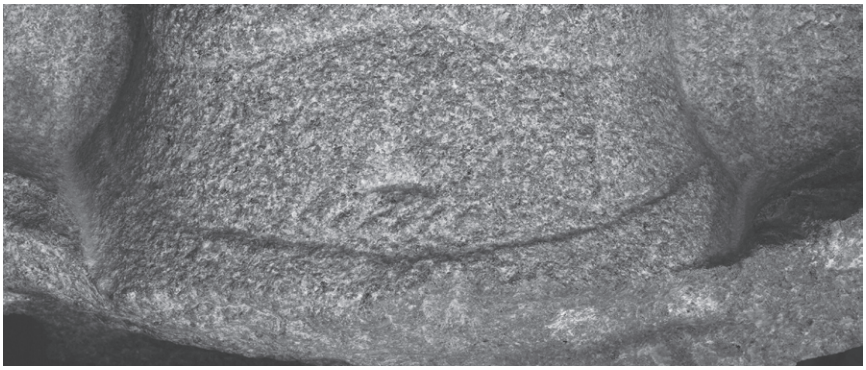

Fig. 2 - Torso of a Scribe, detail of waist. Boston, MFA 2012.567. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

only the upper border of which is preserved, is secured by a complex knot depicted as a row of horizontal chevrons shown beneath the navel (Fig. 2).[5] Faint traces of two circles on the upright tab tucked under the kilt at the left imply it is a scribal palette.[6] Another palette containing clearly articulated ink cakes encircled by shen signs hands at a slight diagonal on the left side of the chest. A bag for pigment and a case for reed pens attached by means of a long cord are slung over the back.[7]

The rear of the torso has a shallow depression around the base of the neck which continues vertically down the center before it ends at the waist (Pl. xxiii). What remains of the neck indicates that the head was inclined forward. The statue must have had close-cropped or short hair because no trace of a wig is present on the shoulders. The upper arms are flatter in front than in back, and flatten almost completely at the crook of the arm. The level surface continues below the elbow to the break. The negative space between the arm and the torso is slightly wider on the left side than the right, implying the left arm and hand angled slightly outward**.**

Dating and Comparanda

Very few uninscribed statues, royal or private, are identifiable by their torsos alone. Nevertheless, in this case available evidence allows us to narrow the possibilities. Its nearly life size and scribal kit indicate the owner enjoyed an elevated status as a scribe and perhaps more. An overview of the development of scribal statues provides clues to its date. The first examples date to the reign of Khufu, and at that time they are limited to members of the royal family.[8] Later Old Kingdom examples generally lack pronounced flesh folds, and none have the scribal kit over the shoulder.[9] This innovation appears only in the Twelfth Dynasty.

The earliest datable sculptures of scribes carrying scribal kits over their shoulders represent the vizier Mentuhotep,[10] one of the most powerful private individuals during the reign of Senwosret I. He commissioned more statues of himself than any other subsequent non-royal individual with the exception of Senenmut of the Eighteenth Dynasty.[11] For no other private person in ancient Egypt do we have a greater number of life-size representations. Over ten such statues or statue fragments were found at Lisht in the chapel and shaft of his large mastaba, located immediately south of the eastern enclosure wall of the cenotaph complex of Senwosret I.[12]

[5] This photo was taken with reflectance transformation imaging (RTI), which highlights details under high power magnification. I am grateful to Pamela Hatchfield of the MFA's Conservation Department for suggesting this process and taking the photo.

[6] See Cairo CG 42125, illustrated in Legrain, *Statues et statuettes*, pl. 75 for a clearly articulated palette tucked into the waistband.

[7] Gerry Scott perceptively notes that the flatness of the pigment bag and pen case liken them to the hieroglyphic determinative for scribe, and cites this as an example of the interplay of sculpture and writing (Scott, *Egyptian scribe statue,* vol. I, 134-5).

[8] Scott, *Egyptian scribe statue,* vol. I*,* 22-3.

[9] The scribal kit draped over the shoulder is known in relief as early as First Dynasty, as shown on the Narmer palette, Cairo CG 14716, illustrated in Tiradritti, *Egyptian treasures,* 27, 41. An example closer in form to the Middle Kingdom kit is found on the wooden panels of Hesire, Cairo CG 1426 and 1428, illustrated in Tiradritti, *Egyptian treasures,* 48.

[10] Scott, *Egyptian scribe statue,* vol. I*,* 133.

[11] Before him, only Babaef of the Fifth Dynasty, whose tomb, Giza 5230 ontained more (30-40 of the tomb owner) but only six were life size. There are at least 25 statues of Senenmut, Hatshepsut's architect and royal nurse, but few are lifesize.

[12] Arnold, *Middle Kingdom Tomb Architecture at Lisht*, 38,

At least eight and possibly as many as ten life-size statues were found at Karnak.[13] An additional torso without provenance formerly in the Albright-Knox Gallery possibly represents the vizier Mentuhotep.[14] Of these statues, all but six from Lisht[15] show the owner in one of several scribal poses, including actively writing on a papyrus spread across the lap,[16] reading a papyrus unrolled across the lap[17] or kneeling in an asymmetrical pose.[18] All are headless, save one.[19] Materials include granodiorite, sandstone, quartzite and limestone, but the greatest number (nine or more), are granodiorite. No other known individual in Egyptian history possessed more statues of himself as a scribe, a pose denoting intelligence, respect and authority.

In view of Mentuhotep's preference for depicting himself as a life-size seated scribe, could the Boston torso be another depiction of him? The Lisht granodiorite statues are fragmentary and include no torso fragments, so they provide no basis for comparison. Of the rich body of material from Karnak, three statues inscribed for Menthotep are similar to the Boston piece in material, size and pose (Figs. 3-5). Like the Boston torso, they display slightly more negative space between the arm and chest on the left side than the right. On the Karnak statues, Mentuhotep writes with an implement (now missing) held in his right hand on a papyrus stretched across his lap. In his left hand he anchors the rolled end of his manuscript. A clam shell with a cake of ink sculpted inside is balanced on his left knee.

Luxor Museum J. 36 and J. 37 (Figs. 3-4),[20] two of the sculptures most closely comparable to the Boston torso, were found during excavations beside the platform west of the first pylon of the temple in the 1971.[21] The third, Cairo CG 42037 (Fig. 5), comes from the famous Cachette found in 1903 in the courtyard northeast of the Seventh Pylon. Like the Boston torso, the three comparanda have scribal kits over their shoulders and kilts with complex knots. All were decapitated just above the base of the neck. On the Luxor and Boston statues a new head must have been added, based on rectangular slots inside the neck breaks of the former and the depression in the center of the neck break on the latter.

Even without its final detailing and polish, the modeling of the Boston statue compares well with this group and particularly to Cairo CG 42037 (Fig. 5) from the Cachette. While all four have pronounced clavicles and rolls of flesh across the front of their torsos, the example from the Cachette and the Boston piece exhibit more restrained modeling and less pendulous breasts.

It should be noted there are differences between the Boston torso and the three statues of Mentuhotep discussed above. Whereas the interior of the ink cakes is concave on the Mentuhoteps it is only incised, likely in preparation for hollowing, on the Boston piece. On the Mentuhoteps, a horizontally oriented double knot ends in a horizontal tab which expands slightly toward the end. Reflectance transformation imaging (Fig. 2) reveals the beginning of the execution of the double knot, but no horizontal tab on the Boston torso.[22] The knots on the Mentuhoteps end in a vertical extension that expands upward and over the lowermost flesh fold. On the Boston torso, the vertical extension is a a scribal palette, based on faint outlines of ink cakes with it.

There are few, if any, inscribed and approximately life-size early Twelfth Dynasty scribal statues that represent anyone other than Mentuhotep. Cairo CG 42042, a life-size granodiorite scribal statue which bears the name Teti-em-re[23] exhibits modeling and a double-knotted tie similar to the Mentuhoteps, and it also may have received a replacement head.[24] As suggested by Vandier and reiterated by Scott, Teti-em-re may have usurped it from Mentuhotep,[25] and I agree with this suggestion.

It is unlikely the Boston scribe dates to the second half of Twelfth or Thirteenth Dynasty. Although life-size scribal statues occur later in the Middle Kingdom, they usually have wigs extending over their shoulders, pro-

45-6. A publication of these statues by Dorothea Arnold is forthcoming. She kindly shared her photos with me.

[13] For a list of the eight see Franke, *Personendaten*, 183, dossier 262, (a)-(h) for the 8, and (i) for a possible ninth. A leg fragment, Louvre AF 9915, may or may not be part of a tenth statue according to Delange, *Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire*, 65.

[14] Delange, *Catalogue des statues* égyptiennes *du Moyen Empire*, 57 argues for its identification as the vizier Mentuhotep, but others have raised significant doubts, including Simpson, *MDAIK* 37, 435-7 and Franke, *Personendaten,* 183, dossier 262.

[15] For the non-scribal statues, see Arnold, *Middle Kingdom Tomb Architecture at Lisht,* 45.

[16] Romano (ed.), *The Luxor Museum*, 26, 29, figs. 20-1.

[17] Delange, *Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire*, 55-8.

[18] *Op. cit*., 59-65.

[19] Louvre A 123, illustrated in *op. cit*., 59-62.

[20] Romano (ed.), *The Luxor Museum,* 28-9 and 26-7 respectively.

[21] Lauffray, *KARNAK 5*, 43.

[22] These rectangles may or may not be scribal palettes. See note 6.

[23] Legrain, *Statues et statuettes,* 25-6 and pl. 26.

[24] According to Legrain, *Statues et statuettes,* 25, although he did not indicate on what basis he felt the head had been replaced.

[25] Scott, *Egyptian scribe statue,* vol. II, cat. 71, 183-7. However, as he notes, on the Teti-em-re, the right hand rests palm-down on the papyrus, the papyrus has a retrograde text and the scribal kit over the shoulder is absent. Fay, *GM* 133, 22-3 and note 13 points out that the texts inscribed on the vertical edge of the base, as it is on the Teti-em-re statue, also begins only after the Middle Kingdom.

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

Fig. 3 - The vizier Mentuhotep on a low base. Luxor Museum of Art J. 36. Photographer John G. Ross, Courtesy Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art
Fig. 4 - The vizier Mentuhotep on a high base. Luxor Museum of Art J. 37. Photograph Courtesy Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art
Fig. 5 - Statue of Mentuhotep. Egyptian Museum, Cairo CG 42037. Photographer Sameh Abdel Mohsen, Courtesy Egyptian Museum, Cairo

truding stomachs rather than flesh folds, and garments with high waists.[26]

Early New Kingdom sculpture hearkens back stylistically to the Middle Kingdom, but a number of factors argue against a New Kingdom date for the Boston torso. New Kingdom examples have long wigs similar to the late Middle Kingdom examples,[27] but the bare shoulders of the Boston example indicate it cannot have had such a

[26] Scott, *Egyptian scribe statue,* vol. I, 184-5, 189 ff. For illustrations see Legrain, *Statues et statuettes,* pls. 24-5. In this group I would include the scribal statues found in Kerma, and particularly Boston, MFA 14.722 from KIII. Although superficially similar to the Mentuhotep statues, and perhaps modeled after it, it has a shoulder-length wig, linear (rather than curvilinear) flesh folds, and a navel just below them.
[27] Scott, *Egyptian scribe statue,* vol. I, 378-9.

wig. Also, vertical tab with the squared end/scribal palette of the Middle Kingdom most often acquires a rounded top in the New Kingdom.[28] Many New Kingdom examples have inscriptions directly on their torsos, a practice seldom if ever attested in the Middle Kingdom, particularly early in the Twelfth Dynasty.[29] There are relatively few examples of scribal statues in the Late Period, and none, to the author's knowledge, bear the hallmarks of the Boston torso.[30]

In conclusion, evidence points to an early Twelfth Dynasty date for the Boston torso. Based on the parallels discussed above, it may be reconstructed as a bald, cross-legged scribe wearing a tight-fitting kilt who held a writing implement in his right hand for inscribing a papyrus stretched across his lap. His left clasped the rolled end of his manuscript; on the far left of his lap a clam shell held an ink and water mixture. Given its size, modeling and attributes, the Boston torso likely represents the vizier Mentuhotep and originally came from Karnak. If we assume it does, we may further conjecture about its original placement, function and subsequent re-use.

Fig. 6 - False door of Mentuhotep, lower part. Boston, MFA 1980.173. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Career of Mentuhotep

An overview of Mentuhotep's career provides a perspective on the man who James Allen called "the best attested high official of the early Middle Kingdom".[31] The name of his father[32] is unknown, but his mother, Askenka, is mentioned on several of his monuments. Mentuhotep's name first appears on a rock inscription at Naga el-Girgawi, Nubia, dated to Year 18 of Senwosret I, where his titles include "Royal Seal Bearer" and "Overseer of the Double Granaries".[33] From this relatively modest beginning, his career blossoms, based on the increasing number and importance of titles on his monuments.[34] Such offices as "Priest of Maat in Karnak", "Managing Scribe in the Temple of Amun at Karnak", and "Overseer of All Works of the King", on his Karnak statues attest to his growing prestige at that site alone.[35] Senwosret I built copiously,[36] and many of his building projects were presumably the responsibility of Mentuhoetp. Organization of the work force, quarrying, recruitment of skilled artists and architects and project management we may assume were among his duties, and these activities would have bestowed power and recognition.

Mentuhotep's administrative and priestly titles specific to Karnak suggest he was responsible for the construction of that site's first major stone temple dedicated to Amun.[37] Additionally, he must have overseen the building of the White Chapel, in honor of Senwosret I's jubilee,[38] and the erection of at least two colossal statues of the king.[39] One can imagine Mentuhotep taking advantage of his access to materials and talented royal artists to produce and erect ten or more statues of himself at the newly built temple. These statues would have served the dual purpose of representing him in the service of his king and allowing him to take part in divine offerings.

[28] Scott, *Egyptian scribe statue,* vol. II, cat. 125, for example. A noteworthy exception to this is Cairo, CG 592, a New Kingdom scribal statue of Amenhotep, son of Neferet-iry whose size, flesh folds, double-knotted kilt and scribal kit are similar to the Boston torso, but his wig is unmistakably New Kingdom, see Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, vol. II, 146-7, pl. 106.

[29] Fay, *GM* 133, 21 ff.

[30] For example, Nespekashuty, Cairo JE 36665 (illustrated in Tiradritti, *Egyptian treasures*, 351) dated to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, has a shoulder-length wig, simple belt, and trim torso. Petamenhotep, Cairo JE 37341 (illustrated in Tiradritti, *Egyptian treasures,* 352) is another Twenty-sixth Dynasty scribe whose torso and pose recall scribal statues of the Old Kingdom, even though he has close-cropped hair (see Tiradritti, *Egyptian treasures*, 351).

[31] Allen, in Strudwick, Taylor (eds.), *Theban Necropolis,* 20.

[32] Simpson, *MDAIK* 47, 337-8 and Allen, in Strudwick, Taylor (eds.), *Theban Necropolis,* 20.

[33] Žába, *The Rock Inscriptions of Lower Nubia*, 109-15. See Allen, in Strudwick, Taylor (eds.), *Theban Necropolis,* 20 for reservations about whether this is the same Mentuhotep and note 78 for additional comments by others.

[34] For a list of titles, see Sauneron, *KARNAK* 5*,* 69.

[35] See Allen, in Strudwick, Taylor (eds.), *Theban Necropolis,* 21.

[36] As aptly summarized by Simpson, in *LÄ* V, 891, "Few sites do not attest to the extensive building activity of this king".

[37] Gabolde, *Le 'Grande Château d'Amon'*, 59, 163. Its foundation took place in Year 10 of Senwosret I (p. 123), and it replaced a smaller structure of the Eleventh Dynasty.

[38] Simpson, *MDAIK* 47, 331.

[39] *Op. cit.*, 335.

At Abydos, Mentuhotep's building activity on behalf of his sovereign included a temple and colossal statuary.[40] For himself, he built a cenotaph chapel larger than any other at that time.[41] A false door measuring 1.18 m in width formed its westernmost wall (Fig. 6).[42] The central element of the chapel, a round-topped stela,[43] at 1.81 m in height, 1.5 m wide, and 43 cm thick would have dominated the landscape. Inscribed over every visible surface, it includes Mentuhotep's most extensive and impressive list of titles, including vizier. This is the only time this highest title is mentioned on a monument indisputably his, leading some to suggest he acquired it only at the end of his career, which approximately coincided with the end of Senwosret I's reign.[44] Undoubtedly impressed with this stela, Sehetepibre of the late Twelfth Dynasty copied most of its texts on his own slightly smaller monument, and another official at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty copied them yet again.[45]

On both his false door and stela, Mentuhotep is represented with pendant breasts and rolls of fat, as he is on his statuary. Additionally, on all of his reliefs he is depicted with an aquiline nose. While acquiline noses are not unique on reliefs of the time,[46] they are sufficiently rare to suggest that this detail may have been taken from life.

Mentuhotep may have been responsible for overseeing the building of Senwosret I's pyramid complex at Lisht, if the size and location of his own burial immediately south of the king's eastern enclosure wall are any indication. Its construction probably post-dates Year 25, namely after the king's funerary complex was finished.[47] There are many large, private mastabas at Lisht, but only Senwosretankh, the architect and presumed designer of the complex, had one larger than Mentuhotep.[48] Mentuhotep's funerary establishment consisted of a causeway, brick enclosure wall and relief-decorated, above-ground chapel measuring 14.14 m in width and *c.* 29 m in length.[49] A pillared portico, possibly containing more than ten life-size statues[50] led to his mortuary chapel, which likely housed a shrine for Mentuhotep's primary cult statue. Based on the measurements of a doorjamb from the shrine, the cult statue was over life-size.[51] Mentuhotep's burial chamber included two large stone sarcophagi. The lavish and extensive reliefs from the complex, which are said by the excavator to be of 'extraordinary' quality, are exceedingly fragmentary;[52] unfortunately they provide little information about Mentuhotep's career. The vizier's title was not found in the context of his tomb. It was long thought that Mentuhotep's career continued into the reign of Senwosret I's successor, Amenemhat II, based on the reading of a cartouche on the torso of one of the Mentuhotep statues from Karnak.[53] However more recent scholarship by Biri Fay has demonstrated that the cartouche may not be contemporary with the statue.[54] Presently there is no reliable evidence that Mentuhotep's career continued into the reign of Senwosret I's successor.[55]

Postulating a history for the Boston torso and its comparanda

If we accept that the Boston torso represents the vizier Mentuhotep, then based on what is known and what may be postulated about him, his monuments, and their history during his lifetime and afterwards, we may further speculate about the history of the Boston torso. Since its closest parallels in material, hand position, and modeling were found at Karnak, we may assume it too came from there. Based on its lack of final polish, it may have been the last one made.[56] It, together with the others, represents the beginning of the tradition of erecting private sculpture in temples. While we are unlikely to discover the original placement of the Boston statue, it is logical to assume it was set up with the other Mentuhoteps in proximity to the Senwosret I temple, presumably built

[40] Simpson, *MDAIK* 47, 334-5 and notes 21-2. For details of what little survives of the Middle Kingdom temple, see Kemp, in *LÄ* I, 31.
[41] Simpson, *MDAIK* 47, 332.
[42] Boston, MFA 1980.173. Preserved height is 54 cm.
[43] Cairo CG 20539 in Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches im Museum von Kairo*, 150-8. A suggestion by Berlev, *BiOr* 33, 325, that a stela in the Musée Calvet in Avignon belongs to this chapel I find unlikely on stylistic grounds.
[44] Obsomer, *Sésostris I*, 227 and Allen, in Strudwick, Taylor (eds.), *Theban Necropolis,* 25.
[45] Simpson, *MDAIK* 47, 332, with citations of earlier works.
[46] For other examples, see Freed, in der Manuelian, *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. I, 313, fig. 5b, 324-5, fig. 9c.
[47] Arnold, *Middle Kingdom Tomb Architecture at Lisht,* 39. Senwosret I's last regnal year was 45. Additionally, a royal statue preserved from the waist down and found in the vicinity of Mentuhotep's tomb bears the title "vizier" on the base (*op. cit.,* 45-6).
[48] *Op. cit.,* 14, 38 and pl. 1. Senwosretankh's mastaba is located substantially northeast of the king's pyramid.
[49] *Op. cit.,* 38 ff.
[50] *Op. cit.,* 45. The statuary will be the subject of a forthcoming publication by Dorothea Arnold.
[51] *Op. cit.,* 40-1.
[52] *Op. cit.,* 41-5.
[53] Simpson, *MDAIK* 47, 340.
[54] Fay, *GM* 133, 25.
[55] *Op. cit.*, 28.
[56] I owe this suggestion to Susan Allen. Perhaps he died before it could be completed.

by the vizier.[57] Perhaps the statues were placed in front where they could act as intermediaries between the public, the king and the gods. They would have been removed when that temple was dismantled in the early Eighteenth Dynasty,[58] but not placed beyond reach of the Aten priesthood, who may have defaced their inscriptions and knocked off their heads.[59]

The Mentuhotep statues would have benefited from the massive post-Amarna restoration of Karnak, although where in Karnak they were at that time is unknown. Sauneron noted the two Mentuhotep statues found beside the platform west of the First Pylon, one from the Cachette and one from an unspecified area of Karnak have inscriptions on the base and on the torsos which were added in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. He based this on the names inscribed, which are characteristic of the late New Kingdom[60] as well as the placement of inscriptions on the vertical edge of the base or directly on the flesh of the torso, which is consistent with a post-Middle Kingdom date.[61] In all cases these inscriptions were not meant as usurpations but additions, suggesting a respect and even reverence for the original owner. According to Sauneron, one inscription reads, "Son fils qui a renouvelé son nom après qu'il …. fut tombé dans la décréptitude". Sauneron suggested the decrepitude refers to the Amarna Period devastations. It also suggests that the memory of Mentuhotep and his achievements may have still been alive at that time.

At least the two Luxor statues and the Boston torso were fitted with replacement heads slotted or doweled into specially prepared areas of the neck break (Figs. 1, 3-4), possibly as part of the Amarna restoration. Christophe Barbotin hinted the 'Tête Salt' in the Louvre may have been one such replacement head for a Mentuhotep statue not once, but twice, based on the series of holes drilled into the base of the neck.[62] Since most[63] believe that the 'Tête Salt' dates to the post-Amarna Period, this lends support to Sauneron's suggestion of an Amarna Period decapitation.

The statues found on the platform to the west of the first pylon remained on view until at least the Twenty-second Dynasty, approximately 1,000 years after they were first erected.[64] The three from the Cachette were visible for about 1,600 years, namely until the early Ptolemaic Period when statuary of all periods was gathered and buried. The Louvre statues of Mentuhotep, discovered by Mariette in 1875 on a platform beside the enclosure wall of the Middle Kingdom temple,[65] may not have been deliberately buried but gradually covered by accumulated sand and debris.

When the Mentuhoteps lost their replacement heads is unknown. On the Boston piece, presumably after the new head was lost, what remained was cut at the waist. Its two weighty but compact halves could have been used as ballast or become part of a wall. This likely took place sometime between the late New Kingdom and prior to its first appearance at auction.

Of course, nothing postulated above should be taken as fact, but every suggested scenario is possible. It demonstrates how far one can speculate about a fragmentary but handsome piece, and how sometimes what is missing provides as much information as what is present. We may dream that one day the missing parts are found.

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[57] Sauneron, *KARNAK* 5, 75-6.
[58] Gabolde, *Le 'Grande Château d'Amon'*, 76-84.
[59] Sauneron, *KARNAK* 5, 75-6. He notes that only one Mentuhotep statue, Louvre A 123, retains its original head.
[60] Sauneron, *KARNAK* 5, 74-5 and Simpson, *MDAIK* 47, 336.
[61] Fay, *GM* 133, 22-3.
[62] Barbotin *et al.*, *Revue du Louvre* 1, 38-9, 41-2, fig. 10. I am grateful to Guillemette Andreu for bringing this article to my attention.
[63] *Contra* Barbotin, who now attributes it to the Middle Kingdom in Barbotin *et al.*, *Revue du Louvre* 1, 38-41. One possibility, he implies, is that it was originally made for a statue of Mentuhotep at the time the body was made. He speculates that the first head may have been damaged in the manufacturing process or too small for the body (p. 38).
[64] Sauneron, *KARNAK 5*, 75 (Luxor Museum J. 36 and J. 37).
[65] Delange, *Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire*, 62.

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Three Burials of the Seventeenth Dynasty in Dra Abu El-Naga

José M. Galán, Ángeles Jiménez-Higueras

Abstract

The Spanish mission working in and around the tomb-chapels of Djehuty and Hery (TT 11-12) in Dra Abu el-Naga has been excavating for the last four seasons southwest of Djehuty's courtyard, where the last houses of the modern village stood until they were demolished in the winter of 2006-07. Seventeenth Dynasty burials have been unearthed 3 m below ground level, some still undisturbed, one of them including a rishi*-coffin and two belonging to children. The recent discoveries help to better understand the burial customs and the organisation of the necropolis at that time, and the successive use of this area from the Eleventh Dynasty down to the Third Intermediate Period.*

Introduction

A Spanish mission has been working since January 2002 at the foothill of the central area of Dra Abu el-Naga, in the area where the rock-cut tomb-chapels of Djehuty and Hery (TT 11-12) are located.[1] Hery must have lived under kings Ahmose and Amenhotep I, acting as overseer of the granaries of the king's mother and royal wife Ahhotep. He could have been related to the royal family through his mother, Ahmes, who is referred to as *ḥrw-nswt*.[2] The inner walls of his funerary monument (*c*. 1510 BC) were entirely decorated in high quality relief. Djehuty lived about fifty years later, acting as overseer of the treasure and overseer of the works carried out by the craftsmen and metal workers for queen Hatshepsut. The walls of his tomb-chapel (*c*. 1460 BC) were also decorated in relief, even the façade and part of the left sidewall of the open courtyard.[3]

The courtyard of Djehuty's monument is larger than expected, extending the rock-cut sidewalls with mud-bricks that reach 3 m high near the façade and end 34 m away from it in two pylons 68 cm high.[4] At mid distance from the façade, the left sidewall makes an abrupt twist towards the inside, *i.e.* to the right. This unorthodox and unaesthetic feature could be due to the presence of a mud-brick structure, which would have been considered significant enough to avoid running over it or being dismantled by Djehuty's workmen. It ended up being a small offering chapel on behalf of the person(s) buried down the funerary shaft that opens right in front of it. The associated inscribed stick-*shabtis* and linen bear the name Ahmose/Ahmose-Sapair (see section 'Archaeological context' below).

When the modern village of Dra Abu el-Naga was entirely demolished in the winter of 2006-07 and its people relocated in new houses in the village of New Gurna, the Spanish mission applied and obtained from the Supreme Council of Antiquities an extension of the site to the left/southwest of Djehuty's courtyard. Once the debris was removed and the area cleared, in January 2011 excavations commenced in the area, which was labelled 'Sector 10'. The following seasons unearthed, 3 m below the ground level of the modern houses, a number of Seventeenth Dynasty burials (*c*. 1650-1550 BC) consisting of funerary shafts and mud-brick offering chapels, but also coffins placed unprotected on the ground and ensembles of votive pottery vessels (Figs. 1-2). The discovery of part of the necropolis used by the royal family and courtiers of the Seventeenth Dynasty helps to understand the pos-

[1] See the mission's web site, <http://www.excavacionegipto.com>, accessed 31.12.2014.

[2] Galán, Menéndez, *JEA* 97, 143-66.

[3] Galán, in Goyon, Cardin (eds.), *Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists*, 777-87; Galán, in Magee, Bouriau, Quirke (eds.), *Sitting beside Lepsius*, 155-81; Galán, in Galán, Bryan, Dorman (eds.), *Creativity and Innovation*, 247-72. See also Jiménez Serrano, in Galán, Bryan, Dorman (eds.), *Creativity and Innovation*, 273-95; Espinel, in Galán, Bryan, Dorman (eds.), *Creativity and Innovation*, 297-335.

[4] Galán, in Mynárová, Onderka (eds.), *Théby: Mesto Bohu a faraonu*, 89-101; Galán, in Molinero, Sevilla (eds.), *Tercer congreso ibérico de egiptología*, 249-63.

Fig. 1 - Aereal view of site: Sector 10 to the southwest/left of the long courtyard of Djehuty's tomb-chapel (TT 11), in Dra Abu el-Naga

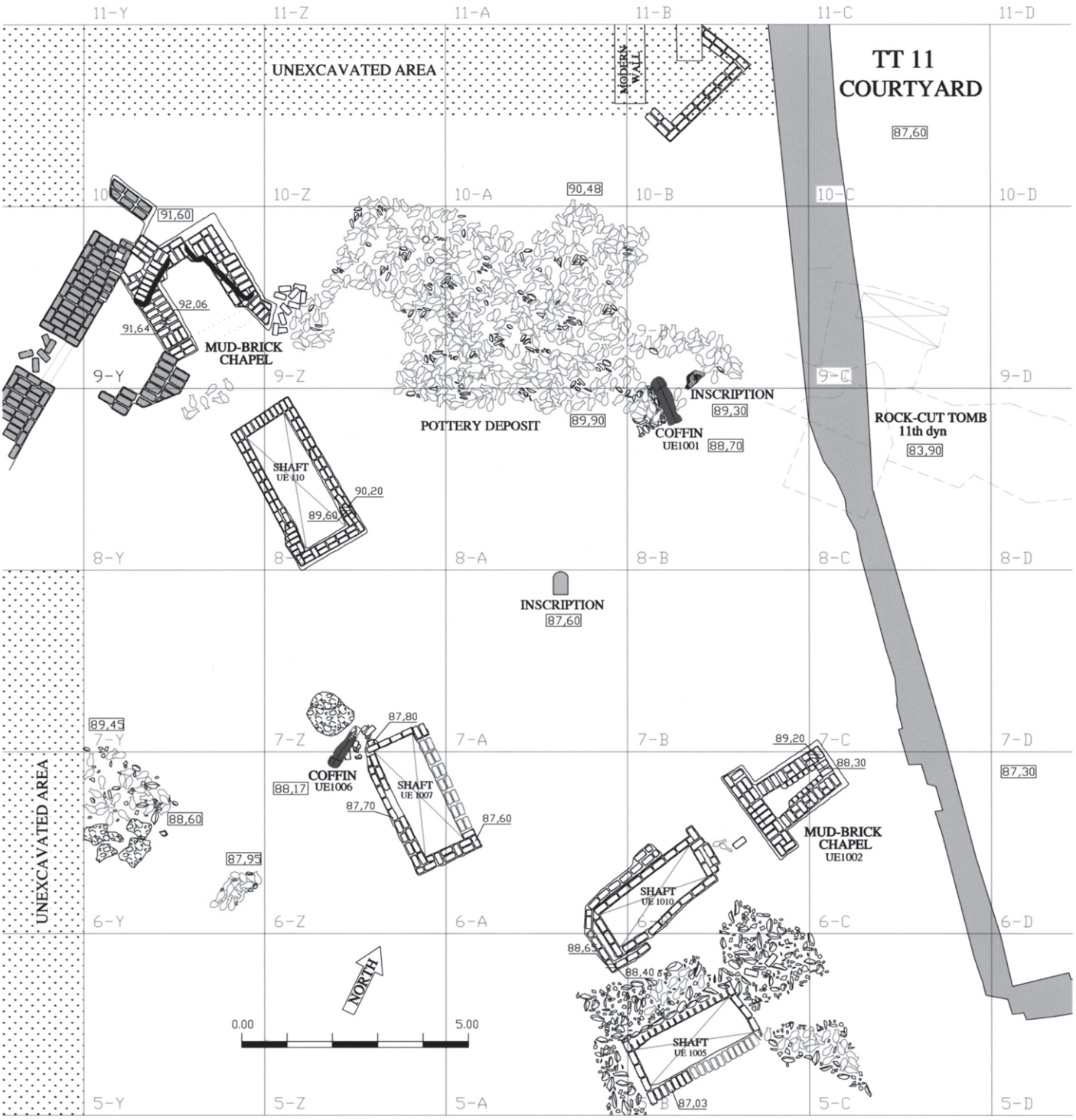


Fig. 2 - Plan of Sector 10, including the main Seventeenth Dynasty structures and artifacts

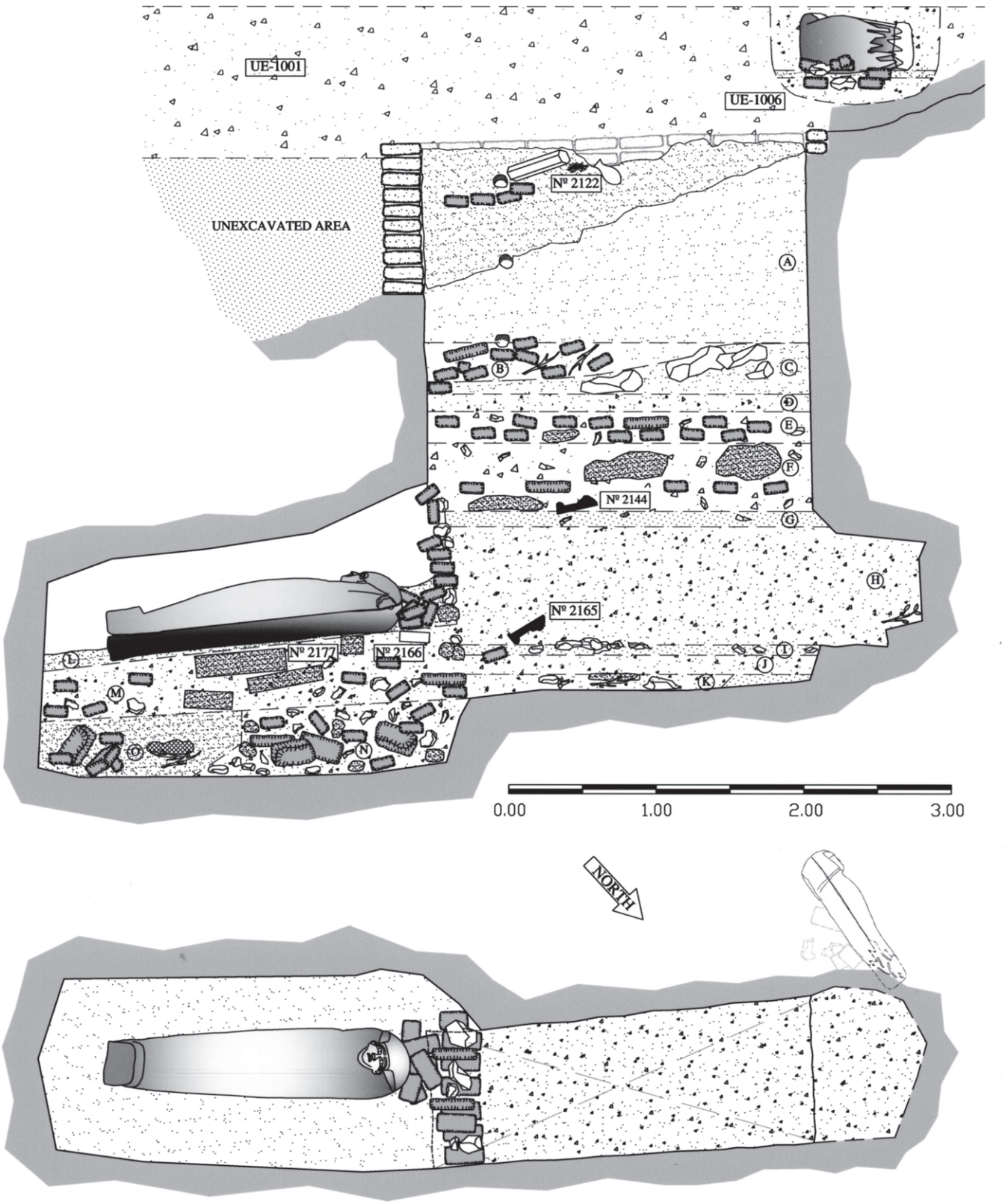


Fig. 3 - Drawing of the funerary shaft UE 1007, including the *rishi*-coffin of Neb, and that of the eleven-year-old boy (UE 1006) above it

sible reasons behind Djehuty's choice of this particular spot for building his tomb-chapel, more than five hundred metres away from most of his colleagues, high officials of Hatshepsut-Thutmose III's administration, who were buried south of Deir el-Bahari, between el-Assasif plain and the hillside of Sheikh Abd el-Gurna.

The present study focuses on three burials and their respective coffins, dating to the Seventeenth Dynasty. All three have reached us undisturbed since antiquity. One of them includes a well preserved *rishi*-coffin, which was removed from its original tomb and re-buried inside a shaft at an uncertain time. The other two were found in their original place, lying on the ground, and belong to two infants. Each burial is interesting on its own merits, but the relationship between them and their archaeological context makes them even more significant. They offer us a glimpse of the burial customs, organisation and use of the necropolis at that particular time, and the overlapping with earlier, Middle Kingdom burials, rock-cut tombs and shrines that were already falling into decay. They also help to better understand the location of Eighteenth Dynasty rock-cut tombs in the area, the activities of looters during the Twentieth Dynasty and the subsequent inspection and reorganisation of the necropolis by the priests of Amun during the Third Intermediate Period.

The funerary shaft UE 1007

In February 2014, the mouth of a funerary shaft, labelled UE 1007 (Figs. 2-3), was brought to light 10 m southwest of Djehuty's open courtyard. Its curb is made of solid mud-bricks (29 x 15 x 10 cm), joined by a layer of whitish and dense mortar. It measures 3.05 x 1.60 m and the opening 2.60 x 0.95 m. It is slightly tilted, following the descending hill-slope towards the valley. Its northern end is built into the *gebel*, which has been cut down 0.45 m and filled in with a row of mud-bricks laid lengthwise. The southern end is twice as thick and the mud-bricks go down 0.98 m until reaching the bedrock. At the inner face of the four sides, the mud-bricks are coated with a layer of fine plaster and whitewash. The junction of the plastered mud-bricks with the sloping bedrock is very carefully done. The rock-cut walls were left rough and on the west side three holes are still visible, each half metre apart to help climbing up and down the shaft.

The east side of the curb is partly broken and some of the missing mud-bricks were found inside, 0.30 m deep. They fell on and were covered by a compacted layer of clean sand, slightly orange and humid, probably of alluvial origin, reaching 1.25 m in depth (stratum A in Fig. 3), which indicates that the shaft was at that moment only partly filled and its upper part remained opened for some time. At this upper layer, together with the fallen mud-bricks, there was a lock of hair tied up with a string, probably to be used as an extension (no. 2122 in Fig. 3; Fig. 4).[5]

Further down, there is a stratum (B) composed of more fallen mud-bricks, small branches, pieces of wood, fragments of a fine quality rope and pottery sherds, below which the sand turns into whitish gravel (C) with several big stones. At a depth of 1.80 m, below a thin layer of sand and small stones (D), there is a new layer of fallen mud-bricks (E). The following stratum (F) included two sandstone blocks and three smaller fragments, two of which were part of a ribbed cornice with preserved polychrome decoration. At a depth of 2.55 m, the middle section of a much eroded moulded pottery *shabti* was found (no. 2144; Fig. 5). It can be dated to the Third Intermediate Period, probably to the Twenty-first Dynasty.[6]

The next metre down consisted of a thin layer of sand and small stones (G) resting on top of gravel (H), containing small fragments of sandstone, two of them with polychrome decoration, and small pieces of wood, linen, rope, pottery sherds, vegetative remains and a few bones. At a depth of 3.20 m, the left half of a wooden statuette (no. 2165; Fig. 6), 25.5 x 6 x 6 cm, was found close to the southern end of the shaft. It is a kneeling feminine figure, probably Isis or Nephthys, in a mourning posture, sitting back on her heels and with her (missing) articulated arms bent forward. Her hair is covered by a soft bag-like *khat*-kerchief,[7] with a short tail hanging down the back. The carving seems to be of good quality, coated by a whitewash, and there are traces of gold foil on her face, ears and neck. The outline of her dress is traced in red. It seems reasonable to date it to the Third Intermediate Period,[8] which

Fig. 4 - Lock of hair with a string tied up (no. 2122), found at the top of the shaft UE 1007

[5] Hair-locks in a funerary context are common; see Tassie, *PIA* 7, 59-67; Tassie, *PIA* 11, 27-46; Valdesogo Martín, *El cabello en el ritual funerario*.

[6] We are grateful to Jean-Luc Chappaz for reassuring our dating.

[7] Eaton-Krauss, *SAK* 5, 21-39; Goebs, in Redford (ed.) *Oxford Encyclopedia*, vol. I, 324.

[8] Dating suggested by Salima Ikram. Compare with D'Au-

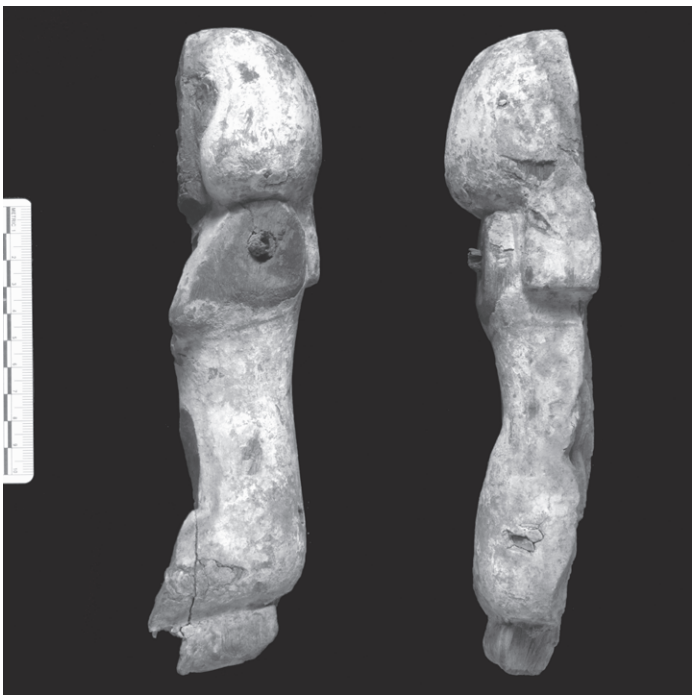


Fig. 5 - Third Intermediate Period moulded pottery *shabti* (no. 2144), found in the shaft UE 1007; **Fig. 6** - Fragment of a wooden figurine (no. 2165), found at the entrance to the burial chamber

fits well with the date of the *shabti* fragment found above. These two objects seem to indicate that the shaft was cleared and refilled in the Twenty-first Dynasty or slightly later.

The shaft ended up measuring 3.80 m deep, and at the bottom there are three strata of dusty earth and small stones (I), gravel (J), and limestone chips of various sizes, sandstone fragments and vegetative remains (K). The floor is slightly pitched towards the southern end, where the burial chamber is located. Its entrance is 1.35 m tall and it takes up the whole width of the shaft. It was found closed at the top with mud-bricks, some of them half broken and carelessly piled up without mortar, but with mid-size stones and rubble between them. The average size of the mud-bricks is 33/31 x 15 x 9/7 cm.

Opposite the burial chamber, at the northern end and 0.30 m elevated from the shaft's floor, there is an irregularly hewn niche, 1 m tall and 0.89 m deep, with a small rock-cut step inside. It seems to be an unfinished second burial chamber, since it opens almost at the same level as the southern one, and if it had been completely hewn down to the bottom its entrance would have had approximately the same size. Funerary shafts built in this area and at this time period usually have one or two confronted burial chambers, as it is the case in UE 1005 (see plan in Fig. 2), which has a second chamber also with a rock-cut step that reduces by half a metre what would have been its planned height (1.60 m), making it clear that the chamber was left unfinished and that the step is just part of the process of cutting the rock.

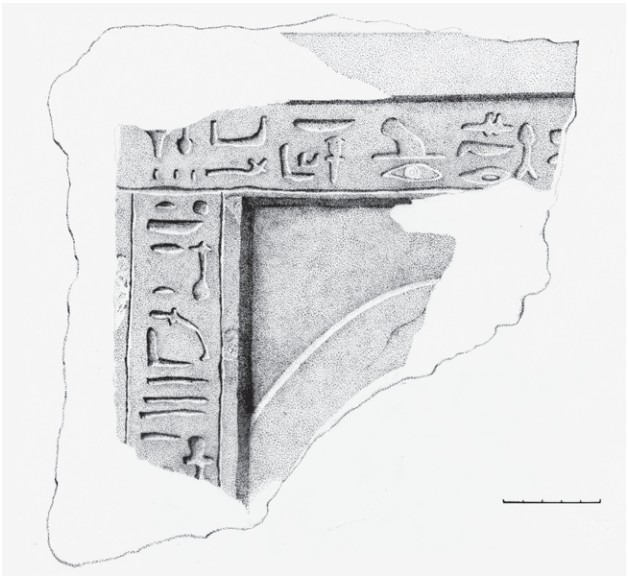
When approximately half of the closing wall of the burial chamber was removed, an inscribed limestone fragment (no. 2166; Figs. 7A-B), measuring 28 x 28 x 12 cm, was found. It seems to be the upper right corner of an architectural structure carved on both sides. The inscription runs along one of the sides of the lintel and of the jamb(s) framing a small arch.[9] The signs are incised and filled with a blue/green paste. The lines framing the text are coloured in red and spaced apart 3.6 cm (lintel) and 4.7 cm (jamb). The preserved text says: "[...] Ptah-Sokar-Osiris lord of Abydos may he give incense and ointments, and all kind of proper and pure things [on which a god] lives [...]". The palaeography seems to be characteristic of the Seventeenth Dynasty (see below).

The limestone block was used as part of the base for the closing wall, and for that purpose it was placed horizontally over the gravel that formed the lower stratum of the shaft and that slid inside the burial chamber, filling half of it. Thus, the closing wall was not built starting from the bottom of the shaft, but on top of half a metre of debris, indicating that the shaft was not completely cleared then and, therefore, that the closing wall was not part of the first burial, but of a later re-use of the shaft. When did the later closing happen? According to the findings of the shaft, it seems reasonable to date the re-burial in the Third Intermediate Period.

The burial chamber measures 2.80 x 1.40 m. The back

ria, Lacovara, Roehrig, *Mummies & Magic*, 180, no. 128.

[9] It resembles the freestanding shrine of Montuhotep's princesses; see Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple*, 22-3, pls. 11-20.



Figs. 7A-B - Fragment of an inscribed limestone block (no. 2166), found at the entrance to the burial chamber

wall was smoothed, while the side-walls and the ceiling were left rough, the latter even being slightly vaulted. The floor of the entire chamber was cut down 0.50 m. Near the entrance, the chamber is 1.85 m high, while at the rear end it is only 1.40 m, due to the downward slope of the ceiling. Shafts in this area and of this time period usually have a short step up to the entrance of the burial chamber to make things easier for the stonecutters. On the other hand, more elaborate early Eighteenth Dynasty burial chambers may have a step down to enter into the burial chamber (see Djehuty's TT 11),[10] maybe intending to prolong and emphasise the descending path towards the hereafter. Now, since the average height of a burial chamber is closer to 1.35 m (1.85 m may be considered too high), it seems plausible that the purpose of the half-metre deep recess in the floor would have been to accommodate the coffin on a lower level so that only the lid would remain visible just above or flush with the chamber floor. This feature is clearly attested in the burial chamber of shaft UE 110 (see plan in Fig. 2), tentatively assigned to the "king's son", Intefmose (see below), whose floor has a rectangular recess (2.45 x 0.90 and 0.75 m deep) right in the middle to accommodate a coffin and leave its lid visible at floor level.

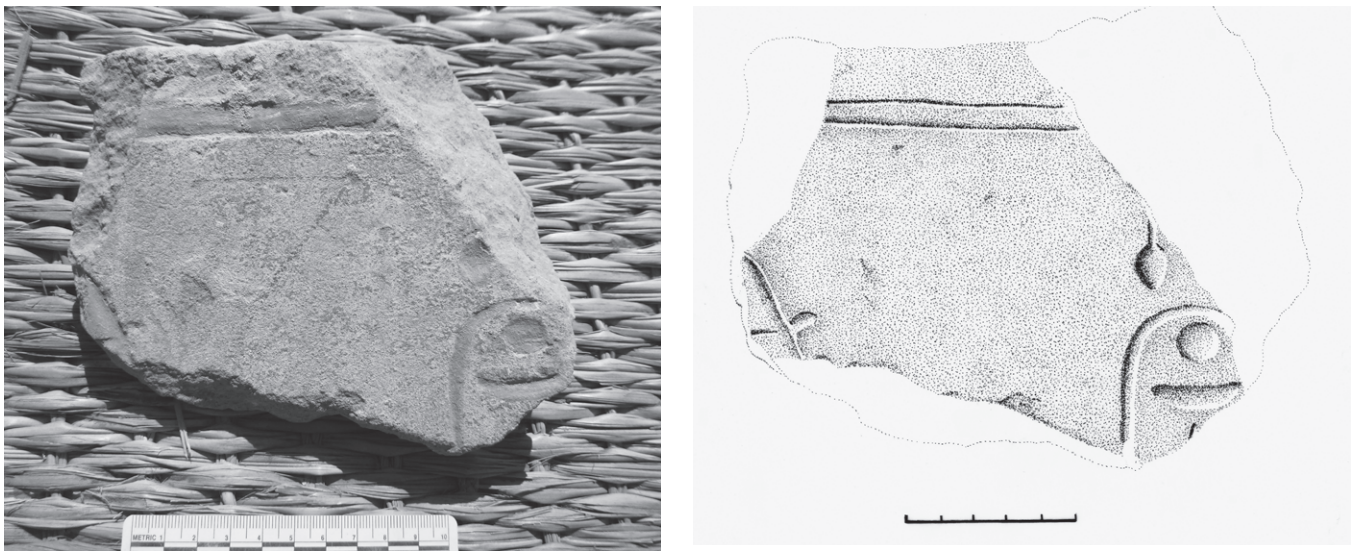
The whitish gravel that slid from the shaft inside the burial chamber covered the entire area, sloping down inwards (1 m high at the entrance and 0.5 m at the back). It contained a number of broken mud-bricks, probably resulting from breaking the original closing of the chamber. The earth is darker near the entrance (N) due to the crumbling of the mud-bricks. At the back (O) the material is more numerous, including pottery sherds, linen bandages and a linen bundle wrapping human bones, as well as a few wooden fragments and vegetative remains mixed up with gravel.

Near the entrance, the upper stratum (M) contained numerous mid-size limestone chips, together with sandstone fragments, two of them with polychrome decoration and one with traces of an incised inscription. Two sandstone fragments coming from the same piece preserve part of an incised relief scene, coloured in blue/green, depicting the forehead of a king wearing a conical Upper Egyptian crown with *uraeus*. The cartouche with the royal name is vertically inscribed on one of the fragments (no. 2177; 12.5 x 15 x 4.5 cm; Figs. 8A-B), preceded by what looks like the lower half of the *nfr*-sign, as part of the royal epithet *nṯr-nfr*, "the good god." Inside the cartouche, the signs *rᶜ* and *nb* are clearly visible, but a third sign can only be guessed. It seems to be a vertical sign, centred, standing by itself and with a narrow top. The most plausible option is to read it as *ḫpt*, making up the name *nb-ḫpt-rᶜ*, the throne name of King Montuhotep II.[11] The earliest extensive use of sandstone in Thebes, mainly coming from the area of Gebel es-Silsilah and Shatt er-Rigal, is associated with the second half of the Eleventh Dynasty when Thebes became the royal residence under Montuhotep II.[12] Thus, this inscribed fragment, together with the numerous sandstone blocks and fragments found inside and around the shaft, may indicate that there could have been a relevant, maybe royal, monument in this area of Dra Abu el-Naga built

[10] Galán, in Galán, Bryan, Dorman (eds.), *Creativity and Innovation*, 247-72.

[11] For other possible royal names that could stand for Neb-[?]-Ra, see von Beckerath, *Handbuch*, 303.

[12] Aston *et al.*, in Nicholson, Shaw (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Materials*, 54-6; Klemm, Klemm, *Steine und Steinbrüche,* 177-201.



Figs. 8A-B. Fragment of an inscribed sandstone block (no. 2177), found inside the burial chamber

under King Montuhotep II.[13] Moreover, a big and well-cut rectangular sandstone slab (72 x 41 x 18 cm) was unearthed in the middle of the burial chamber.

Along the middle of the chamber, a well preserved and still closed *rishi*-coffin was found with its head to the entrance and resting on top of the layer of limestone chips (L) that covers the debris. It was pushed inside without caring that the chamber was partially filled with rubble and mixed up material. However, it was done quite carefully, since the facial features and the colourful painting of the lid did not suffer much. There was not a single modest piece of funerary equipment accompanying the coffin. This unusual circumstance,[14] together with the fact that the coffin was left resting on top of the debris coming in from the shaft, seems to indicate that it is not the original burial, but a later re-burial. It matches the evidence indicating that the shaft had been cleared and refilled, and that the entrance had been re-opened and closed again probably in the Third Intermediate Period, as mentioned above.

The coffin's original burial place is unknown, although one may assume that it would have been located in this area of Dra Abu el-Naga (if not in this same shaft, having been removed and deposited inside again for unknown reasons). The circumstances around its removal and re-burial in the shaft where it was found are also difficult to grasp. If it took place in the Third Intermediate Period, it might be associated with the inspection of the necropolis by the priests of Amun at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, and with the later safeguarding and relocation of coffins under the Twenty-first or Twenty-second Dynasty.[15] Although not directly associated with the shaft, excavating the debris in the nearby courtyard of Djehuty's tomb-chapel (TT 11), we found fragments of four necropolis-seal impressions,[16] which indirectly attest the priests' activity in this area. It is thus possible that the priests of the Twenty-first/second Dynasty would have rearranged the burials that had been robbed, and cared not only for the members of the royal family, but also for high positioned private individuals whose tombs had been disturbed, probably like that of the coffin's owner.

The *rishi*-coffin of Neb

The coffin (object no. 2175) measures 2.00 x 0.50 x 0.41 m (Figs. 9-13; Pls. XVIII-XX). The box is made of a single sycamore log, thicker at both ends (8 cm) than at the sides (4 cm), leaving a hollow space of 1.84 x 0.42

[13] Of approximately this time period is the intact burial discovered below the courtyard's left side-wall and floor of Djehuty's tomb-chapel (TT 11), included in the plan of Fig. 2; see Galán, *EA* 35, 32-5; Galán, in Oppenheim, Goelet (eds.), *Studies in Honor of Dorothea Arnold*.

[14] See Smith, *MDAIK* 48, 193-231; and more recently, Warmenbol, Hendrickx, in Claes, de Meulenaere, Hendrickx (eds.), *Elkab and Beyond*, 75-125. For a general view, Grajetzki, *Burial Customs*, 61-5.

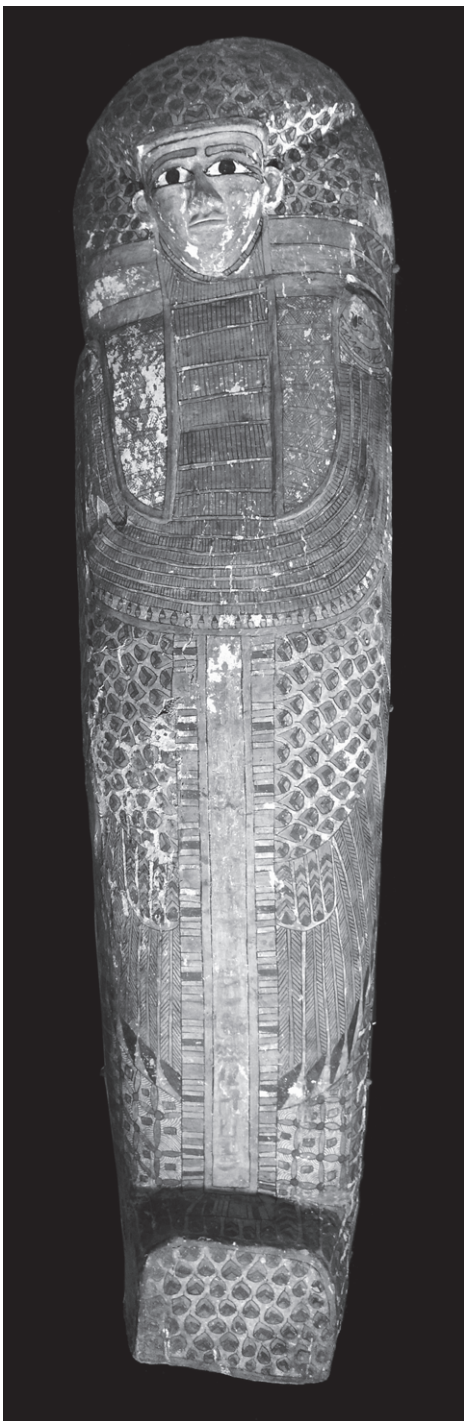
[15] Maspero, *Une enquête judiciaire a Thèbes*; Winlock, *JEA* 10, 217-77; Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies*. It has to be remembered that the priests of Amun inspected the tomb of Ahmose-Sapair in year 16 of Ramesses IX, and supposedly found it undisturbed (somewhere in Dra Abu el-Naga). Later on, at some unspecified time, the prince's mummified remains were removed, placed inside a child's coffin dating to the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty (CCG 61064+61007), with an identifying docket written on its lid (there is only one group of signs legible (!): [Ahmose-Sa]pai[r]), and the coffin ended up re-buried in the Deir el-Bahari *cachette* (DB 320); Daressy, *Cercueils des cachettes royales*, 9-10; Smith, *Royal Mummies*, 22-5, pl. 19; Reeves, *The Valley of the Kings; the decline*, 253. See below n. 45.

[16] Galán, *Memnonia* 19, 171-3, pl. 28.

(shoulders)/0.30 m (foot). The outer side of the box, including its ends and base, was coated with a thin layer of fine whitish mortar and then completely painted black. The visible top of the box's thickness has traces of red paint and three pierced tenons inserted at each side to fix the lid to the box by fitting them into sockets and passing acacia dowels through them. The inside of both box and lid were left rough and undecorated.

The lid is anthropoid in shape, representing the deceased mummified, with the legs and feet, arms and hands wrapped together with the body, leaving only the face visible. It was carved out of a single sycamore log, except for the prominent foot and head ends, which were carved separately and joined to the lid by a fine whitish mortar. The entire face, including the ears, lips and a pointed nose, is moulded in very fine lime mortar. The skin is pale yellow and the eyes are painted (not inlaid) as if they were glazed. The extension of the eye lines is green, probably alluding to *kohl* used as cosmetic. The eyebrows and hair are also green/blue. The latter turns into a striped band hidden behind the protruding ears and then runs along and below the chin. No false beard was ever attached to the chin.

The outer side of the lid was also coated with a thin layer of fine lime mortar, over which the polychrome decoration was applied. The headdress consists of a round-top feathered head cloth, with three horizontal stripes at both sides of the neck, alternating green and yellow. Two lappets hang down over the chest, decorated with a peculiar geometrical pattern in dark yellow that seems to imitate the braiding of a mat or fabric. The upper half of the body's torso is adorned by an *usekh*-collar made out of tubular faience beads alternating green and dark yellow, completed by pendentive drop-shaped beads (Pl. XIX). On both shoulders there is a schematic and awkward depiction of a hawk's head or Eye of Horus, acting as the finials of the collar. There is no painted figure of a vulture or cobra over the chest.



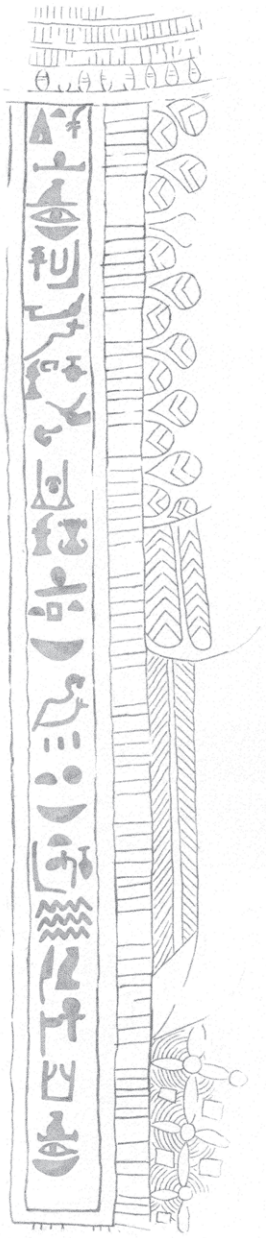


Fig. 9 - *Rishi*-coffin of Neb, found inside the burial chamber

Fig. 10 - Drawing of the axial inscription on the lid of Neb's *rishi*-coffin

From the top of the head down to the soles of the feet the lid's decoration imitates feathers, with a pair of wings stretched along both sides. Over a pale yellow background, three types of feathers overlap, weaving a dense plumage. Most of them make up a shawl of short drop-shaped feathers, coloured in green, red and dark yellow. Others are round-topped elongated feathers, displayed one next to each other and creating a zigzag pattern that combines the same three colours. Each wing ends in pointed green feathers with black tips. At the level of the ankles, there is an area free of feathers where the decoration depicts the wood grain of the coffin using red lines painted in concentric circles, over which there is a painted image of a net of faience barrel green beads linked by smaller spherical red ones (Pl. XX).

Running down the axis of the lid's lower half, over of the legs and overlapping the

other decorative motifs, is a band that alternates yellow, green and red stripes, interrupted by a central bright yellow column, measuring 83 x 4.6 (top)/5.5 (bottom) cm. In the centre is a vertical inscription (Fig. 10) with the hieroglyphs fully coloured in light green/blue (*i.e.*, turquoise, following the Middle Kingdom tradition on rectangular coffins).[17] Because the signs were written with a thick painter's brush, some of them seem carelessly traced and adopt peculiar shapes. They do not stand out from the background because they were not outlined in black. On the contrary, the signs on most *rishi*-coffins were not coloured, but only traced in black with a thin brush. The inscription, as expected, consists of a brief offering formula:

> A boon that the king grants, and (also) Osiris lord of Abydos may he give an invocation offering of unguents and incense, beef and fowl, alabaster and linen, unguents and incense, every offering of provisions and everything proper and pure on which a god lives, (for) the *ka* of the Osiris Neb

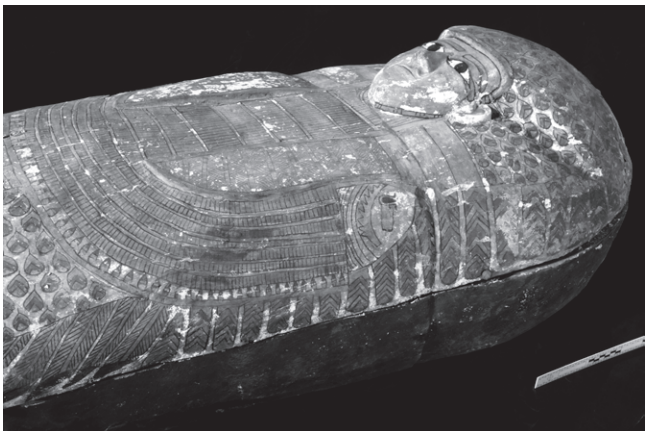


Fig. 11 - Detail of the upper half of the lid. Note the three kinds of feathers, and the Eye of Horus acting as finial of the *usekh*-collar; **Fig. 12** - Detail of the lower half of the lid. Note the representation of wood's veins by red concentric circles, a net of faience beads over it

– The tracing of the sign for Osiris, as well as the tracing and grouping of the three signs for Abydos, is similar to the way these are written on the limestone fragment found at the entrance of the burial chamber (see above), albeit they are written in reverse on the coffin. The hill-sign in the middle looks like a 'U', followed by the leg-sign with an elongated foot that makes it look like an 'L'.

– The group *prt-ḫrw*, "invocation offerings", omits the second sign, and instead of opening the offering list with "bread and beer", the scribe wrote the signs for "unguents and incense" flanking *prt*, which are repeated below, with just a small variation in the shape of the unguent jar. The reference to unguents and incense, *mrḥt* and *sntr*, among the offerings is common for this time period,[18] and they seem to be mentioned also in the limestone fragment.

– The construction *ʿnḫ*(*t*) *ntr im*, "on which a god lives", has the first two signs misplaced and reversed.

– The inscription ends with what seems to be the name of the owner, preceded by <*n*> *kꜣ* <*n*> *wsir*, "for the *ka* of the Osiris...",[19] but without any title indication. Despite having some free space, the name is not followed by the epithet "true of voice", which is a common feature in *rishi*-coffin inscriptions.[20] Indeed, a high percentage of *rishi*-coffins never had the owner's name written, leaving a blank space at the bottom of the column, or filling in the space with the signs *mn*, standing for "whoever".[21]

The text on Neb's coffin has a number of common features with the *rishi*-coffin of Teti, "commander of the ruler's crew", found at an uncertain date and location in Dra Abu el-Naga, and kept in the Cairo Museum at least since 1913 (TR 19.11.27.5),[22] and also with the *rishi*-coffin found on December 23rd 1862, in Dra Abu el-Naga north by Luigi Vassalli, numbered 71.[23] Teti's inscription shows the order of signs in the construction *ʿnḫ*(*t*)

[17] Galán, in Frood, McDonald (eds.), *Decorum and experience*, 119-26.

[18] Kubisch, *Lebensbilder der 2. Zwischenzeit*; Kubisch, in Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 313-27.

[19] Not only is the dative-*n* missing, but also the genitive-*n* between *kꜣ* and the name of the beneficiary, since the indirect genitive here seems to be common practice in offering formulae of this time period.

[20] The anthroponym determinative is commonly omitted, but the epithet *mꜣʿ-ḫrw* is written most of the times.

[21] Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins*, 34, n. 223.

[22] Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins*, 129-30, 140-2, 230-1 (no. *r*T05C), pls. 2.a, 3.a.

[23] Miniaci, in Betrò, Del Vesco, Miniaci (eds.), *Seven Seasons*, 41-3; Tiradritti, in Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 329-42, pl. 115; Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins*, 60, 118-20, 314 (*r*T-02VA). Note that Vassalli's copy of the inscription ends with several horizontal strokes that, following after *kꜣ wsir*, may stand for *mn mꜣʿ-ḫrw*, "(for) the *kꜣ* of the Osiris Men, true of voice", "Men" being a fictitious name to fill in the blank, see above n. 21. Tiradritti (336) and Miniaci (60), however, do not record any further signs after *wsir*.

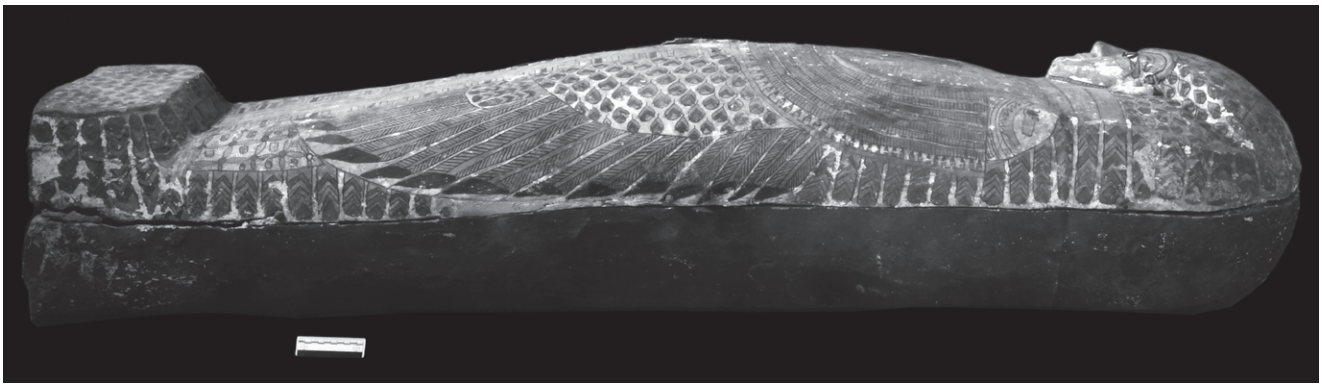


Fig. 13 - *Rishi*-coffin of Neb, found inside the burial chamber. The outer side of the box is entirely painted black

nṯr im also altered (but differently to that of Neb's), and it skips the dative-*n* before the reference to the owner's *kꜣ*. Vassalli's hand copy of the inscription on coffin no. 71 has exactly the same text as Neb, even with the same spellings and the same display of signs, until reaching the construction *ꜥnḫ*(*t*) *nṯr im*, which also has the order of signs altered (but different to that on Neb's and Teti's coffins), and, as in Neb's inscription, the preposition-*n* is missing before and after the *kꜣ*-sign.

Neb's decoration has also a number of common features with the *rishi*-coffins of Teti and Vassalli's no. 71. In turn, these three private coffins can be related to the royal *rishi*-coffin of King Nubkheperra Intef found in Dra Abu el-Naga by Giovanni d'Athanasi in 1827, and now kept in the British Museum (EA 6652).[24] All four share a distinctive decorative motif: at the ankles, where the wings do not reach, a net of faience barrel and spherical beads is shown spread over concentric circles that imitate wood grain (Figs. 12, 13; Pl. xx). Moreover, the geometrical pattern depicted on the lappets of Neb's coffin (Figs. 9, 11; pl. xix) was also recorded by Vassalli on no. 71, and is the same motif that decorates the *nemes*-headdress of the royal coffin.[25] Actually, between the lappets and the feathered headdress, Neb and Vassalli's no. 71 show the same three horizontal stripes alternating green and yellow. The similarities of the decorative devices of this group of *rishi*-coffins can be used to date them all to the "first phase of the late Seventeenth Dynasty", in line with Miniaci.

Neb's coffin was re-buried 110 m southwest from the base of the pyramid of King Nubkheperra Intef,[26] supposedly very close to its original burial ground. Unfortunately, there is no clue as to where in Dra Abu el-Naga the *rishi*-coffin of Teti was found, and it can only be guessed where Vassalli found his no. 71 within Dra Abu el-Naga north.[27] While there are indications that Mariette's crew found the coffins of Kamose and Ahhotep near TT 155, at the northern end of Dra Abu el-Naga, when Vassalli resumed the excavations he divided the workforce in two, one half working in that same area and the other gang "in the area that we visited together" (he and Mariette), leaving unclear where exactly coffin no. 71 was found. Vassalli's drawing book provides additional information: "at the opening of the chest, there was only the mummy inside without any object".

The mummy of Neb[28]

Neb (object no. 2187) has been jostled about in his coffin and lays slightly on his left side with the left leg slightly flexed and the head almost resting on the left shoulder. A badly decomposing light beige linen shroud with a fringe at either end covers the body, secured by knots at the shins (Fig. 14). Beneath are brown bandages that are wrapped spirally around each limb. It is unclear if the colour is due to the application of oils/resins or if the linen was darker. Over the bandages ties of the same material seem to secure the legs at the knees and ankles, and it is possible that a similar tie is present below the shoulder and at the wrists. There are surprisingly few layers of bandages, perhaps only four, under the shroud. The flesh is not preserved and the bones are relatively clean; they are in roughly the correct anatomical position, albeit loose. It is possible that no evisceration

[24] Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins*, 27, 36-7, 118-20, 212-3 (*r*T01BM).
[25] The same motif decorates the *nemes*-headdress of King Sekhemra Wepmaat Antef (Louvre, E 3019); Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins*, 118-20, 268-69 (*r*T01P). Miniaci describes it as "stylised feathers", but the pattern looks more like folded textile.
[26] Polz, Seiler, *Die Pyramidenanlage des Königs Nub-Cheper-Re Intef*; Polz, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches*; Polz, in Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 343-53.
[27] Tracking down the areas in Dra Abu el-Naga north that were excavated by Auguste Mariette in 1857-59, and by Vassalli in 1862-63, and for the transcription of a passage from a letter written by Vassalli to Mariette mentioning the area where he was working, see Miniaci, Quirke, *EVO* 31, 8-9; Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins*, 54-60.
[28] The study of the wrapping and human remains is still in process, conducted by Salima Ikram and Roxie Walker.

took place, although this is difficult to determine given the condition of the body. Some sorts of oils/resins were used in the preservation of the body, as attested by staining and scent.

The mummy, as it is lying today, is 1.65 m tall. The skull and sacrum are definitely male (Fig. 14). Ante-mortem tooth loss, especially in the mandibular molars, plus notable wear on remaining dentition suggests middle age, somewhere in his mid-to late forties. There is an unusual feature in the x-ray of his skull, which needs further investigation.[29]

The trabecular bone in his left scapula is abnormal in appearance. The cortical bone in his femurs and tibiae seems thin for someone of his height, and the right leg seems denser than the left, but this could be a consequence of the two bones lying at slightly different angles relative to the x-ray film.

Some of his vertebrae also seem asymmetrical. Two of his lumbar vertebrae (L2 and L3) are fusing along the left side, with marked exostosis (bony outgrowths) and bridging, which suggests again someone no longer young. He has no bony outgrowths on his calcanei or

Fig. 14 - Neb's mummy resting inside the coffin, and x-ray of the body

[29] It probably will end up being an extra fold of the linen.

Fig. 15 - View of Sector 10, with the coffin of the eleven-year-old boy lying on the ground sidewise. Shaft UE 1007 is not yet visible. At the back, the mud-brick chapel UE 1002 aligned with its shaft (UE 1010)

distal tibiae and fibulae that would suggest a hard life with much weight-bearing walking.

The burial of an eleven-year-old boy

The stratum (UE 1001) that covers the funerary shaft in which Neb was re-buried consists of loose and whitish earth, mixed up with gravel and small size limestone chips, and big rounded stones scattered here and there. Only 37 cm above the shaft's curb and about the same distance from its north-western corner, an anthropoid wooden coffin (UE 1006; object no. 2102) was found lying on the ground without any kind of protection covering it, and without a single piece of funerary equipment nearby (see plan in Fig. 2; drawing in Fig. 3, and Fig. 15). It seems that a pit was dug in the ground, big enough to deposit inside the coffin resting on its left shoulder, with its head south and facing west. A few mid-size stones and mud-bricks were placed at the eastern side against the coffin's back to level the sloping ground and fix the coffin sideways in order to prevent it from rolling down. Underneath, there was a layer of very thin sand, probably resulting from running rainwater, which also left a crust of whitish thin mud over the coffin that looks like mortar. The bottom of the burial pit reached a pinkish stratum right above the bedrock. At the base of the coffin, fragments of a well-braided string were found, probably used to tie the box and lid together. However, it did not serve its purpose, since there was a 1 cm aperture and a considerable amount of sand found its way in, most of it accumulating at the head end.

The wood of the coffin has suffered from humidity, particularly its foot end, which is now missing from below the knees down. Its length was approximately 1.20 m, but what remains today is 90 x 29 x 25 cm, the box's interior being 22 cm wide at shoulder-level. The coffin was cut out of a single log of sycamore, and rudely carved (Fig. 16). The squared headdress, sharp facial features and prominent chest, combined with the absence of crossed arms or the outline shape of the shoulders, reminds one of the stick-*shabtis* common in Seventeenth/early Eighteenth Dynasty burials at Dra Abu el-Naga.[30] Despite the fact that it was never decorated, not even whitewashed, it could be classified as pertaining to the *rishi*-coffin type.

The body[31] was deposited inside the coffin on its right side, and since the coffin was placed on the ground on the left side, the body twisted and ended up resting on its back and facing up. A mat made of as yet uniden-

[30] Whelan, *17th-18th Dynasty Stick Shabtis*.

[31] The study of the wrapping and human remains is still in process, conducted by Salima Ikram and Roxie Walker.

Fig. 16 - Coffin and mummy of the eleven-year-old boy (UE 1006)

tified plant fibres was laid over the feet, and extended to the torso, covering at least half of the ribs (Fig. 16). The body itself was wrapped in at least eleven different qualities of linen, the study of which is still pending. The limbs were not wrapped separately, and several pieces wrap most of the body, with knots being used to lengthen or secure the bandages, wherever necessary. The best quality linen (tentatively identified as the shroud) was used externally. The head, generally the most protected part of the mummy, only boasted five layers of textile.

Fig. 17 - Coffin of the five-year-old child lying sidewise and fixed with stones

of cloth were just placed on the body and among the bandages to provide bulk and protection. At least seven layers of linen fabrics of different quality were used to

Some short dark brown silky hair was noted on the skull.

The body (object no. 2103) belongs to an infant male. Some of the bones ended up misplaced prior to the re-

covery, a vertebra having been found at the feet. Despite missing several vertebrae, his estimated height would have been around 1.30 m. Based on dental eruption[32] the child would have been eleven years old at the age of death. He exhibits a mixed dentition. With the exception of the canines, premolars and third molars, presumably within their crypts, the extant permanent teeth all exhibit minimal wear, *i.e.*, grades 0 to 1 based on the method in the Arizona State University Dental Anthropology System (Turner *et al.*, in Kelley, Larsen (eds.), *Advances in Dental Anthropology*). Also based on the latter system, he has simple crown and root morphology with one exception: Grade 3 and 2 metaconulid (*i.e.* cusp 7), a high frequency sub-Saharan trait, is present on both lower first molars. This feature is suggestive of potential south to north gene flow. None of his teeth exhibit caries, linear *enamel hypoplasia*, or other pathology. He had excellent oral health. The child was covered in royal purple coloured patches (Munsell 2.5R 2/2), probably caused by a fungus.

The coffin of the eleven-year-old boy was found undisturbed, apparently unseen by the people that cleared the nearby shaft and re-buried Neb's coffin in it. Its discovery shows how the area had remained unaltered since the Saite Period (a mummification deposit with pottery of this period was found at the top of the funerary shaft UE 1010), or since the Twenty-first Dynasty and Third Intermediate Period, when this area of the necropolis was heavily looted, reused and then rearranged by Amun priests. Unexpectedly, the houses and inhabitants of the modern village of Dra Abu el-Naga that were standing three metres above the child's coffin until January 2007 did not damage the ancient necropolis.[33] Thus, this is not the only intact infant burial unearthed in Sector 10: in February 2013 another coffin was found 9.5 m to the north, also resting sidewise on the ground (see plan in Fig. 2, Fig. 17).

The burial of a five-year-old child

The coffin was, again, cut out from a single log of sycamore and hollowed out inside (Pl. xxi). The anthropoid lid was carved with much more detail than the other one, indicating the shape of the eyes, mouth and nose (its tip is now broken), except for the ears that are not shown. The headdress has a rounded top, with two lappets going down over a protruding chest. The junction of the neck and shoulders is indicated by an incised horizontal line crossing the lappets and running on both sides. The foot end sticks out, but not excessively. The coffin was coated with a light whitewash, but it was not over-painted or inscribed.

It measures 93 x 29 x 24 cm, and its interior 85 x 21 cm. The thickness of the box varies between 3.2 and 4 cm and it seems to have unevenly applied red paint or red wash on it, with two holes at the end of each side to fix in four dowels that were attached to the lid, so that they would remain joined together. However, there was an aperture of 1 cm and some sand consequently entered in.

The mummy was placed inside the coffin deliberately sideways (Pl. xxi), since the width of the inner space is 21 cm and the width of the mummy's shoulders is 19 cm. This feature seems to be a transitional stage from Middle Kingdom practices to those of the New Kingdom. The body was deposited on its left side, and since the coffin was placed on the ground also on the left side, the corpse ended up facing down, most probably by accident.

Inside the coffin, the mummy[34] was covered with three to four layers of bandages, with those closest to the body being denser and of better quality. There was more linen on the head and this too was of superior quality. The bandages were covered and further secured with ties located at the neck, hips, knees and ankles, with one knot on the head. Although the bandages hold the shape of the body, much of the flesh has vanished and the bones show through in several places. The flesh on the torso is preserved. The mummification of the child was basic to say the least. Through the dentition shown in the x-ray, an age of about 3-4/4-5 years old can be estimated. The infant's sex, though, is difficult to ascertain at this early age.

The coffin was found with its head end to the north-west and facing north (west?).[35] In order to keep it lying sidewise, it was fixed with mid-size stones placed against the chest and the back (Fig. 17), similar to how it was done for the other infant's coffin. And yet again, the coffin was not covered with any kind of protection, and not a single piece of funerary equipment was found around it.

Other *rishi*-coffins were interred without any kind of protection or superstructure, like the one found by Petrie north of Dra Abu el-Naga, at the other side of the road to the Valley of the Kings,[36] and indeed this circumstance is not exclusive to burials of this period.[37] At this point,

[32] The dental study was conducted on the site by Joel Irish.

[33] Topographical data taken in 2003. When the houses were demolished and after the debris was cleared, the ground level in 2012 was 2.50 m above the coffin.

[34] The study of the wrapping and human remains is still in process, conducted by Salima Ikram and Roxie Walker.

[35] It has to be kept in mind that the magnetic north/north-west corresponds to the ideal or ideological west for the ancient Egyptians.

[36] Petrie, *Qurneh*, 6-10, pls. 22-9.

[37] Excavating the open courtyard of Djehuty's tomb-chapel (TT 11) we have unearthed unprotected burials, with the coffin lying on the ground and very little or no funerary equipment,

it has to be remembered that even the gilded coffin of Queen Ahhotep was found lying on the ground, apparently without any protection, just buried in rubble; and one year earlier, in December 1857, Mariette's workmen had discovered in the same area of Dra Abu el-Naga north the coffin of Kamose, last king of the Seventeenth Dynasty, also lying on the ground and resting on its right side.[38] Even coffins deposited inside rock-cut tombs were occasionally placed sidewise, as recorded by Carter in el-Birabi, to the south of Dra Abu el-Naga.[39]

Going back to the coffins of the two infants, both were found within the same stratum, UE 1001.[40] This second coffin lay half a metre higher up than the former, but this is only due to the northwest-southeast sloping down of the hillside. Very near the latter, a huge pottery deposit of about 2,000 vessels was unearthed (see plan in Fig. 2). Most were lying to the northwest, 90 cm higher than the coffin, nevertheless all the pieces can be dated to the Seventeenth/early Eighteenth Dynasty. It does not seem to have been part of a funerary equipment thrown outside the tomb by looters (as is the case for the pottery around the shafts UE1005 and 1010), but the way the vases were piled up seems to indicate that they were votive offerings. Thus, the pottery deposit is most probably not to be directly associated with the coffin, but with a significant tomb-chapel nearby. It is uncertain which one could have received votive offerings at the end of the Seventeenth and/or early Eighteenth Dynasty, since the area has not been fully excavated yet.

Near the coffin, only half a metre to the north and 30 cm above it, a sandstone block was found, bearing a relief scene showing "Hathor, chief of the necropolis' mountain", being approached and adored by a missing figure, identified as "...the king's son", Intefmose. Behind the standing figure of the goddess and looking in the opposite direction, a male standing figure is wearing the white crown, preceded by the inscription "King of Upper and Lower Egypt". Unfortunately, the block, probably part of a lintel, is broken where the royal name must have been carved. The inscribed block was thrown away by looters who must have vandalised and broken into pieces a sandstone structure near by. A second inscription, this time on a limestone stela, dedicated to the "king's son" Intefmose was found in the vicinity, which seems to indicate that his tomb must be in this area.

Archaeological context

At the same level on the hillside as the two inscriptions of Intefmose mentioned above, a funerary shaft was excavated (UE 110; see plan in Fig. 2), at the bottom of which a third inscription was found. It is the base of an octagonal limestone obelisk, with an offering formula dedicated "to the *ka* of the king's son, Intefmose, true of voice". The obelisk could have fallen down from the entrance of the mud-brick chapel built to the northwest of the shaft, and may be used as circumstantial evidence to tentatively identify this complex as the tomb-chapel of the Seventeenth Dynasty prince Intefmose.[41]

A similar mud-brick tomb-chapel complex was excavated only three metres away from the shaft where Neb was re-buried (UE 1002 and 1010; see plan in Fig. 2). It was robbed in antiquity and, consequently, some of the material associated with its original owner was found thrown inside the chapel and around the shaft's curb, but also at its bottom end. The inscribed objects seem to point out that the owner was called Ahmose-Sapair: three stick-*shabti* bear the name 'Ahmose-Sapair' written in hieratic; a fourth has an offering formula written along six horizontal lines in cursive hieroglyphs, dedicated "to the *ka* of Ahmose"; a fifth one has a shorter offering formula also dedicated "to the *ka* of the king's [son, Ahmose]" (the vertical inscription ends on the figure's right side and is blurred). A sixth stick-*shabti*, the one found at the bottom of the shaft, has the name Ah-

dating to the Eleventh/Twelfth Dynasty (underneath the floor; see above n. 13), and also dating to the Twenty-first Dynasty (half metre above the floor's level); see Galán, in Kousoulis, Lazaridis (eds.), *Tenth International Congress of Egyptologists*.

[38] Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins*, 54-6; Winlock, *JEA* 10, 260.

[39] Carnarvon, Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, 62, pl. 53(3), Pit Tomb No. 32: "Second chamber – a *Rîshi* coffin belonging (?) to the original burial. It was found lying on its right side in a space on the floor especially cleared for it, and was bound at head and foot with palm fibre cords".

[40] Note that the *rishi*-coffin found by Petrie was accompanied by a rectangular whitewashed box containing the burial of an infant (see above n. 36). On infant burials, see Meskell, *Private life*, 79-83; Dunand, in Dasen (ed.), *Naissance et petite enfance dans l'Antiquité*, 13-32; Tristant, in Nenna (ed.), *L'Enfant et la mort dans l'Antiquité II*, 15-59. Note that "published cemetery data record very few infant and juvenile burials", as remarked by Richards, *Society and Death*, 66, and see also 97, 169-70, 174; and note the conclusion by the archaeologists excavating in the South Tombs Cemetery at Amarna, that "there is no sign that any one area was zoned off for infant burials", in Kemp, *JEA* 99, 2-14. We are grateful to Andrés Diego Espinel and Francisco L. Borrego for their comments and bibliographical references on this topic.

[41] Prince Intefmose was known until now through (1) a *shabti* kept at the British Museum (EA 13329), see e.g. Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 47, where king Sobekemsaf is also mentioned; and through (2) a scribal limestone statue now in the Manchester Museum (5051), found not far away from our site, on the plain in front of Dra Abu el-Naga, "beneath the temple of Nebunnef", see Petrie, *Qurneh*, 12, pl. XXX.3.

mose written on the torso and legs in big signs (it is not clear if there were a couple more signs at the end of the inscription). The name of the latter, unlike in the rest of the occasions, is exceptionally written with the moon-sign facing up, and it is preceded by a schematic striding male figure holding a staff on one hand, probably sign A21 for *wr*/*sr*. Moreover, among the inscribed linen, one torn fragment preserves "[...] his son, Ahmose [...]", and a second complete tissue is labelled "*daiu*-linen made for Ahmose-Sapair".

While it is true that *shabtis* have been found *in situ* bearing other names than the tomb-owner's (two with the name Sapair and Ahmose-Sapair were found in the tomb of Tetiki),[42] there seems to be enough circumstantial evidence to argue that this funerary complex belonged to Ahmose-Sapair. However, the fact that the title "king's son" is only attested once (and on a blurred, debatable section), being absent from the rest of the references,[43] and that the name Ahmose is most of the time written with the moon-sign facing down, one has to be extra-cautious and refrain from concluding that the objects found were part of the funerary equipment of the revered prince Ahmose-Sapair,[44] wherever his tomb may be.[45] Indeed, other not so well-known individuals were named likewise.[46]

The funerary shaft located just two metres to the southeast (UE 1005; see plan in Fig. 2) was also plundered in antiquity, the robbers leaving behind small objects of the original funerary equipment. Among them was a calcite scarab with the inscription "son of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt".

After four seasons excavating southwest of the courtyard of Djehuty's tomb-chapel (TT 11), in Sector 10, it seems reasonable to suppose that Djehuty chose to build his funerary monument within the necropolis of the royal family and courtiers of the Seventeenth and very early Eighteenth Dynasty, which in turn had developed in an area already occupied by Middle Kingdom burials and rock-cut tombs.[47] In this context, the location of the infants' burials and the re-burial of Neb's coffin in the Third Intermediate Period can also be better understood. Still, future excavations in Dra Abu el-Naga may shed more light on the arrangement and successive use of this populated area of the Theban necropolis.

[42] Carnarvon, Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, 19-21, pls. 10-2; Davies, *JEA* 11, 10-3.

[43] It has to be noted that inscribed stick-*shabtis* usually do not mention the owner's titles; see Whelan, *17th-18th Dynasty Stick Shabtis*. On the title "king's son", see Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel s3-njswt*; Miniaci, in Pernigotti, Zecchi (eds.), *Il tempio e il suo personale*, 99-131; Shirley, in Moreno García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration,* 548-56.

[44] Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapaïr*; van Assche, *JSSEA* 37, 113-21; Andrews, in Dodson, Johnston, Monkhouse (eds.), *A Good Scribe*, 1-6.

[45] The pyramidion of Ahmose-Sapair must have been found by Spiegelberg only 20-30 metres southwest from this shaft (and "2 m above the *gebel*"), since the latter is 35 m away from Hery's tomb-chapel, and on January 10th 1899 Spiegelberg was working about 60 metres away from it, considering the location of the House of Idris Awad on the sketch map drawn the day before, in Spiegelberg, *Fundjournal*, 58b, 62. It has to be noted, that the name Ahmose-Sapair is written on the obelisk with the moon-sign facing up, and it is preceded by the title "king's son", see also Northampton, Spiegelberg, Newberry, *Report on some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis*, pl. 17. On the removal, re-burial and possible identification of Ahmose-Sapair's mummy and coffin, see above n. 15. It has been assumed since Winlock's interpretation of Papyrus Abbott, that the tomb of prince Ahmose-Sapair was in Dra Abu el-Naga south, near the area known as el-Birabi, an assumption that seemed to be supported by the proximity of Tetiki's tomb-chapel (TT 15), where two stick-*shabtis* bearing his name were found: Sapair (UC 40212) and Ahmose Sapair (UC 40213, with the moon-sign facing down!); see Whelan, *17th-18th Dynasty Stick Shabtis*, 10-4, 118-20. This hypothesis, together with Vandersleyen's use of the moon-sign as dating criteria, needs to be revised in the light of recent discoveries.

[46] Gabolde, *RdE* 62, 199-202, pl. 26.

[47] See Polz *et al.*, *MDAIK* 55, 370-402, pls. 60-1 (Area G, Grabkomplex K 95.1 and 95.2); Polz (ed.), *Die Särge des Imeni und der Geheset*; Polz, in Kessler *et al.* (eds.), *Texte-Theben-Tonfragmente*, 337-47. The Spanish mission discovered in February 2014 a large Middle Kingdom rock-cut tomb, its doorway still underground about 20 m southeast of the entrance to Djehuty's courtyard (TT 11). Below the courtyard's floor, more modest Eleventh/Twelfth Dynasty burials were discovered in 2007-08 (see above n. 13), which can now be better understood in a broader context.

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A Middle Kingdom Stela from Koptos (Royal Pavilion & Museums, Brighton & Hove HA282043)

Wolfram Grajetzki

Abstract

The publication of a late Middle Kingdom stela in the Royal Pavilion & Museums, Brighton & Hove. The couple depicted on the stela comes most likely from Koptos. Not many other private monuments are recorded from this site. A stela now in Florence was bought at Koptos and shows close similarities in style and iconography, indicating that both stelae come from a workshop operating in this town.

Data: Stela Royal Pavilion & Museums, Brighton & Hove HA282043. Measurements: (Height) 47.5 cm x (Width) 34.3 cm x (Depth) 0.72 cm. Material: Limestone (Fig. 1).

The stela was presented to the museum in Brighton, with other Egyptian objects by James Ashbury (1834-95) in 1878.[1] It is a typical Middle Kingdom stela with a short text at the top and the depiction of a man and a woman under it. The depictions are carved into the surface as sunken relief. The overall shape is rectangular with an upper roundel, in which two *wedjat* eyes flank a *shen* ring. Below these are the two text lines:

An offering that the king gives to Osiris, lord of Ankhtawy and to Min, lord of Koptos(a), that they might give a voice offering consisting of bread, beer, cattle and fowl(b) for the ka of the great one of the tens of Upper Egypt(c) Minhotep(d), true of voice. An offering that the king gives for the ka of his wife, the lady of the house Nebetiunet(e), true of voice

Comments:

(a) "Lord of Koptos" is a not very common epithet for Min. In other Middle Kingdom inscriptions the god is most often just called *mnw gbtiw* – "Min of Koptos".[2] However, already under Pepy I, in an inscription in the Wadi Hammamat, Min is "Lord of Koptos".[3] The same epithet appears also on a stela found at the Red Sea coast[4], on a stela bought by Ernesto Schiaparelli at Koptos[5] and on the decree of king Nubkheperre Antef found at Koptos.[6]

(b) The goose is shown without legs. Showing animals without legs is a common writing practice of the late Middle Kingdom from the reign of Amenemhat III onwards, especially for objects placed into burials. Stelae only have sporadically this type of writing.[7] The writing of the goose provides a rough dating of the stela into the late Twelfth or into the Thirteenth Dynasty.

(c) "Great one of the tens of Upper Egypt": the title is written with just two '10' signs (Gardiner, *Grammar*, V20), instead of three. That is most likely just a mistake or dictated by lack of space, as the writing with two Gardiner V20 signs is otherwise not well attested. The title belongs to the most common in the late Middle Kingdom, but its function remains obscure.[8] It is attested at the royal court, but also in the provinces, at Asyut,[9]

[1] Information kindly provided by Heather York, Curator (Collections Projects), Royal Pavilion & Museum. Further thanks go to Dr. Maria Cristina Guidotti (Florence).

[2] Petrie, *Koptos*, pls. 7, 10.

[3] Couyat, Montet, *Wadi Hammamat*, 59, no. 63.

[4] Mahfouz, in Tallet, Mahfouz, *The Red Sea in Pharaonic Times*, 128, fig. 9.

[5] Florence inv. no. 6382, Bosticco, *Le stele egiziane dall'antico al nuovo regno*, 52-3, no. 50.

[6] Petrie, *Koptos*, pl. 8.

[7] Miniaci, *RdE* 61, 113-34.

[8] Quirke, in Silverman. Simpson, Wegner (eds.), *Archaism and Innovation*, 305-16.

[9] Mahfouz, in Fischer-Elfert, Parkinson (eds.), *Studies on the Middle Kingdom, in memory of Detlef Franke*, 178-9.

Fig. 1 - Stela of Minhotep and Nebetiunet. Royal Pavilion & Museums, Brighton & Hove HA282043; photo: © Royal Pavilion & Museums, Brighton & Hove

Edfu, Esna[10] or Hierakonpolis/Elkab.[11] A few of the title holders were bearing high ranking titles.[12]
(d) Minhotep: The name is well attested in the Old, Middle and New Kingdom (Ranke, *PN*, 152, 9).
(e) Nebetiunet: The word *iwnt* is written without a final 't' as if indicating the translation "Heliopolis" or "Armant". The variation of the name as Nebetiunu as "Lady of Heliopolis" or "Lady of Armant" is otherwise attested (Ranke, *PN*, 187, 22). However, it is more likely that this is a short defective writing for *Iwnt* ("Denderah"). Denderah is close to Koptos where the stela owner most likely comes from. Furthermore, 'Hathor' was the main deity at Denderah, making it likely that she was the 'Lady'.

In the main field is shown a couple, standing. On the left there is Minhotep with a long garment, typical for the late Middle Kingdom.[13] He has a long beard. His wife is standing on the right side holding a bundle of flowers in her right hand to her nose. Between the couple are shown offerings. Minhotep has a long beard. Such a long beard is not often attested for officials in the Middle Kingdom. One example is Khnumhotep II from Beni Hasan, shown with long beard several times in his tomb, three times while hunting in the marshes,[14] another time while sitting at the offering table.[15] A further example is a statue of a Thirteenth Dynasty vizier, father of the vizier Ankhu.[16]

There can be little doubt that the couple depicted on the stela comes from Koptos. Min of Koptos is named in the offering formula and the stela owner has Min in his name. The name of the wife refers most likely to Denderah, the main town in the neighbouring nome. Not much is known about Koptos in the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period. The temple area is to a great extent excavated. Relief decorated blocks from the Min temple attest a major building phase under Senusret I and much later under Nubkheperre Antef, at the end of the Second Intermediate Period. A stela reporting restoration work at the temple belongs to the little known king Rahotep.[17] The Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period cemeteries of the town are still missing.

So far there are not many stelae or other objects known, belonging to people from Koptos. One example is the stela of Iuef (Florence inv. no. 6382) bought at Koptos in 1884-85 (Fig. 2).[18] Indeed, the Florence and Brighton stelae have several points in common. There can be little doubt that they are close in time and place. Their general layout is identical with *wedjat* eyes and a *shen* ring at the top, a few text lines under them and the main scene in the lower two-third part of the stela. On both stelae the offering formula invokes "Osiris, Lord of Ankh-tawy, Min, lord of Koptos". 'Min, lord of Koptos' is very rare in the Middle Kingdom, as already indicated. On both stelae is depicted a couple without any further people. On the right is standing a woman smelling at a flower. On the left is standing (Brighton) or sitting (Florence) a man. Between the two figures are shown offerings. At the bottom are standing on both stelae three jars on stands with other offerings floating in the space around. On the Florence stela appears an offering table with four round breads (?) in the middle and two higher objects flanking them. Over this group there is shown food. A similar arrangement appears on the Brighton stela.

So far there are not many other stelae coming for sure from Koptos.[19] This is in stark contrast to several other places in Upper Egypt where there is good evidence for local stela production. These places include Elephantine,[20] Edfu,[21] Esna,[22] Thebes,[23] Abydos,[24] but also Qaw el-Kebir.[25] It seems likely that Koptos had a similar stelae production, but it is hard to assign other stelae to this place.[26] This most likely reflects a gap in

[10] Downes, *The Excavations at Esna*, 75, 80.
[11] Davies, in Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, 120.
[12] Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung*, 185-84.
[13] Connor, in Andrue-Lanoë, Morfoisse (eds.), *Sésostris III*, 65.
[14] Shedid, *Felsgräber*, figs. 89, 90, 108.
[15] Shedid, *Felsgräber*, fig. 92.
[16] Cairo CG 42034; compare also Cairo CG 42207 (Middle Kingdom vizier's statue, usurped in the Twenty-second Dynasty); see Franke, *Personendaten*, Dossier no. 173.
[17] Petrie, *Koptos*, pl. XII.3.
[18] Bosticco, *Le stele egiziane dall'antico al nuovo regno*, 52-3, no. 50.
[19] PM V, 129 list several other stelae from Koptos, but they most likely come from other places: BM EA 1247 (Budge (ed.), *Hieroglyphic Text British Museum*, vol. III, pl. 9) shows a family from Akhmim."Min, lord of Ipw" is mentioned in the offering formula (compare for Ipw: Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens während des Mittleren Reiches,* vol. I, 225-7); Stela Musee Giumet C5 belongs to a Theban family (Franke, *Personendaten*, Dossier, 150A, 150B). The stela comes originally most likely from Abydos, as the 'Abydos formula' appears on it. The Second Intermediate Period stela UC 14326 (belonging to Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow I.1.b 32; Hodjash/Berlev, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum*, 86-93, no. 41) was most likely bought at Koptos (Adams, *Topoi, Supplement* 3, 11) and comes originally from Denderah. Hathor is mentioned on the stela.
[20] Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib*, 105-17.
[21] Marée, *BMSAES* 12, 31-92.
[22] Downes, *The Excavations at Esna*, 67-83.
[23] Ilin-Tomich, *GM* 234, 69-84.
[24] Marée, in Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 241-81.
[25] Ilin-Tomich, in Bolshakov (ed.), *St. Petersburg Egyptological readings 2009-2010*, 92-102.
[26] One Possible example is Cairo CG 20519 (stelae with several people having the god 'Min' in the name; one woman on the stela is called Nubemiunet – 'The Gold in Denderah'. From the description in the Catalogue Generale, the stela is different in layout and iconography to the ones here presented).

Fig. 2 - Stela of Iuef - Florence inv. no. 6382 (Bosticco, *Le Stele Egiziane*, vol. I, no. 50)

the archaeological record.

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Hathor and her Festivals at Lahun

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Abstract

Hieratic documents bear evidence of Hathor's prominent status among the deities who received cult at Lahun. The heavy presence of the goddess in the royal cult-complex was primarily due to her periodic divine visitations in the forms of navigational festivals as opposed to Anubis whose cult at Lahun was a resident one. Of the festivals, the Feast hdn of Hathor and the Feast of ṯḫ(j) are of special importance as they appear to have been related to the ritual pacification of Hathor at an unexpectedly early date. By placing two find groups from Lahun into the wider context of Hathoric ceremonies, it is suggested that performances reminiscent of the festivals held in later epochs in honour of the Departed Goddess might have been taking place at Lahun, the revitalizing force of which was most probably linked to the new, emphatic concept of queenship in the Late Middle Kingdom.

The large group of hieratic manuscripts, now in the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin,[1] that once belonged to the accountancy of the royal mortuary temple of Senwosret II at Lahun has long been regarded as an invaluable source material for studying the various facets of ancient Egyptian civilization during the Late Middle Kingdom. Despite the early date of their discovery,[2] the full publication of these papyri suffered a considerable delay leaving most of the documents accessible for only a limited branch of scholars with a good command of Middle Kingdom administrative hieratic or, alternatively, having the possibility to consult with the transcriptions which Eugène Dévaud and Konrad Hoffmann had produced of a number of manuscripts. The proper edition of twenty letters published in 1992 by Ulrich Luft was thus a landmark in the history of Lahun studies.[3] The volume, heralded by a number of excellent papers as well as a monograph on the archive's chronological implications,[4] was followed by the publication of another twenty dated manuscripts in 2006,[5] which may be seen as the culmination of three decades of enthusiastic research.[6] From the very beginning, Ulrich has been deeply committed to encourage and support his students, even at the cost of granting them access to unpublished materials and his own research notes. This particular paper has also benefited greatly from Ulrich's extensive work on the source material; hence I dedicate this study on an inebriated goddess at Lahun to my *Doktorvater*.

Researchers at Lahun may feel that the abundance of papyrological record compensates the almost total loss of epigraphical and architectural sources which normally have a substantial role in the study of divine cults at a particular place. It must be borne in mind, however, that these hieratic business papyri have been compiled for purely administrative purposes, they cover a different dimension of the cult, and thus with the scattered references to figures of deities and religious institutions, they may complement rather than substitute the pictorial representations and hieroglyphic inscriptions. The situation at Lahun is further complicated by the fact that the profound changes in the ideology of kingship as well as in the royal afterlife beliefs, which can be detected in a more developed and articulated form in the mortuary architecture of Senwosret III, were in fact rooted in the reign of Senwosret II.[7] In his treatise about the Anubis cult, Quirke demonstrated that the jackal goddess had his own cult statue deposited in his own chapel most probably housed in the royal mortuary temple, he had his own ritual staff looking after the cult activities, and he received offerings on a level comparable only with the

[1] Kaplony-Heckel, *Ägyptische Handschriften*.
[2] For the discovery and early history of these papyri, see Borchardt, *ZÄS* 37, 89-90.
[3] Luft, *Das Archiv von Illahun*.
[4] Luft, *Die chronologische Fixierung*.
[5] Luft, *Urkunden zur Chronologie der späten 12. Dynastie*.
[6] The large number of fragments once belonging to the temple daybook are currently processed by Jürgen Osing, see his preliminary report: Osing, in Lepper (ed.), *Forschung in der Papyrussammlung*, 161-4.
[7] Wegner, in Silverman, Simpson, Wegner (eds.) *Archaism and Innovation*, 162.

cult of Senwosret II himself.[8] The constellation recalls the royal mortuary cult in the Mansions-of-Millions-of-Years during the New Kingdom when the royal cult was appended to the cult of a prominent deity, and even the figure of the king was defined in terms of his association with the gods. The Lahun temple papyri also yield evidence of the increasing popularity of the crocodile god Sobek, whose figure was closely related to the notion of divine kingship during the Late Middle Kingdom.[9]

From a purely quantitative point of view, there is a well-defined group of deities whose attestations in the Lahun papyri far outnumber the references to any other gods. The group includes Anubis who-is-upon-his-hill,[10] Sobek of Shedet and Sobek, Lord of Ra-sehui,[11] Sokar and the goddess Hathor. The prominence of Sokar nicely illustrates the standpoint of cult administration: it is his annual festivals when offerings were presented to the cult recipients that explains his frequent occurrences in the papyri.[12] Of this group of prominent deities, the figure of Hathor deserves special attention. Unlike her relatively well-documented association with the royal cult establishments of the Old Kingdom,[13] the position of the goddess within the royal mortuary complexes of the Middle Kingdom is rather difficult to assess, and considering the substantial changes in the ideology of kingship over the Twelfth Dynasty, it is certainly not the fragmentary character of the Middle Kingdom source material alone that accounts for our limited acquaintance. As for Lahun, it may thus be rewarding to address the problem first by revisiting the hieratic sources, then by reinvestigating a particular set of finds from the settlement area neighbouring the desert-edge royal mortuary temple.

Hieratic sources for Hathor at Lahun

Figure 1 summarizes the papyrological evidence for Hathor and her cult places by sorting the sources into four categories with respect to their differing subjects of reference. The *first class* of attestations includes direct and explicit references to the figure of the goddess in (1) temple journals, (2) 'festival lists', and (3) letters. Owing to their importance, classes (1) and (2) will be discussed at length below. Class (3) lists local forms of Hathor invoked in the deity formulae of private letters: Hathor, Mistress of Byblos, Hathor, Mistress of Atfih, and Hathor, Mistress of Dendara. Since deities invoked in this formula are regularly local forms venerated at the place of the addressee, these attestations outline the geographical scope of the Lahun correspondence. Byblos, on the other hand, is a different issue: the epithet Mistress of Byblos occurs in one of the brief model letters practising standard epistolary formulae and citing a series of strange toponyms and mythical locations (*Skrj m Tp-sḏmw*, *Jnpw nb Mjw*, *Sbk nb Ḥnj*), which may thus be regarded as inventions serving didactic purposes in the scribal curriculum.

The *second class* includes direct references to the temple of Hathor at Atfih, ancient Tep-ihu, where Hesat, a white sacred cow identified with Hathor was venerated already in the early Middle Kingdom.[14] These files of utmost importance cast light on the close economic ties between the Hathor temple in Atfih and the mortuary complex of Senwosret II. P Berlin 10056A reveals that provisions (*ḫtp.w-nṯr*) were brought to Sekhem-Senwosret from the temples of Sobek of Shedet and Hathor of Atfih, respectively, *i.e.* the chief cult places situated the closest to Lahun.

Class (2) references give weight to the *third class* sources which suggest a general and intensive communication between the town of Atfih, one of Hathor's chief cult places in the region, and the settlement at Lahun (Hotep-Senwosret-maa-kheru) that extends far beyond the scope of provisioning the royal cult. For instance, the enrolment of labourers residing in Atfih to carry out works in state projects under the direction of Lahun administration is the main concern of a short, fragmentary

[8] Quirke, in Quirke (ed.), *The Temple in Ancient Egypt*, 30, 32.
[9] *Op. cit.*, 45; Dolzani, *Il dio Sobk*, 182-92; Zecchi, *Sobek of Shedet*, 42-53.
[10] Sources for the cult of Anubis have been splendidly collected and widely commented on by Quirke, in Quirke (ed.), *The Temple in Ancient Egypt*. Further attestations including references to the cult of Sobek have been presented in Horváth, in Silverman, Simpson, Wegner (eds.) *Archaism and Innovation*, 186, n. 103.
[11] Sobek Lord of Ra-sehui is a local form of the crocodile goddess, though Ra-sehui is a location yet to be specified. This form of Sobek apparently had a temple or chapel in Sekhem-Senwosret-maa-kheru, *i.e.* the cult establishment of Senworet II incorporating the desert-edge mortuary temple, the adjacent residential sector, the temples/chapels of Anubis and Sobek and a production area (*shena*). For Ra-sehui, see Kees, *ZÄS* 59, 155-6; Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens während des Mittleren Reiches,* vol. I, 401; a thorough discussion of the sources also presenting the various opinions can be found in Zecchi, *Geografia Religiosa del Fayyum*, 92-6. The attestations of various forms of Sobek at Lahun are discussed at length in Zecchi, *Sobek of Shedet*, 30-5.
[12] For the Sokar-festivals at Lahun, see Luft, *Die chronologische Fixierung*, 179-83.
[13] Quirke, in Quirke (ed.), *The Temple in Ancient Egypt*, 44 is a concise summary of the nature of the record for the role of gods in the Old Kingdom pyramid complexes. An overview of Hathor's appearance in royal context from the Fourth Dynasty up to the early Middle Kingdom (and beyond) is given in Radwan, in Czerny *et al.* (eds.), *Timelines*, vol. I, 276-8.
[14] Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult*, 93; Grieshammer, in *LÄ* I, 519.

First class: direct, explicit references to the goddess Hathor

temple journals	P Berlin 10117B l; P Berlin 10314a ro II 1-2; P Berlin 10112 B c
festival lists	P UC 32191; P Berlin 10282 ro; P Berlin 10344 c ro
letters	P UC 32101G vso, P UC 32200 ro (Hathor, Mistress of Atfih); P UC 32149 B ro (Hathor, Mistress of Dendara); P UC 32196 (Hathor, Mistress of Byblos). For the latter, see furthermore Wente, *Letters*, 69-70.

Second class: direct references to the temple of Hathor at Atfih

P Berlin 10056A ro I 3-4, ro II 3-5. Further documents mentioning the same temple in the context of provisioning the royal mortuary cult at Lahun: P Berlin 10062 B ro, P Berlin 10056 B ro, P Berlin 10006 ro III, and P Berlin 10095 ro. In a rather obscure context, the town of Atfih appears either as a source of produce or one of the recipients in P UC 32212 ro.

Third class: references to the communication between Atfih and Lahun

P UC 32275 ro; P Berlin 10065B ro 2-5. Another small fragment of a letter or an account among the London Lahun papyri either mentions "people of Atfih" as the editors suggest, or rather contains another example of a personal name built on the element Tep-ihu, as the context of a name-list suggests: P UC 32307 ro.

Fourth class: theophorous names built on some Hathoric element

The list of references is not a definitive one, rather a concise selection of documents is given here containing the name-forms Sa(t)-Hathor, Sat-Hathor-ankh and Sa(t)-Tep-ihu. P UC 32145A vso, P UC 32170 ro (Sa-Hathor); P UC 32118E fr ii, P UC 32127 ro, P UC 32166 ro, P UC 32127 ro, P UC 32197 ro, P UC 32275 ro, P Berlin 10001A ro, P Berlin 10003A ro II, P Berlin 10003B ro I, ro II, P Berlin 10003C ro I, ro II, P Berlin 10005B ro I, P Berlin 10010 ro, P Berlin 10048 ro, P Berlin 10218 a ro, P Berlin 10386 b ro, P Berlin 10414 a ro (Sat-Hathor); P Berlin 10055 ro (Sat-Hathor-ankh); P Berlin 10009 ro (Sa-Tep-ihu); P UC 32197 ro, P Berlin 10012A ro, P Berlin 10021 ro, P Berlin 10092 a ro, P Berlin 10391 d ro (Sat-Tep-ihu).

Fig. 1 - Hieratic sources for Hathor in the Lahun papyri

account (P UC 32275 ro) that records names of enlistees from Atfih hauling stone blocks for a building project (most likely a construction of Amenemhat III at Hawara), while a private letter sent from the mayor of Hotep-Senwosret to the steward Horemsaf mentions "a man of Atfih", who serves as a guard in Sekhem-Senwosret (P Berlin 10065B ro 2-5).

Theophorous names in the *fourth class* building on some Hathoric element occur frequently in long lists of temple attendants, work-groups, etc., witnessing a nationwide popularity of the goddess rather than reflecting particular local significance. Of the two prevalent name-forms, Sa(t)-Tep-ihu suggests a close association with the town of Atfih and the cow-goddess venerated there.

The references discussed up to this point illustrate and underline the significance of the close ties between Lahun and Atfih both in the realm of cult management and in the broader sphere of administration. Class (2) attestations have revealed that it is through the temple of Hathor that provisions were channelled from the town of Atfih to the mortuary complex of Senwosret II at Lahun. It is all the more noteworthy that despite her definite economic role in running the royal mortuary cult at Lahun, this local form of Hathor was not associated with any of the festive events as preserved on some fragmentary sheets of the temple archive, whereas another local form of the goddess was (Hathor, Mistress of Herakleopolis).[15]

Hathor in the temple accounts and festivals of Hathoric character at Lahun

The temple accountancy files (Class (1)/1) contain two clear and explicit references to the figure of the goddess.[16] P Berlin 10117B l is a fragment of modest dimensions with the traces of four horizontal lines recording perhaps allocations to a group of statues associated with particular deities (Fig. 2).[17]

P Berlin 10112 B c is a small fragment recording offerings (*ḥtp.w-nṯr*) presented to various divinities including the king, Anubis and Hathor (Fig. 3).

The sources reveal that offerings were presented to the goddess Hathor at Lahun, but they do not specify where and on what occasions these offerings were presented. Of the group of prominent deities at Lahun, Anubis and Sobek, Lord of Ra-sehui are stated to have had their own temples or cult chapels within Sekhem-Senwosret (none of them has yet been archaeologically attested),[18] but sources keep silent about a Hathor-temple at Lahun.[19] In this regard, the situation is somewhat similar to the guest cult of Hathor, Mistress of Atfih within the mortuary complex of Senwosret I (Khenem-sut Kheperkare) at Lisht: however securely attested in the epigraphical record, the place where the goddess received worship has remained an open question.[20]

While references in the Lahun papyri bear witness that Hathor was presented with offerings at certain festive occasions and the temple of the goddess at Atfih was involved in the network of institutions funding the royal mortuary cult of Senwosret II, no conclusive evidence has been found that her cult at Lahun was a resident one. Receiving offerings does not necessarily imply the permanent presence of a deity at a particular place. Even if the destruction of the cult installations at Lahun evidently distorts the picture, the total lack of priestly titles related to the cult of Hathor might be taken as indicative.[21]

[15] For Hathor, Mistress of Herakleopolis, see UC 32191, the so-called 'Great Festival Papyrus' discussed below.

[16] There exists one more manuscript that contains an explicit reference to the figure of Hathor. Unfortunately, the context is lost as only the beginnings of two consecutive lines have been preserved. P Berlin 10314a ro II 1-2 *ʿḥʿ jnnw mˀ* [... ...]/*Ḥw.t-ḥrw nb.t* [... ...].

[17] Transliteration and translation reflect the original arrangement of this rather fragmentary record.

[18] I suggest that P Berlin 10003A vso 6-9 bears evidence of three temples (*ḥw.t-nṯr*) within the boundaries of Sekhem-Senwosret: the mortuary temple of Senwosret II, the temple of Anubis who is upon his mountain, and the temple of Sobek, Lord of Ra-sehui (Horváth, in Silverman, Simpson, Wegner (eds.), *Archaism and Innovation*, 183-90). Recent geophysical survey of the temple area and its close vicinity, carried out by Tomasz Herbich in 2009 on behalf of the El-Lahun Survey Project, did not find any trace of sacral architecture other than the royal mortuary temple, the tripartite sanctuary of which might have accommodated the cults of both Anubis and Sobek (Horváth *et al.*, *El-Lahun Survey Project, 2009*).

[19] For the interpretation of P Berlin 10095 ro x+1-3, which is a passage of a temple journal with a copy of a letter focusing on offerings sent to the cult of the deceased Senwosret II as well as the king's wife, royal mother Khnumetnoferhedjet from the temple of Hathor, Mistress of Atfih, see Horváth, in Silverman, Simpson, Wegner (eds.), *Archaism and Innovation*, 186, n. 104. Luft, in Quirke (ed.), *Lahun Studies*, 19 is a slightly different rendering.

[20] Based on Hathor's close association with the royal *ka* in the Old Kingdom pyramid complexes, Arnold proposed that the extensive limestone subfoundations in front of the small *ka*-pyramid of Senwosret I indicated the place where the now lost shrine of Hathor might have been erected (Arnold, *The Pyramid of Senwosret I*, vol. I, 17, n. 33). For the sources of the cult of Hathor, Mistress of Atfih amid Khenemsut, see Gomaà, *SAK* 11, 108-10; Gauthier, Jéquier, *Memoire sur les fouilles de Licht*, 60 and fig. 69; Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, 88, pl. 19 [9], no. 1125; also discussed in Horváth, in Silverman, Simpson, Wegner (eds.) *Archaism and Innovation*, 187.

[21] *Cf.* the significance of *wtw Jnpw*, the only title referring to a deity in the temple archive suggesting that Anubis had

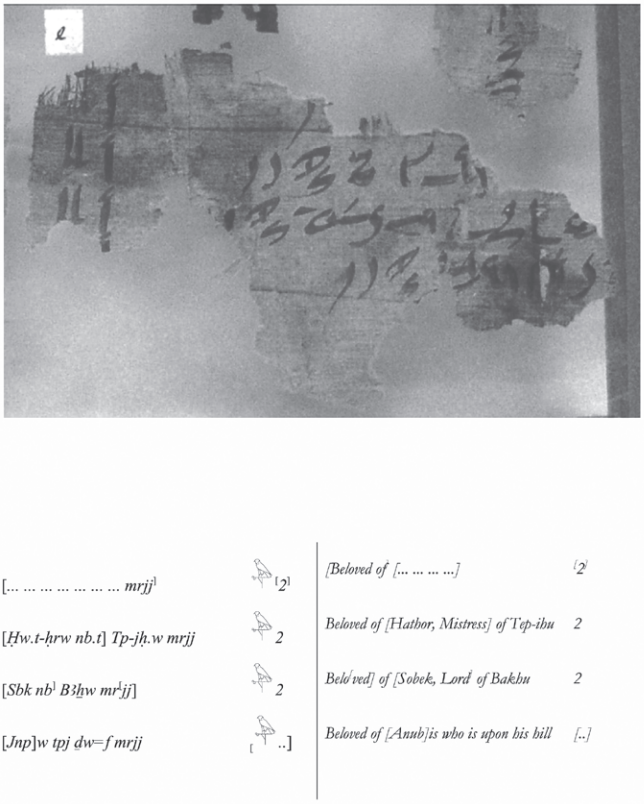
[... ... ... mrjj]
[Ḥw.t-ḥrw nb.t] Tp-jḥ.w mrjj
[Sbk nb] Bꜣḫw mr[jj]
[Jnp]w tpj ḏw=f mrjj
[Beloved of [... ... ...]
Beloved of [Hathor, Mistress] of Tep-ihu
Bel[oved] of [Sobek, Lord] of Bakhu
Beloved of [Anub]is who is upon his hill

Fig. 2 - List of statues of various divinities in P Berlin 10117 B l (photo: U. Luft)

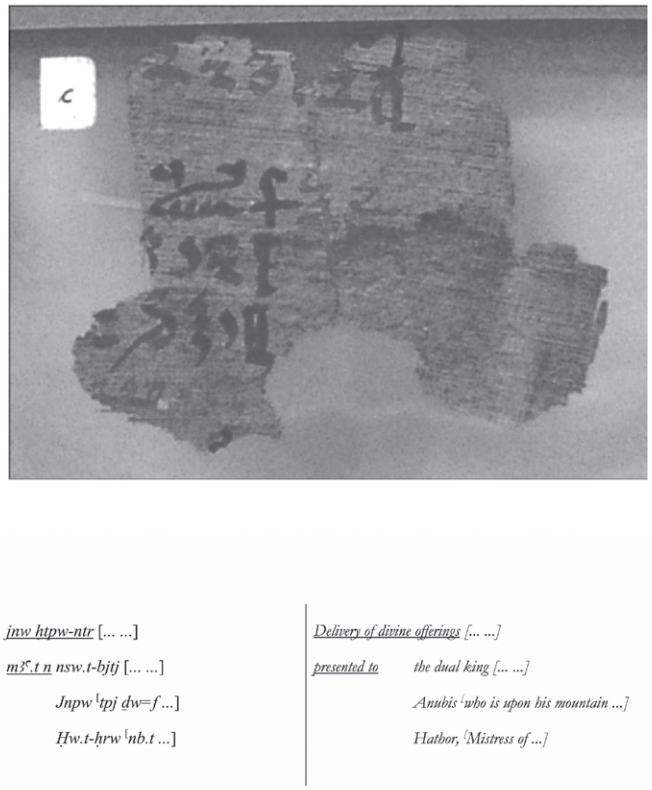
jnw ḥtpw-ntr [... ...]
mꜣꜥ.t n nsw.t-bjtj [... ...]
Jnpw [tpj ḏw=f ...]
Ḥw.t-ḥrw [nb.t ...]
Delivery of divine offerings [... ...]
presented to
the dual king [... ...]
Anubis [who is upon his mountain ...]
Hathor, [Mistress of ...]

Fig. 3 - Record of offerings presented to the king, Anubis, and Hathor in P Berlin 10112 B c (photo: U. Luft)

This view of Hathor as a visitor rather than a resident goddess at Lahun seems to be corroborated by the Hathor festivals of navigational character mentioned in the Great Festival Papyrus in London.[22] The large but rather fragmentary papyrus roll with its related smaller fragments is the most important source for the festival calendar at Lahun during the Late Middle Kingdom. The document itself, however, is not a festival calendar at all, but an account dated to year 35 of Amenemhat III recording the attendance of singers (*ḫsj.w*) and dancers (*ḫb.w*) of the first, second, third phyles and dancers of the fourth phyle at various festivals throughout the year in a tabulated form. The sheet belongs to a smaller group of manuscripts in the London collection of Lahun papyri which are evidently related to the accountancy of the Senwosret II mortuary temple, and may be linked to further fragments among the Berlin documents.

1. Festival *ḫn.t Ḥw.t-ḥrw nb.t Ḥnn-nsw.t* – Sailing of Hathor, Mistress of Herakleopolis
Source: P UC 32191 vs

Fig. 4 - The Festival Sailing of Hathor, Mistress of Herakleopolis in P UC 32191 (after Collier, Quirke, *Accounts*)

a resident cult at Lahun, as noted in Quirke, in Quirke (ed.), *The Temple in Ancient Egypt*, 32-3; and in Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 126.

[22] UC 32191. Collier, Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 92-5, transcription on fold-out, CD files UC32191-f-RI, UC32191-f-LE, UC32191-b-RI, UC32191-b-LE, UC32191-frame1-f-RI, UC32191-frame1-f-LE, UC32191-frame1-b-RI, UC32191-frame1-b-LE, UC32191-frame2-f-RI, UC32191-frame2-f-LE, UC32191-frame2-b-RI, UC32191-frame2-b-LE, T32191b1, T32191b2, T32191b3, T32191f1, T32191f2, T32191f3, T32191f4, T32191sm1, T32191sm2; Luft, *Die chronologische Fixierung*, 138-42, fig. 2 on fold-out.

The festivals listed in the heading fall into two basic categories: festivals of nationwide significance and festivals celebrated on a regional or only on a local level. A nice example of the latter type is the feast when Hathor, Mistress of Herakleopolis visited the mortuary complex of Senwosret II at Lahun.[23] The festival took place some time prior to III *prj.t*; owing to the broken record, no fix date may be given. Hathor was venerated at Herakleopolis as the spouse of Herishef as early as in the Middle Kingdom, though pre-New Kingdom evidence is admittedly scarce. The intercourse between Lahun and Herakleopolis, a close religious centre, is echoed in the deity formulae of numerous private letters invoking the ram-headed god[24] and accounts mentioning temple titleholders serving the cult of Herishef at Herakleopolis.[25] In accordance with its local/regional character, the navigational feast centred on Hathor of Herakleopolis finds no parallel in the festival calendars of later epochs.

2. Festival *ḫn.t Ḥw.t-ḥrw* **– Sailing of Hathor**
Sources: P UC32191 ro; P Berlin 10282 ro[26]

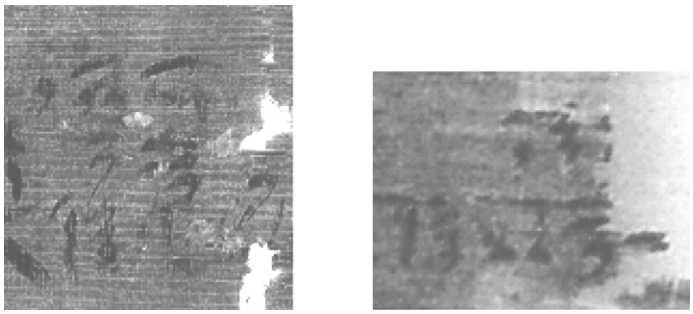

Fig. 5 - The Festival Sailing of Hathor as recorded in P UC 32191 (right) and P Berlin 10282 (left) (after Collier, Quirke, *Accounts*, CD image and photo by U. Luft)

[23] Luft, *Die chronologische Fixierung*, 178.
[24] UC 32206 (deity formula): Collier, Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Letters*, 124-5, CD files UC32206-f, UC32206-b, T32205t; UC 32114A (deity formula): Collier, Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Letters*, 28-9, CD files UC32114A-f, T32114; UC 32284K (deity formula): Collier, Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Letters*, 171, CD files UC32284-f-LE, T32284r.
[25] P Berlin 10254 b (mentions the cattle-stall of the divine offerings of Herishef): Kaplony-Heckel, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, no. 332; P Berlin 10112 B d (mentions Herishef and twice more Herishef beloved of Ra-Horakhty in a context that suggests list of statues): Kaplony-Heckel, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, no. 108; UC 32095 C ii (mentions the phyle-coordinator of Herakleopolis): Collier, Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 194-5, CD files UC32095B-f, T32095A; UC 32173 vso (faint traces of part of the toponym Herakleopolis): Collier, Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 90-1, CD files UC32173-b, T32173.
[26] Unpublished. Luft, *Die chronologische Fixierung*, 114-8; Kaplony-Heckel, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, no. 364.

The Hathor festival fixed on IV *ꜣḫ.t* 1 and referred to as another navigational festival,[27] is an early counterpart of the better-documented eponymous festival of national character that lent its name to the preceding month (Athyr).[28] Beside the London festival papyrus, the feast reoccurs under the same date in the heading of another fragmentary record of attendance in the Berlin collection.

3. Festival *ḥdn Ḥw.t-ḥrw* **–** *ḥdn* **of Hathor**
Sources: P Berlin 10282 ro; P Berlin 10344 c ro[29]

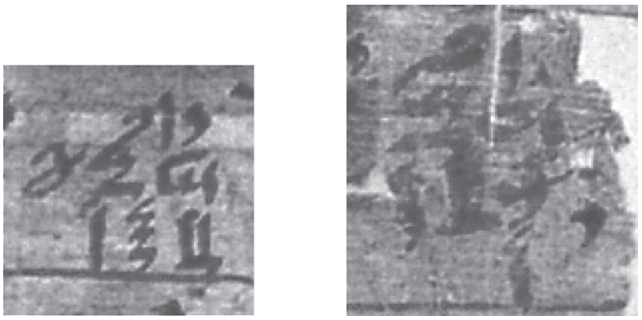

Fig. 6 - The Festival *ḥdn* of Hathor as recorded in P Berlin 10282 (right) and P Berlin 10344 c (left) (photo by U. Luft)

This feast, fixed on III *ꜣḫ.t* 20 in the Civil Calendar,[30] is perhaps the most enigmatic festival of Hathor at Lahun. Evidence for it is extremely scant in the records: it is mentioned under the same date in the Tanis Geographical Papyrus,[31] and an earlier reference was found on a block from Karnak, dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty on stylistic grounds, with no date preserved for the festival however.[32] The variance in its iconography as well as the different ways and purposes the *hdn* was used,[33] is a major obstacle to the botanical identification of the plant species associated with the goddess (see below).

[27] Luft, *Die chronologische Fixierung*, 177; Schott, *Altägyptische Festdaten*, 89, no. 58.
[28] The Hathor festival of this date occurs in several sources from the New Kingdom through the Graeco-Roman period. An overview of the attestations with further literature has been given recently in Jauhiainen, *Study of References to Feasts and Festivals in Non-Literary Documents*, 104.
[29] Unpublished. Luft, *Die chronologische Fixierung*, 121-2; Kaplony-Heckel, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, no. 491.
[30] Luft, *Die chronologische Fixierung*, 169-70.
[31] Griffith, Petrie, *Two Hieroglyphic Papyri from Tanis*, pl. 12, fr. 36; Spalinger, *BSÉG* 22, 57.
[32] Le Saout, *CRIPEL* 11, 69-70.
[33] For *hdn*, see Wb II, 506.3-6; von Deines, Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Drogennamen*, 331; Westendorf, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin*, 502.

4. Festival *tp*(*j*) *n tḫ*(*j*) **– First/Principal (feast) of Drunkenness**
Source: P Berlin 10282 ro

Fig. 7 - The First/Principal Feast of Drunkenness in P Berlin 10282 (photo by U. Luft)

The festival,[34] fixed on I *ꜣḫ.t* 20 in the Civil Calendar, is hitherto the earliest attestation of the feast of *tḫj* which occurs later under the same date in the temple calendars of Dendera.[35] Yet, the proper reading and rendering of the feast name is still far from being a clear-cut case. Borchardt assumed that *tḫj* was originally a full-moon feast (a view also held by Parker) and evidently influenced by the sequence of festivals *wꜣgj* (I *ꜣḫ.t* 18), *Ḏḥwtj.t* (I *ꜣḫ.t* 19) *tḫj* (I *ꜣḫ.t* 20) and *pr.t-ꜥꜣ.t* (I *ꜣḫ.t* 22),[36] he reconstructed a mythological setting for the festival centred on the story of Horus and Seth with Thoth figuring as the 'Lord of the plummet' (*nb tḫ*), thence translating the name of the feast as "Fest des Züngleins an der Waage".[37] Even though it was Luft who demonstrated that the feast of *tḫj* had nothing to do with the full-moon,[38] he still followed Borchardt in rendering *tḫ* as "Waagelot" (plummet) prefixed by the compound preposition *tp-ꜥ*: "Vor dem Waagelot".[39] Owing to the close similarity of the hieratic equivalents of Gardiner F34 (heart or heart-shaped plummet determining *tḫ* "plummet") and Gardiner W22 (beer jug determining *tḫ* "be drunk, drunkenness"), Luft's reading is plausible and reasonable from a palaeographic point of view. On the other hand, a feast 'Before the Plummet' would be a *hapax* among the Egyptian festival names as opposed to the Feast of Drunkenness which is known to have been celebrated on the same date in the Graeco-Roman period. Again, the palaeographic properties allow an alternative reading of the group preceding *tḫ* as *tp*(*j*) *n*, an indirect genitive with an ellipted masculine noun that the ordinal number *tp*(*j*) modifies ([*N*] *tpj n tḫ*). Such a construct finds parallels in the feast names of the 15-day long festival cycle in Dendera starting on 20 Thoth (*ḥb tpj n tḫ*, "First Feast of Drunkenness") and running up to 5 Paophi (*hrw sb tḫ.w*, "the Day of Bringing the *tḫ*-plants").[40] Since full festival names including *ḥb* are usually avoided in the headings of records of attendance, the *tp*(*j*) *n tḫ*(*j*) on P Berlin 10282 ro may be taken as an abbreviated reference to the First (or Principal) Festival of Drunkenness.[41]

An inquiry into the character of Hathoric festivals at Lahun

Stephen Quirke aptly remarked that Hathor's heavy presence in the navigational festivals implied periodic divine visitations rather than having a resident cult at Lahun, and indeed one may even recall the well-known processional celebrations of Hathor in Edfu and Dendera in Ptolemaic times.[42] It has to be noted, however, that Middle Kingdom or earlier references to navigational festivals with Hathor are extremely scant or simply lacking. Of the two Old Kingdom festival calendars which have come down to us, that of Sahure from his valley temple is too fragmentary to be of any use.[43] Another but also fragmentary festival calendar from the lower temple of Niuserra's sun temple at Abu Gurob looks more promising as it seems to contain a reference to a festival celebrated on I *ꜣḫ.t* 20 (*i.e.* the day of *tḫj*) and having been of Hathoric character. For good reason, however, this particular source is liable to suspicion. In his reconstruction of the highly broken text, Helck suggested that Hathor received offerings on that day in connection with her navigation.[44] Yet, Spalinger pointed out that the reference is rather fallacious and cannot be used as an early evidence for the Hathoric overtone of *tḫj*, since Helck, influenced by the festival's later association with Hathor's intoxication, based his emendation of the Lahun occurrence of *tḫj* on I *ꜣḫ.t* 20.[45] Temple calendars did not survive from the Middle Kingdom, and our sources for Hathor's presence within the Twelfth Dynasty royal cult complexes of the Memphis-Fayyum area are tanta-

[34] Luft, *Die chronologische Fixierung*, 188-9; Borchardt, *Die Mittel*, 34; Schott, *Altägyptische Festdaten*, 82, no. 27.
[35] Grimm, *Die altägyptischen Festkalender*, 373-4 (calendars J and K).
[36] *Cf.* with Spalinger's remarks that each festivals held on I *ꜣḫ.t* 18, 19, and 20, respectively in the Civil Calendar, appears to be independent of the others: Spalinger, in Spalinger (ed.), *Revolutions in Time*, 45-60.
[37] Borchardt, *Die Mittel*, 35.
[38] Luft, Spalinger, in Spalinger (ed.), *Revolutions in Time*, 39-41; Spalinger, *SAK* 20, 300-1.
[39] Luft, *Die chronologische Fixierung*, 188-9.
[40] Cauville, *Les fêtes d'Hathor*, 51, 97.
[41] This rendering differs from the translation put forward in Schott, *Altägyptische Festdaten*, 82, no. 27: *Erste (Festtag) des (Festes) 'Trunkenheit'*.
[42] Collier, Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 92.
[43] Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahure*, vol. II, pl. 72 bottom.
[44] Helck, *SAK* 5, 57.
[45] Spalinger, *SAK* 20, 297.

lizingly limited.[46] The overall poor state of preservation of these often partly or fully inaccessible monuments is a major impediment for research and distorts the picture to a considerable extent.

As far as I know the only source that refers to Hathor visiting a pyramid complex in the course of her navigational festival comes from the papyrus archive of Neferirkara's pyramid precinct at Abusir.[47] A hieratic account records an (unfortunately) undated navigational festival when the sacred image of Hathor was sailing in her barque.[48] The heading of the document also reveals that the feast was enacted at the time of the installation of the royal mortuary cult and afterwards it was celebrated periodically. The goddess appeared at the festival as a "female falcon" (*bjk.t*), a specific form recognised much later in Dendera as a manifestation of Hathor in her capacity of the Eye of Ra[49] whose pacification and return from Nubia prompted the Feast of Drunkenness in the Ptolemaic Period. Due to the lack of further details, it is impossible to decide whether this Old Kingdom festival foreshadows the Hathoric celebrations of later epochs or not, yet the surprisingly early emergence of a religious image related to a specific aspect of Hathor is certainly instructive to the effect that it underlines how little is known about the nature of festivals of this period.

As for the Feast of *tḫ*(*j*), a significant time gap separates the Lahun reference from the Ptolemaic sources which needs to be taken into account before automatically linking the festival with Hathor and the mythical cycle of the return of the Departed Goddess from Nubia. As Spalinger claims, there is no explicit connection between the *tḫ*(*j*)-feast of 20 *ꜣḫ.t* I and Hathor on a Middle Kingdom horizon.[50] The content and purpose of a particular festival may have been changed considerably over the centuries, younger festivals absorbing older ones, thence in theory it cannot be excluded that an old feast of *tḫ* originally associated with Thoth has been later appropriated and celebrated in honour of Hathor, especially as the homophone pair *tḫ* "plummet", "Thoth"[51] and *tḫ* "to be drunk"[52] offers a chance for playing on words which the ancient Egyptians were so keen on doing. That *tḫj* was already in use as an epithet of either Thoth or Hathor as early as in the Middle Kingdom is indicated by a popular Middle Kingdom feminine theophorous private name *Sꜣ.t-tḫj* that occurs several times in the Lahun papyri, and in which *tḫj* is spelled exactly the same way as in the festival headings.[53] Admitting that no Middle Kingdom source is known to establish an explicit and indisputable connection between the Feast *tḫ*(*j*) and the goddess Hathor, there are strong indications, however, that such a connection may in fact have existed. To contextualize the Feast of *tḫ*(*j*), a clue may be found in revisiting another festival, celebrated at Lahun and overtly Hathoric in content.

The proper rendering of the festival name *hdn* of Hathor would require a clear notion of what *hdn* meant in the ancient Egyptian lexicon.[54] The sources, which range from the Pyramid Texts to the Graeco-Roman temple inscriptions, suggest a dual use of the term: depending on the context, *hdn* may have referred to either a plant (a specific species or genus), or implements made of various parts of that plant (e.g. 'fan', 'broom', 'calamus'). What makes the taxonomic identification of *hdn* particularly difficult is the difference between the ancient Egyptian way of naming the plants, based on criteria like appearance, and our modern system of classification and nomenclature that follows the principles laid down by Carl Linné.[55] For an Egyptian, similarities in appearance or in some distinctive feature would easily link together otherwise unrelated items, like the calamus or reed brush of Thoth[56] and the broom used to wipe away the footprints during the *jn.t-rd* ritual[57] – both referred to as *hdn* in the inscriptions. It follows that the *hdn*-plant was associated not only with Hathor, but with Thoth as well, and it also figured in the *jn.t-rd* ritual.[58] Furthermore, the *hdn* is

[46] Beyond the references to the presumed guest cult of Hathor, Mistress of Atfih amid Khenemsut in the pyramid precinct of Senwosret I at Lisht (mentioned above), a block from the north cemetery at Lisht bearing the names of Amenemhat III and most probably Hathor, Mistress of Atfih may be cited (Gauthier, Jéquier, *Memoire sur les fouilles de Licht*, 106; Quirke, in Quirke (ed.), *The Temple in Ancient Egypt*, 41).

[47] Only two festivals, *wꜣgj* and *Ḏḥwtj.t* show up in the papyrus archive of Ranoferef (Posener-Kriéger, Verner, Vymazalová, *Abusir X*, 393), while the archive of Khentkaus contains no reference to any festival.

[48] Posener-Kriéger, De Cenival, *The Abu Sir Papyri*, pl. 19; Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakaï*, vol. I, 99-108; vol. II, 553-8.

[49] Preys, *ZÄS* 134, 40.

[50] Spalinger, *SAK* 20, 299.

[51] For "plummet", see Wb V, 323.7-12; for "Thoth", see Wb V, 325.17.

[52] Wb V 323.13-324.17; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexicon*, 1150.

[53] E.g. UC 32130 ro, UC 32170 ro, UC 32310E ro. For the name and its attestations, see Ranke, *PN I*, 294.18, with n. 2.

[54] Goyon, in Junge (ed.), *Studien zur Sprache und Religion Ägyptens*, 241-50; Le Saout, *CRIPEL* 11, 69-71; Spalinger, *BSÉG* 22, 57-8.

[55] *Cf.* Germer, in Quirke (ed.), *Lahun Studies*, 85-6.

[56] Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexicon*, 609.

[57] *Cf.* Luft's translation of the festival name: "Wedel der Hathor" in Luft, *Die chronologische Fixierung*, 170.

[58] Altenmüller, *JEA* 57, 146-53. The plant's apotropaic character was speculated to have come from its allegedly bad odour, offensive smell well-suited to keep the evil spirits and insects out of the offering chamber; *cf.* Pyr §696 with the note of Faulkner: "O Goddess of the *hdn*-plant, do not use the smell of your *hdn*-plant against the King; you shall not use the smell

known to have been used for medical purposes, too.[59] A critical evaluation of the sources paralleled with surveying the plant's key botanical properties has led Goyon to believe that *hdn* should be looked for in the large genus *Bupleurum* (common name Hare's Ear) of the family *Umbelliferae*.[60] Species in this family contain the highly poisonous alkaloid coniine that lends the plant a rather fetid smell, and is also known for its sedative, antispasmodic and analgesic properties. It is most likely the coniine's sedative and narcotic effect that links the plant with Hathor, and can explain why *hdn* was closely related to both the Festival of the Valley and the Festival of Drunkenness: *hdn* occurs among the ingredients in the preparation of the *mnw*-jug of Hathor, the presentation of which serves to appease the ferocious goddess in her form as the Solar Eye.[61] Provided that the interpretation is correct, the occurrence of *hdn* of Hathor in a Lahun papyrus would link the festival with the ritual of appeasing the goddess at such an early date as the Late Middle Kingdom, and create a setting which is semantically adequate for taking the Feast of *tḫ*(*j*) as an early record of the Festival of Drunkenness, even if Hathor's epithet Mistress of Drunkenness (*nb.t tḫ*) is not attested prior to the Eighteenth Dynasty, and the vast majority of explicit references to Hathoric celebrations as part of the Valley Festival come from the New Kingdom.

Hathoric celebrations in the Middle Kingdom

From a religious point of view, intoxication is a positive attribute of both Hathor and the celebrants unlike in other contexts, for instance, wisdom literature where drunkenness is considered as a state of imperfectness or a form of improper behaviour.[62] What manifests itself as inebriety is in fact the ritual actualization of the mythological precedent related in two longer mythological tales, in the first episode of The Book of the Heavenly Cow ('Destruction of Mankind'),[63] and in the narrative framework of The Myth of the Solar Eye.[64] Offering and consuming drinks, singing and dancing had a very specific purpose: on the one hand, to appease the wild and untamed part of Hathor's multifaceted character (*sḥtp Sḫm.t*), and on the other hand, to establish an atmosphere most appropriate for a sensual communion between the deity and a human.[65] The origin of preparing and offering alcoholic drinks to Hathor is explicated by an etiological statement in 'The Destruction of Mankind' episode, attached to the passage relating the return of the goddess inebriated from drinking the red-coloured alcoholic liquid that resembled human blood. In Wente's translation: "The Majesty of Re then told this goddess that intoxicating draughts shall be prepared for her on the seasonal feasts of the year; maidservants shall be held responsible for this. And so the preparation of intoxicating draughts became the assignment of maidservants on the Feast of Hathor on the part of all people since the first day".[66] The pacification of the wild-natured leonine goddess by means of offering wine, and performing dance and music also forms part of another cycle of stories, The Myth of the Solar Eye, an extensive narrative preserved principally on the Leiden Demotic Papyrus I 384 from the early second century AD, and in temple inscriptions of the Graeco-Roman Period. In brief, the Solar Eye left for Nubia, and Ra sent Thoth (in other sources Thoth and Shu) to find and persuade the goddess to come back to Egypt. The Eye of Ra with her dual nature, at one time the embodiment of a peaceful cat, at another time that of a raging lioness, subsequently became pacified and thereby received by the temples of Egypt. At each station of her journey back, the goddess manifested herself in a different guise: she arrived in El-Kab as a vulture like Nekhbet, she was praised at Thebes like Mut, she assumed her form as Tefnut when approaching Heliopolis, and finally a great festival celebration was held in her honour in the Memphite temple of Hathor (col. 21,1 - col. 22,30). These festivals, held all the country round in honour of the returning Solar Eye, appear to have served as the mythical prototype of the Festivals of Drunkenness celebrated on I *ꜣḫ.t* 20 with chanting, singing, sistrum-playing and inebriety in its focus. The goddess with her untamed character needed to be appeased on a regular basis, and owing to the fact that Hathor's arrival was expected to promote the inundation,[67] the festival found its place within the

of your *hdn*-plant against the King" (Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, 131, n. 2).

[59] Westendorf, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin*, 518.

[60] Goyon, in Junge (ed.) *Studien zur Sprache und Religion Ägyptens*, 247-9.

[61] Goyon, in Junge (ed.) *Studien zur Sprache und Religion Ägyptens*, 242; Germond, *Sekhmet*, 259; Gutbub, in *Mélanges Maspero I*, 46-50; Le Saout, *CRIPEL* 11, 69-71.

[62] Darnell, *SAK* 22, 63 and n. 88; Szpakowska, in Eyma, Bennett (eds.), *A Delta-man in Yebu*, 228-9.

[63] Hornung, *Mythos von der Himmelskuch*; Guilhou, in Dieleman, Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz002311pm>, accessed 13.05.2014. I am indebted to David Klotz for his kind help with the literature and for some remarkable suggestions.

[64] Spiegelberg, *Der ägyptische Mythus vom Sonnenauge*; Junker, *Hathor-Tefnut aus Nubien*; Smith, in *LÄ* V, 1082-3.

[65] Darnell, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, 132; Kessler, *SAK* 15, 174.

[66] Wente, in Simpson (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 292.

[67] Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth*, 90.

wider context of New Year celebrations.[68]

The mention of the Feast *hdn* of Hathor in the Lahun manuscripts is not the only indication that some of the mythic ideas, which we found amalgamated in these two longer mythological narratives, are rooted in the religious mind of pre-New Kingdom Egypt. Hathor appears in her capacity as daughter and Eye of Ra as early as in the Pyramid Texts (Pyr §705a); a concept most probably corroborated by a stela inscription in the Sinai dated to year 8 of Amenemhat IV.[69] Similarly, the Coffin Texts contain brief, capsulated statements about Hathor[70] and Shu[71] in terms of their respective roles in the story of appeasing and bringing back the Eye, *i.e.* the Departed Goddess.[72] For The Myth of the Heavenly Cow, which is a ritual text that has come down to us mainly in post-Amarna royal tombs,[73] several scholars postulated a Middle Kingdom origin,[74] guided primarily by the fact that the motif of disobedient mankind rebelling against the god's ordinance appeared already in the declaration of the Creator God in Coffin Text Spell 1130,[75] and also alluded to in the Admonitions of Ipuwer[76] and in the Teachings for Merikara, respectively.[77] Naturally, the literary appropriation of this motif, which derives from experiencing the imperfectness of the world following the collapse of the Old Kingdom and the chaos of the First Intermediate Period,[78] has not much to do with the date when the coherent ritual text was composed,[79] particularly since recent linguistic analysis has demonstrated that its grammatical properties suggest a transitional phase of Egyptian with features typical of the Second Intermediate Period, redacted some time between the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty and the Amarna Period,[80] but any research for presumed antecedents must also take account of the hiatus in the tradition of royal mortuary literature during the Middle Kingdom.[81]

The assumption that the Feast of *tḫ*(*j*) was celebrated in honour of Hathor as the Solar Eye already in the Middle Kingdom seems even less far-fetched if one considers the Hathoric allusions in contemporary inscriptional material and funerary art. Darnell in the first volume of the *Theban Desert Road Survey* publishes a group of Middle Kingdom graffiti from the Wadi el-Hol which belong to the "spending the day on holiday" (*wrš ḥr ḥrw nfr*) type.[82] However insignificant these short inscriptions may seem, Darnell convincingly argues for a strong Hathoric connotation of the terms *wrš* and *ḥrw nfr*; the former appearing specifically in connection with Hathoric performances,[83] whereas the latter referring not simply to a 'festival', but to a feast in relation to Hathor, Mistress of Drunkenness.[84] In defence of this view, Darnell comes up with an appealing number of textual and iconographic sources including several Middle Kingdom attestations, and in the end he concludes that these rock inscriptions refer to celebrations held in honour of Hathor at desert holy places in connection with "the journey to Abydos, the nocturnal vigil for Osiris, and the welcoming of the returning goddess of the wandering eye of the sun".[85] Darnell's reasoning is particularly noteworthy as it establishes a link between the Festival of Drunkenness and some Old and Middle Kingdom inscriptions and pictorial representations of Hathoric character. From the abundance of sources collected by Darnell, the following two are going to be highlighted in present paper.

The first is a scene on the north wall in the Twelfth Dynasty tomb chapel of Senebi, son of Ukhhotep at Meir, depicting a Hathoric celebration in the presence of the deceased, with the participation of singers, dancers, ladies shaking *sistra* and holding *menats*, a harpist, men

[68] Darnell, *SAK* 22, 47.
[69] Gardiner, Peet, Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, 124-5, pl. 48, no. 121.
[70] Spell 331 (CT IV, 174 f-i).
[71] Spells 75 (CT I, 378 c) and 76 (CT II, 5 a-b), these belonging to the 'Theology of Shu', Spells 75-81.
[72] For the concept of Hathor as the Solar Eye before the New Kingdom, see Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult*, 120-1.
[73] Guilhou, in Dieleman, Wendrich (eds.), in *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 3.
[74] E.g. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. II, 198; Wente, in Simpson (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 289.
[75] CT VII, 464 b; see Fecht, *Der Vorwurf an Gott*, 120-7; Assmann, *Theologie und Frömmigkeit einer frühen Hochkultur*, 204-8.
[76] Fecht, *Der Vorwurf an Gott*, 22.
[77] Helck, *Die Lehre für König Merikare*, 84; Assmann, *Theologie und Frömmigkeit*, 201-4.
[78] Hornung, *Mythos von der Himmelskuch*, 76, 90; Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt*, 189-91.
[79] Hornung, *Mythos von der Himmelskuch*, 79-80.
[80] Spalinger, *SAK* 28, 258-61.
[81] The total lack of Middle Kingdom royal mortuary literature is, I guess, only an absence of evidence, not evidence of absence. This type of literature may have existed on rather perishable papyrus rolls placed in the royal burial apartments. The pre-existence of religious concepts conveyed in a more formalized manner by some of the Underworld Books of New Kingdom royal tombs is suggested by the symbolic architecture of several Late Middle Kingdom pyramids. For the Abydos tomb of Senworet III modelling the netherworld passage in the focus of Amduat, see Wegner, in Silverman, Simpson, Wegner (eds.), *Archaism and Innovation*, 145, 160. For the idea that layout of the Lahun pyramid's interior presages the fourth and fifth hours of the *Amduat*, see Rössler-Köhler, Gundlach, in Gundlach, Seipel (eds.), *Das frühe ägyptische Königtum*, 73-96. The whole issue has been discussed recently in Roberson, in Silverman, Simpson, Wegner (eds.) *Archaism and Innovation*, 427-45.
[82] Darnell, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, 129-38, nos. 17-20.
[83] *Op. cit.*, 131.
[84] *Op. cit.*, 130.
[85] *Op. cit.*, 133.

holding clappers, offering bearers and wrestlers.[86] The accompanying inscriptions repeatedly mention or directly address the goddess, whereas the song of one of the clappers in the second register clearly identifies the setting as *hrw nfr*: *ʿnḫ=k n=j m-k hrw nfr n nb*(*=j*), "As you live for me, behold, a holiday for (my) Lord".[87] This scene of Hathoric celebration with strong regenerative connotations in Senebi's tomb is by no means exceptional, and represents here a wider use of similar (often less elaborated and more summarised) scenes of Hathoric festivals in the funerary art.[88] The other source, which is a matter of textual parallelism spanning a significant time gap, implies that the origin of the ideas behind the festival of Hathor, Mistress of Drunkenness may be traced back as far as the Late Old Kingdom. In the Sixth Dynasty mastaba of Mereruka, there is a partly damaged short inscription accompanying a funereal nautical scene: *pȝ* [*Nbw ḥr jr*].*t nfrw.t*, "The [Golden (*i.e.* Hathor) has do]ne the best of good things".[89] As was already noted by Bárta[90] and Altenmüller,[91] this passage reccurs later as the last recitation of an Eighteenth Dynasty Opet Festival cult song concerned with establishing a drinking place and alluding to the *hieros gamos* between Hathor and the king.

The wall scenes depicting Hathoric celebrations in private tomb chapels find their textual counterparts in roughly contemporary literary works of art. The group of high-born ladies depicted singing, shaking *sistra* and holding *menats* in the wall scenes may be paralleled with the *ms.w-njsw.t* in the Story of Sinuhe,[92] who are chanting a Hathoric hymn and offering their *sistra* and *menats* to the king urging him to be gracious towards Sinuhe.[93] The first section of the song they are singing evokes the king's intercourse with Hathor, placing the royalty in the mythological role of the Sun God,[94] whereas Brunner[95] and Derchain,[96] who carried out an in-depth study of this particular scene, stressed the analogy between the performance aimed at appeasing the king and the 'Pacification of Sekhmet' ritual.[97] Similarly, rejoicing over Hathor's coming, performing "sacred music" (*jḫjj wʿb*)[98] to gladden her heart, and an implied union between the king and Hathor are the main themes of a beautiful hymn carved onto a rectangular stela of Wakhankh-Intef II of the early Eleventh Dynasty.[99] The inscription of high literary merits is plausibly the earliest evidence of the introduction of a Hathor-cult in the West Bank of Thebes in the form of divine visitations.[100]

Celebrating Hathor at Lahun

Beyond the feast names in the London festival papyrus (UC 32191) and on some related fragments from the Berlin collection of temple papyri, two apparently interrelated finds, which Petrie excavated in the western part of the settlement, suggest that Hathoric celebrations might have taken place at Lahun on a regular basis. Before investigating the nature of these finds, it is inevitable to note that from the pure fact that performers attended a particular festival, one cannot conclude on the celebration's essentially Hathoric character; the presence of performers rather underlines the overall significance of music and dancing at these festive events.[101]

[86] Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, vol. I, pls. 2-3; Parkinson, *Voices from Ancient Egypt*, 78-81.
[87] Darnell, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, 130-1.
[88] For instance, further scenes representing dance with overt Hathoric connotations occur in the Sixth Dynasty tomb of Idu, Simpson, *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu*, and in the mastaba of Mereruka (see below).
[89] The Sakkarah Expedition, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, vol. II, pl. 141.
[90] Bárta, *ZÄS* 110, 102-3.
[91] Altenmüller, in Clarysse, Schoors, Willems (eds.), *Egyptian Religion*, 764.
[92] Note the correspondence between these ladies acting at Sinuhe's reception in the palace and the *ms.w-njsw.t* shaking *sistra* and carrying *menats* in the scene of jubilee ceremonies of Amenhotep III depicted in the tomb chapel of Kheruef (Derchain, *RdE* 22, 79-83; Darnell, *SAK* 22, 55).
[93] In fact, Hathor features throughout the Story of Sinuhe. Even the name of the chief protagonist (*Sȝ-nh.t*) can be considered as a subtle hint at Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore (Loprieno, in der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. II, 539).
[94] Parkinson, *The Tale of Sinuhe*, 52. As to the re-enactment of the Hathor-Ra intercourse, see the early Middle Kingdom textual and artistic references compiled and discussed by Ellen Morris in *JARCE* 47, 83-6.
[95] Brunner, *ZÄS* 80, 5-11.
[96] Derchain, *RdE* 22, 79-83.
[97] As Darnell aptly remarks, a Hathoric celebration is alluded to in the third tale of P. Westcar (6, 13-14; Blackman, *The Story of King Kheops and the Magicians*, 7) when king Snofru "spent the day on holiday" (*wrš ḥm=f ḥr hrw nfr*) by "consorting with Hathorically endowed ladies" (Darnell, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, 130). In fact, the whole situation with the king and his rowing ladies has been built up on the mythological pattern of the voyage of Ra in the company of Hathor.
[98] *Cf.* Cauville, *BIFAO* 91, 110-1.
[99] Clère, Vandier, *Textes de la Première Période Intermédiaire*, 9-10, no. 15; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. I, 94-6; Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult*, 140-1; Goedicke, *JNES* 50/4, 235-53.
[100] Gundlach, in Gundlach, Seipel (eds.), *Das frühe ägyptische Königtum*, 33.
[101] *Cf.* Wild, in Bernot (ed.), *Les dances sacrées*, 42. Moreover, there existed a number of festivals, like the New Year's Festival or the Feast of Sokar, which were not *par excellence* Hathoric celebrations, yet Hathor is known to have featured and actively

In the second week of April, 1889, Petrie was clearing the southernmost area in the Western Sector of the settlement Kahun, due north of the valley temple area, when he reported the discovery of two sets of finds in Rank A, *i.e.* the southernmost row of houses.[102] The find groups, marked B and C on his plan, have been excavated in two adjacent rooms of the same building (chambers B and C). *Group B* included a pair of arm-shaped clappers made of hippopotamus tusk (Manchester Museum 124) and a finely carved wooden female figurine with a leonine head-dress or mask, a tail and with pegs under her legs (stolen in 1892);[103] – both found in a hole in the chamber's floor. *Group C* comprised a cartonnage mask modelled into a Bes– or more properly, a lion-like face (Manchester Museum 123) accompanied by a "granite vase".[104] The mask, once used so often that it needed to be repaired, is evidently a full-sized variant of the headdress that the wooden figurine of Group B is wearing (Fig. 8).[105] The two groups represent the rare instances at Lahun when we are able to pinpoint the find-spot. With no information provided on the stratigraphy and find-context, however, their date can be specified only by means of close parallels and some useful observtions on building sequence. As the closest iconographic parallels of the female figurine from Lahun, two statuettes may be cited: the wooden statuette of a woman wearing a full mask with leonine features and holding a bronze serpent in each hand was found in the same Thirteenth Dynasty tomb as the Ramesseum Papyri along with other objects of *apotropaia* (Manchester Museum 1790),[106] whereas the other figurine, this time a male and made of ivory but similarly wearing a leonine-mask and once holding metal serpents in each hand, comes from a Late Middle Kingdom burial at Sedment (UC 16069).[107] A late Twelfth-early Thirteenth Dynasty date coincides with Quirke's observation[108] that the two adjoining rooms at Lahun, where Groups B and C were found, seem to have originally belonged to separate buildings, and the houses were joined to form an expanded unit only at a later stage of cult activity and inhabitance – most probably the chronological horizon that the London festival papyrus (dated to year 35 of Amenemhat III) signals.[109]

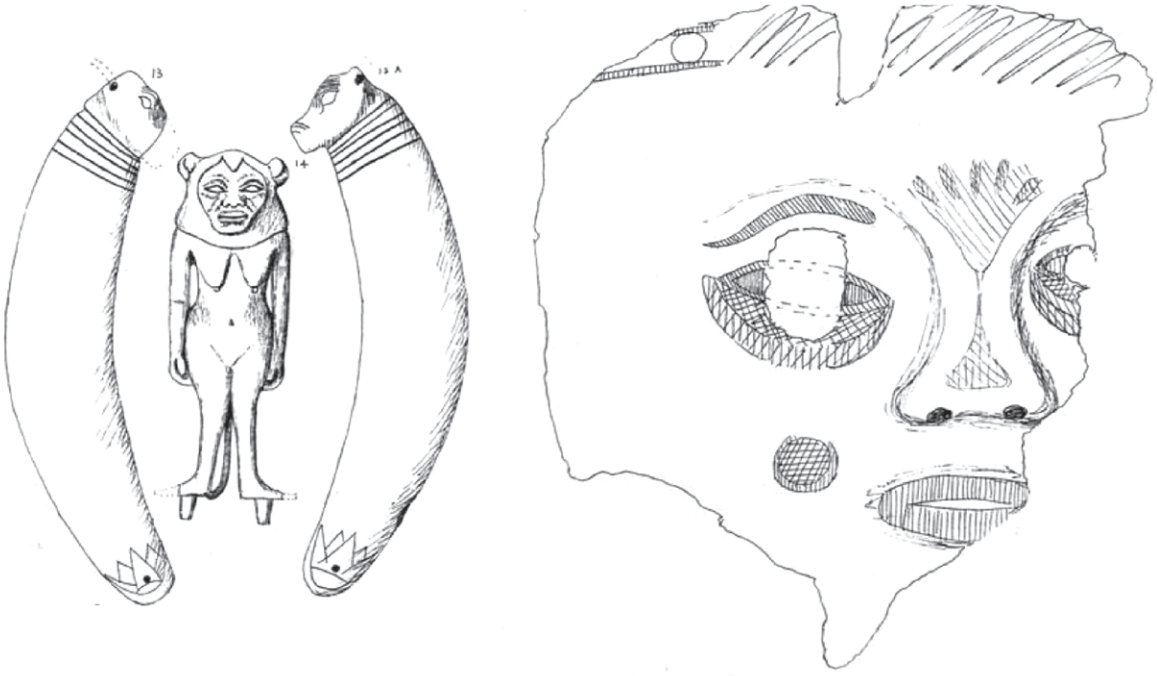

Fig. 8 - Figurine with lion mask, a pair of arm-shaped clappers and the cartonnage mask modelled in a lion-like face from find-groups B and C at Lahun (after Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*, pl. 30)

participated in them. See, Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth*, 88, 90.

[102] Gallorini, in Quirke (ed.), *Lahun Studies*, 44-5.

[103] David, *The Pyramid Builders of Ancient Egypt*, 137; Romano, *The Bes-image*, vol. II, 159-61 (Cat. no. 50).

[104] For the items of both groups, see Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, 30, pl. 8.

[105] Romano, *The Bes-image*, vol. II, 193-5 (Cat. no. 61).

[106] Quibell, *The Ramesseum*, 11, pl. 3; Romano, *The Bes-image*, vol. II, 165-7 (Cat. no. 52).

[107] Petrie, Brunton, *Sedment I*, 18, pls. 40, 42; Romano, *The Bes-image*, vol. II, 24-6 (Cat. no. 7).

[108] Quirke, *Lahun: A town in Egypt 1800 BC*, 83.

[109] In fact, one more occurrence of the Bes/Aha image, of the type, the masked wooden figurine from *Group B* as well as the corresponding Ramesseum and Sedment statuettes represent, has been recorded at Lahun (UC 6557): Petrie, Brun-

These objects were obviously used by their owner(s) for ritual purposes. The associated finds of the Ramesseum figurine, which Gardiner described rightly as the "professional outfit of a magician and medical practitioner",[110] as well as the obvious iconographic similarities between these masked figurines and the Bes(et)/Aha images pictured on the *apotropaia*, favour an interpretation which relates the Lahun finds to the theme of protection of mother and child and professional healing.[111] On a ritual plane, the rhythm-beater clappers, the mask and the figurine were all suggested to have been used by their owner(s) during some magico-religious ceremonies,[112] perhaps acting the part of the god in an organised cult of Bes at Lahun.[113] Nevertheless, the interpretation should not necessarily be confined within the wide theme of *apotropaia* or some (never confirmed) domestic cult revolving around the figure of Bes at Lahun, particularly if the location of the finds and the inclusion of lion-masked figures in wall scenes depicting Hathoric celebrations are taken into account.

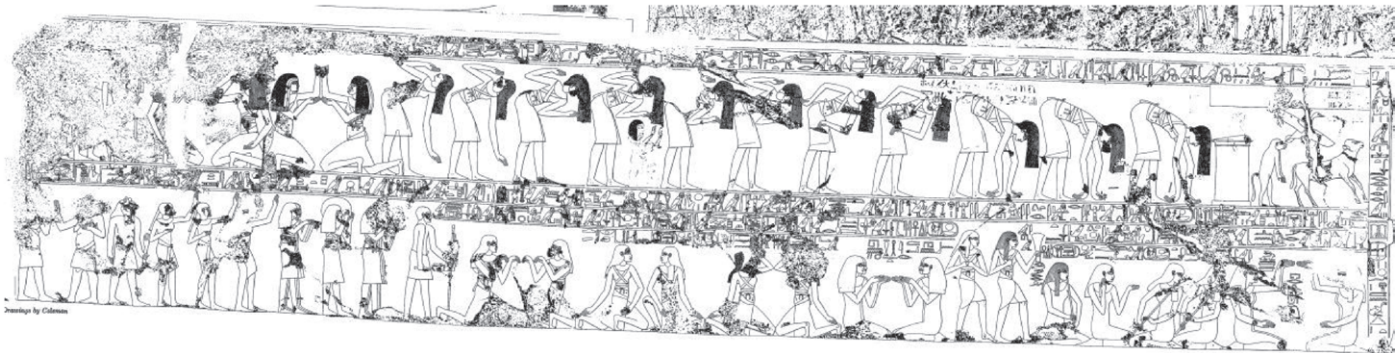

Fig. 9 - Scene of Hathoric performances with lion-masked figures and an arm-shaped wand in the Theban tomb of Kheruef (after The Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef*, pl. 24, detail)

The location of Group B and C within the southernmost row of houses, *i.e.* quite near the desert-edge mortuary temple, suggests their utilization in a more formalised setting. Quirke has already surmised that a find-spot in the vicinity of the mortuary temple might have implied that the owner(s) were "involved in rituals, including the ritual of birth".[114] It is not only the relative proximity, but architectural and functional properties also associate the southernmost portion of the Western Sector with the temple area,[115] supporting the idea that the ritual equipment found in Rank A could have belonged to a member of the temple's musical troupe acting and performing at festive events like those listed in the London Festival Papyrus.

For a better understanding of how and at what festive occasions these ritual objects might have been used, one should turn again to the pictorial representations of Hathoric festivals. Of primary concern is a series of scenes in the tomb chapel of Kheruef (TT 192) related to the events of the first jubilee of Amenhotep III. The upper half of the wall in the west portico, south of the doorway representing the final episode, shows the towing of the solar barque, the high officials drawing the towrope, princesses shaking *sistra* and court ladies carrying *menats* and gazelle-headed wands as they are awaiting the arrival of the barque.[116] The bottom half of the wall is occupied by female acrobatic dancers and musicians arranged in two registers with a hymn to Hathor in between. At the extreme left end of the lower register, following the musicians, three androgynous figures appear, each wearing a lion-mask, the one on the right is holding an arm-shaped wand in his hand;[117] his outfit is thence comparable with the mask and arm-shaped clappers from *Groups B* and *C* at Lahun (Fig. 9). The probable antecedent of this iconographic motif has been discussed at length by Wente in his paper about Hathor's position in the jubilee scenes in Kheruef's tomb,[118] citing two Old

ton, Murray, *Lahun II*, 14, pl. 69; Quirke, *Lahun: A town in Egypt 1800 BC*, 23; Romano, *The Bes-image*, vol. II, 27-9 (Cat. no. 8). The small pottery sherd bearing the image of a lion-masked figure with a long tail holding a serpent in each hand was found in extramural context, in a limestone quarry situated north of the royal pyramid, between Tomb 621 and the small rectangular brick-paved building (Petrie's 'Heb-Sed Chapel'). The set of objects from this area were so heterogeneous in content that one could only guess at who, when and for what purpose produced the figural *ostracon*.

[110] Gardiner, *The Ramesseum Papyri*, 1.

[111] So tentatively Quirke, *Lahun: A town in Egypt 1800 BC*, 83-4.

[112] David, *Pyramid Builders*, 137.

[113] Bosse-Griffiths, *JEA* 63, 104.

[114] Quirke, *Lahun: A town in Egypt 1800 BC*, 83.

[115] Horváth, in Silverman, Simpson, Wegner (eds.), *Archaism and Innovation*, 197-8.

[116] The Epigraphic Survey, *Kheruef*, pl. 24; Wente, in Hauser (ed.), *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*, 84.

[117] The Epigraphic Survey, *Kheruef*, pl. 40.

[118] Wente, in Hauser (ed.), *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*, 86-8.

Kingdom parallels taken from Wild's fundamental study on sacred dance,[119] to which another artistic occurrence should be added as noted by Romano.[120] In the following, I will heavily rely on Wente's and Darnell's[121] observations.

A limestone block in the British Museum (EA 994) from an unprovenanced tomb (possibly from Giza?) dated to the Fifth Dynasty depicts in the central register a lion-masked figure holding an arm-shaped wand and following a group of dancers.[122] The dancing youths are preceded by two young ladies with upraised right arm; their posture and head-dresses nicely correspond with those of the three ladies right in front of the lion-masked figures in Kheruef's tomb.

Another Old Kingdom attestation of the lion-masked figure is a loose fragment found in the forehall of Sahura's pyramid temple at Abusir.[123] The block (Leipzig Inv. Nr. 2095) with the upper part of the masked androgynous figure is supposed to have been originally associated with another four fragments in the northern passage of the ambulatory surrounding the columned hall on which dancers can be seen.[124] Wente pointed out that the lion-masked figure on the Abusir block is nearly identical with the one facing left in the tomb of Kheruef, moreover, the four fragments depicting dancers yield true analogy with the Libyan-attired acrobatic dancers and musicians in the Kheruef's scene.[125]

The third attestation of the lion-masked image is a painted limestone statuette of apparently Fifth Dynasty date that Borchardt found in the pyramid temple of Noferirkara at Abusir (formerly in the East Berlin Collection, Inv. Nr. 18175).[126] The figure is shown standing, hands to sides, and wearing a mask with feline ears and a mane of hair recalling to some extent a common Old Kingdom hairstyle, the face is left uncovered. One of his pronounced features is the overlarge phallus.

Even though the lion-masked figure proper is here missing, one may also refer to the tomb of Mereruka, which has already been discussed on account of an inscription that would later appear as a section of an Eighteenth Dynasty 'drinking song', as the arm-shaped wand is attested twice in a scene depicting various activities as part of Hathoric performances, the mirror-dance in particular.[127]

The almost one-to-one correspondence between the scene in Kheruef's tomb with the lion-masked figures and the Old Kingdom representations cited above is less striking if one considers that the first jubilee of Amenhotep III is claimed to have been celebrated in accordance with the ancient writings ("It was His Majesty who did this in accordance with writings of old").[128] As the fragment in the British Museum indicates, the iconographic motif including the masked figures and the dancers could also appear in non-royal context as early as in the Old Kingdom, and identifies the performance depicted as an essentially Hathoric one, not confined in its use to a particular stage of the royal jubilee. Beside the lion-masked figure, the jubilee scenes in Kheruef's tomb may be linked to Hathoric performances represented in Middle Kingdom private tomb chapels by means of further iconographic and textual parallelism.

In the Theban tomb of Senet, mother(?) of the vizier Antefiqer (TT 60), a Hathoric performance in front of the deceased couple is depicted on the south wall of the passageway.[129] Based on their gesture and dressing, the three clapping ladies in the upper register resemble the six clapping women arranged in two groups around the tambourine-player in Kheruef's tomb, while the two dancing girls following the clapping ladies in Senet's scene may be paralleled with Kheruef's three dancing youths immediately to the right of the lion-masked figure with the wand. The short inscription above the clapping hands in Senet's tomb says: *wn ꜣ.wj p.t pr nṯr*, "Opened are the doors of Heaven so that the God may come forth", evoking the following response written above the two dancing girls: *m-k Nbw jj.t(j)*, "Behold, the Golden One is come!".[130] This particular text is found to be repeated

[119] Wild, in Bernot (ed.), *Les dances sacrées*, 76-7, 100.
[120] Romano, *The Bes-image*, vol. II, 8-9.
[121] Darnell, *SAK* 22, 47-94.
[122] James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae*, vol. I, 992, pl. 25; Wente, in Hauser (ed.), *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*, 86; Romano, *The Bes-image*, vol. II, 11-4 (Cat. no. 3).
[123] Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahure*, vol. II, 38-9, pl. 22; Wente, in Hauser (ed.), *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*, 87-8; Romano, *The Bes-image*, vol. II, 5-7 (Cat. no. 1).
[124] Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahure*, vol. II, 64-5, pl. 54.
[125] Wente, in Hauser (ed.), *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*, 87-8. The correspondence was also noted by Romano in *The Bes-image*, vol. II, 5.
[126] Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Nefer-'ir-ke'-re'*, 70, fig. 78; Romano, *The Bes-image*, vol. II, 8-10 (Cat. no. 2).
[127] Boys involved in various games: The Sakkarah Expedition, *Mereruka*, vol. II, pl. 162; girls performing for Hathor: *op. cit.*, vol. II, pl. 164; Wente, in Hauser (ed.), *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*, 86-7; Brunner-Traut, *Der Tanz im alten Ägypten*, 22-3. For the representation of the mirror-dance, see Morris, *JARCE* 47, 98.
[128] The Epigraphic Survey, *Kheruef*, 43, translated by Wente.
[129] Davies, *The Tomb of Antefoker*, pl. 23; Brunner-Traut, *Der Tanz im alten Ägypten*, 41-2.
[130] Wente cites a parallel passage from the tomb of Amenemhat (No. 3) at Beni Hasan where the text is attached to a scene of hauling the deceased's statue to the temple and a group of female acrobatic dancers on the left: Newberry, *Beni Hasan,* pl. 29; Wente, in Hauser (ed.), *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*, 88, n. 38.

in Kheruef's tomb above the choir directors in the form: *wn ꜣ.wj pr nṯr wꜥb*, "Opened are the doors so that the God may come forth pure".[131] Furthermore, an address to the god Sobek above a flutist and a singer in Senet's tomb *mj Sbk n Jn.t=f-jqr jr=k mrr.t=f*, "Come, Sobek, to Antefiqer and do what he desires", also appears in Kheruef's tomb above the same musicians *mj m Sbk n sꜣ-Rꜥ Jmn-ḥtp ḥqꜣ-Wꜣs.t dj ꜥnḫ jr=k mrr.t=f*, "Come, pray, Sobek, to the Son of Ra, Amenhotep III, given life, and do what he desires".[132]

The elaborated Hathoric festival scene in the tomb chapel of Senebi at Meir (B, No. 4) has already been cited as the accompanying inscriptions clearly identify the ceremonies as *hrw nfr*, *i.e.* a Hathoric festival.[133] Although the depiction of the celebrants cannot be directly paralleled with those in Kheruef's chapel, a section of the hymn to Hathor in the Kheruef material (*jw=t qꜣ.t(j) m šnj Rꜥ m šnj Rꜥ*, "You are exalted in the hair of Ra, in the hair of Ra") copies in second person a passage that appears in third person in the harper's song (*jw=s qꜣ.t(j) m šnw Rꜥ*) in Senebi's tomb.[134]

Based on the overt textual and iconographic correspondence between the sources cited above, it may be suggested that these scenes of Hathoric performances –either in royal or non-royal contexts– are in fact careful and purposeful selections from a common repertoire to which the motif of the lion-masked figure with an arm-shaped wand or clapper also belongs. The figure is normally coupled with groups of musicians and Libyan clad female acrobats, but may also be neglected if the Hathoric performance is depicted only in a summarised form, as it is found in several private tomb chapels. Even if these ceremonial scenes did indeed originate in royal context (Sahura), they were soon appropriated by the elite (BM EA 994, Fifth Dynasty); in Senebi's tomb at Meir a somewhat unusual address to the deceased by a dancer, "May you repeat a million *sed*-festivals while Hathor gladdens you therein", is perhaps a hint at borrowing from a primarily royal iconography.[135] Furthermore, the attestations in private tomb chapels elucidate the mortuary significance of this series of Hathoric ceremonies which were in no way specific to the representations of royal jubilee festivals. What made them available for both contexts was their strong regenerative and revitalizing force ensured by the implied symbolic marriage with the goddess.[136]

The Hathoric ceremonies associated with the jubilee of Amenhotep III in Kheruef's tomb are centred on gladdening the heart of the goddess by chanting, shaking *sistra* and carrying emblems sacred to Hathor, pouring libation before the king and in the lower panel, which includes the lion-masked figures as well, singing, playing musical instruments and performing various dances in praise of the goddess. One cannot fail to see that the sequence of motifs is strongly reminiscent of the programme of the Festival of Drunkenness celebrated in honour of the return of Hathor, the Distant Goddess from her sojourn in the faraway south-eastern lands. Perhaps the most detailed description of this festival as celebrated in the Graeco-Roman Period may be found in a hymn addressed to Rattawy as Hathor the returning Solar Eye carved onto the interior west wall of the central kiosk at the entrance of the temple of Medamud, recently re-edited and widely commented on by Darnell.[137] The text divides into three basic sections, each focusing on a particular group of the celebrants, respectively: the Egyptians, the foreigners in the entourage of the goddess, and finally the real or imaginary animals escorting the Solar Eye.[138] The high degree of similarities between the Medamud hymn and the depictions of the Kheruef's tomb has already been noted by Darnell. He pointed out that the princesses and the court ladies who are depicted in Kheruef's tomb as chanting, shaking *sistra* and carrying *menat* in one hand and gazelle-headed wand in the other[139] (and whose figures recall the royal princesses appeasing the king at the reception of Sinuhe in the palace by praising Hathor, shaking *sistra* and offering their *menats*[140] as well as the clusters of high-born ladies shown performing and carrying emblems sacred to Hathor in private tomb chapels of the Old and Middle Kingdoms) parallel the *msw.t-njsw.t* who are mentioned in the first place among the Egyptian celebrants in the Medamud hymn ("When the royal children pacify (*sḫtp*) you with what is desired").[141] The correspondence becomes more apparent if one focuses on the panel depicting a libation ritual followed by a series of figures arranged in two rows in the lower sub-register comprising a scene which may be considered in essence as a *par excellence* representation of rituals related to the Festival of Drunkenness. First of all, the 'dancing animals' on the right (a calf, a flying goose and a baboon) followed

[131] Wente, in Hauser (ed.), *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*, 88.
[132] *Op. cit.*, 88-9.
[133] Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, vol. I, pls. 2-3.
[134] Wente, in Hauser (ed.), *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*, 89.
[135] Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, vol. I, pl. 2; Wente, in Hauser (ed.), *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*, 89.
[136] *Cf.* the comments of Wente, in Hauser (ed.), *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*, 89.
[137] Darnell, *SAK* 22, 47-94.
[138] *Op. cit.*, 48.
[139] The Epigraphic Survey, *Kheruef*, pls. 44-5.
[140] Derchain, *RdE* 22, 79-83; Darnell, *SAK* 22, 55.
[141] Darnell, *SAK* 22, 54.

by the Libyan attired acrobats waggling their hair,[142] and the female performers of various ethnic groups are in fact representatives of the lands where the Solar Eye was hiding before her coming back to Egypt, as specified in the Medamud hymn: the Libyan-Nubian Mentiu people, the Libyans and the animals symbolizing the unregulated outside world.[143] More compelling evidence may be gained from the explicit textual parallelism between the captions and inscriptions accompanying this particular register in the tomb of Kheruef and the Medamud hymn. The Kheruef variant of a hymn to Hathor inscribed above the musicians begins with a call to the goddess "Come, arise, come that I may make for you jubilation at twilight and music in the evening",[144] which closely parallels the opening of the Medamud hymn, a summons to Hathor to come and attend the nocturnal celebration held in her honour.[145] Furthermore, the Kheruef text clearly states that the significance of these performances lies in pacifying and entertaining Hathor: "Great is her majesty when she is appeased",[146] or as the short inscription above the kneeling dancers phrases: "Behold him as he makes for [you] sacred music,[147] (namely) [the Dual King], Nebmaatra, the Son of Ra, Amenhotep Ruler-of-Thebes, in order that he may celebrate the jubilee".[148] Similarly, in the scene associated with the hymn to Hathor in the temple of Medamud, the Egyptian musicians, who accompany the procession of Hathor, are identified as "those who pacify the malevolent one".[149] The inscription written above the figures of choir directors in Kheruef's tomb "Opened are the doors so that the God may come forth pure",[150] which –as it was discussed above– is already attested in the Middle Kingdom in the form "Opened are the doors of Heaven so that the God may come forth" evoking a response "Behold, the Golden One is come!" (Senet – TT 60),[151] is an allusion to the *hieros gamos* between the returning goddess and the god consort (in this case Amenhotep III identified with the Sun God).[152] The sacred marriage, when Hathor meets the god in a ritual plane, is indeed the apex of the programme of the Festival of Drunkenness which takes place at the portal of the temple called in this context as *s.t n tḥ*, "Place of Drunkenness".[153]

It seems highly likely then that the depiction of Hathoric performances related to the royal jubilee in Kheruef's tomb and particularly the lower register with the dancers, musicians, acrobats and the lion-masked figures, have been modelled on rituals enacted in the course of the Festival of Drunkenness. At least in the Ptolemaic Period, but most probably much earlier, this festival served as a mythical explanation of a natural phenomenon, the winter solstice and the annual coming of the inundation ('the returning goddess'), from which its definite revitalizing force is derived.[154] The concept of ensuring rebirth and regeneration through a union with Hathor has made these iconographic motifs most appropriate for royal contexts like *heb-sed* representations and a perfect choice for private funerary arts where the continued existence of the deceased is among the main concerns. There are indications –both inscriptional and pictorial– that the origins of the utilization of this festival scene go back to the Middle Kingdom or plausibly as far as the Late Old Kingdom, which would well conform, on the one hand, to the pronouncement in the tomb of Kheruef, namely that the structure of Amenhotep III's first jubilee followed principles laid down in ancient times, and, on the other hand, to the evidence yielded by the Middle Kingdom graffiti of the 'spending the day on holiday' type from the Wadi el-Hol. Assuming that the cartonnage mask and the clappers excavated in Kahun near the valley temple were indeed to be seen as full-sized three-dimensional equivalents of the lion-mask and the arm-shaped wand that performers are depicted to wear and carry in scenes of Hathoric ceremonies, the ritual outfit from Lahun may have served to visualize the image of Aha/Bes who was commonly associated with Hathor in his capacity as a music-maker deity,[155] and whose large-

[142] The Epigraphic Survey, *Kheruef*, pl. 34; *cf.* Darnell, *SAK* 22, 73, n. 135.

[143] Darnell argues that the girls with clearly Egyptian appearance, shown in the Kheruef tomb pouring libation before Amenhotep III and labelled once collectively as *ms.w-wrw*, but referred to as *s3.t Mntj.w* "the daughter of Mentiu" in the text above the entire scene (The Epigraphic Survey, *Kheruef*, pl. 32), "might be early imitators of the southern Lybo-Nubian tribe, associated with the Lybian clad acrobats", who appear in the second section of the Medamud hymn describing foreign people in ceremonial dance in the entourage of the returning goddess: Darnell, *SAK* 22, 72 n. 134.

[144] The Epigraphic Survey, *Kheruef*, 47.

[145] Darnell, *SAK* 22, 50-1.

[146] The Epigraphic Survey, *Kheruef*, 47.

[147] *jḥjj wꜥb*; *cf.* the Hathor-hymn on the stela of Wakhankh-Intef II above.

[148] The Epigraphic Survey, *Kheruef*, 49.

[149] Darnell, *SAK* 22, 48.

[150] The Epigraphic Survey, *Kheruef*, pl. 34.

[151] Davies, *The Tomb of Antefoker*, pl. 23.

[152] The variant in the Beni Hasan tomb of Amenemhat (No. 3) is even more instructive as the caption accompanies a scene of hauling the deceased tomb owner's statue to the temple, and the doors of the shrine housing the statue are open (Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, pl. 29; Wente, in Hauser (ed.), *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*, 88, n. 38).

[153] Darnell, *SAK* 22, 59-62.

[154] Guilhou, in Dieleman, Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 4.

[155] *Cf.* Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, 127-8. See, furthermore, the comments of Pinch on the painted leather hanging from Deir

scale dancing figure heralds the festival description at the portal of the temple of Medamud.[156] Given that the imagery of the magic wands or *apotropaia* featuring the Bes/Aha figures are indeed related to the mythological story of the wandering goddess, as Kessler suggested,[157] an interpretation of the finds in terms of Hathoric performances does not necessarily contradict, but rather overlaps with the former view that was seeking the purpose of these objects in healing and defensive magic.[158]

Conclusion

The hieratic material from Lahun bears testimony to a prominent position for Hathor along with Anubis, Sobek and the deceased Senwosret II. The temple of the goddess at Atfih played a significant economic role in the network of institutions funding the royal mortuary cult, and fragmentary data from the temple archive indicate that at certain festive occasions this local form of Hathor received offerings at Lahun. No textual or archaeological evidence may be cited, however, in favour of a separate temple or a resident cult for the goddess whose attestations in manuscripts related to the festivals held in the temple of Senwosret II points rather to periodic divine visitations according to the festival calendar. Of particular interest are two feasts associated with Hathor which suggest that the rituals aimed at reconciling the rampaging goddess in her capacity as the returning Solar Eye might have been enacted at Lahun as early as in the Late Middle Kingdom. Of the two, the Feast of *tḫ*(*j*), fixed at I *ꜣḫ.t* 20, does appear to have been celebrated in honour of the inebriated goddess, thence it being the earliest reference to the Festival of Drunkenness, a feast more securely attested from the New Kingdom onwards. Owing to its distinctive mythological background, this festival was particularly appropriate for incorporating features of local cults through the assimilation of the chief godhead with Hathor or with her god consort, and as such could have been celebrated at major cult centres of the country.[159]

To what extent Hathor's position at Lahun is typical or peculiar is difficult to assess and remains by and large unexplored owing to scant of comparable sources from contemporary pyramid sites. Yet, it is reasonable to link her prominence with the substantial transformation which the concept of queenship underwent during the Twelfth Dynasty, and particularly during the reign of Senwosret II. The relatively short reign of this king bears testimony to significant alterations in the ideology of kingship as reflected in most emphatic way in royal mortuary architecture; it also marked the beginning of a rise in the status of royal ladies culminating in the rule of Sobeknoferu at the end of the dynasty. The growing importance of queens during the Late Middle Kingdom is indicated by the emergence of new titles implying a markedly different political role than before,[160] highly elaborate and well-equipped tombs situated within the royal pyramid precinct, special types of burial goods[161] and of course new forms and styles of artistic representations – all suggesting that royal women adopted attributes comparable only with those of the king.[162] An emphatic religious significance is alluded to by two characteristic features of queens' portrait of that time: the distinctive heavy headdress echoing the wig of Hathor (hence often called 'Hathoric wig')[163] and the *uraeus* that queens started wearing only in the Middle Kingdom; both served to underline that the royal ladies were conceived as earthly incarnations of the goddess in her capacity as mother-daughter and consort of the Sun God. As much as the renewal of Amenhotep III's kingship was achieved through his union with Hathor (identified with Queen Tiye), the Hathoric festivals at Lahun discussed in present paper may have conveyed the same idea in accordance with the fundamental mediator role of the royal women in transferring the divine essence from father to son.

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[156] Darnell, *SAK* 22, 47-8.

[157] Kessler, *SAK* 15, 187, n. 52.

[158] *Cf*. the comments of Darnell, *SAK* 22, 88, n. 219.

[159] For a similar interpretation, see Te Velde, in Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses*, vol. III, 395-403; Spalinger, *RdE* 44, 161-84.

[160] Troy, *Patterns of queenshipin*, 134.

[161] Allen, in Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, 39-48.

[162] Josephson, Freed, in Allen (ed.), *Studies in Memory of James F. Romano*, 135-7.

[163] Freed, in Lloyd (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egypt*, vol. II, 898.

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King Seankhibra and the Middle Kingdom Appeal to the Living

Alexander Ilin-Tomich

Abstract

The paper discusses an architrave from Heliopolis mentioning the king Seankhibtawy Seankhibra. Previous scholars expressed contrasting opinions regarding its date. The biographical phrase and the appeal to the leaving on the architrave may provide a key to dating it. Datable parallels to expressions used on the architrave are discussed, and on the balance of all evidence of this kind, the inscription is best placed to the early Twelfth Dynasty (from Amenemhat I to the ascension of Amenemhat II). The paper outlines the modes of the temporal and spatial distribution of the variants of the appeal to the living and supplements the catalogues of the appeals to the living compiled by O. D. Berlev and S. S. Shubert. Two stela workshops active at the royal residence under Senwosret III and Amenemhat III are discussed.

The architrave featuring the name of the king Seankhibtawy Seankhibra (Fig. 1) had long been tantalising scholars before its eventual publication in 2005 by Mey Zaki.[1] The monument, exhibited at the open-air museum[2] at Matariya (Cairo), should originate from some presumably undocumented rescue excavations in the neighbouring area of Ain-Shams East (ancient Heliopolis).[3] The names of the architrave's owner, his mother, his brother and a servant of *ka* are effaced, but the names of the king persist: this is an otherwise unattested combination of the Horus name *Sʿnḫ-jb-tɜwj* with the throne name *Sʿnḫ-jb-rʿ*. This Horus name is otherwise attested in the Eleventh Dynasty as an early Horus name of Mentuhotep II. The same throne name is recorded twice: for Amenemhat VI of the Thirteenth Dynasty, who is known under the Horus name *Śhr-tɜwj*,[4] and for a Fourteenth Dynasty king known solely from the Turin King-list (entry 9/18).[5]

There are different opinions concerning the date of the architrave and the identity of the king. Detlef Franke originally identified Seankhibra with Amenemhat VI placing the monument in the Thirteenth Dynasty.[6] Kim Ryholt[7] and Mey Zaki[8] follow this solution implying that Amenemhat VI bore two different Horus names, which is not impossible though unlikely.

Later a connection between the architrave and the false door of Heny usurped by Khety-Ankh found nearby was revealed. In a personal communication to William Kelly Simpson, Franke assumed that the effaced name of the owner on the architrave could be read *Hnj* implying that it originally belonged to the same owner as the stela.[9] Zaki does not discuss this issue, but my observations support Franke's reading, for the final and the upper part of the preceding are still visible. Simpson dated the usurpation of the stela to the first reigns of the Twelfth

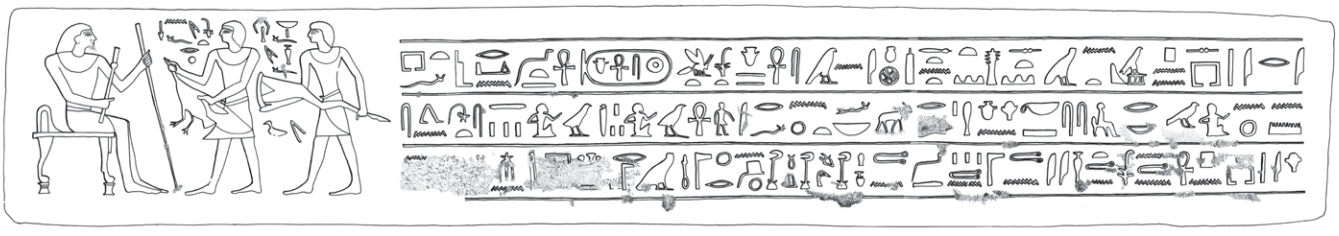

Fig. 1 - Architrave featuring the name of the king Seankhibtawy Seankhibra; drawn by Paul Whelan from photographic images

[1] Zaki, *DE* 63, 85-94.
[2] I saw it there in 2006.
[3] Here the architrave was found together with the false-door of Khety-Ankh, see Simpson, *JARCE* 38, 9.
[4] See altar Cairo CG 23040 from Karnak, Mariette, *Karnak*, pls. 9-10.
[5] Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 338, 379.
[6] Franke, *Orientalia* 57/3, 267-8, n. 57.
[7] Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt*, 338.
[8] Zaki, *DE* 63, 91.
[9] Simpson, *JARCE* 38, 9-10.

Dynasty based on the name of Khety-Ankh's son *Sḥtp-jb-rᶜ-ᶜnḫ* with Amenemhat I's throne name written in the cartouche, thus setting a *terminus ante quem* for the architrave[10] (note however that the same name in the same spelling occurs as late as the reign of Amenemhat III on stela Leiden AP 21).[11]

The connection with the false door of Khety-Ankh had led Detlef Franke to re-evaluate the architrave, and he arrived at a very different conclusion that the architrave and the false door were originally produced for Heny "perhaps as early as the Herakleopolitan Period".[12]

Simpson himself cautiously surmised that Seankhibra could be one of the direct predecessors of Amenemhat I corresponding to the lacuna of 7 years between the Eleventh and the Twelfth Dynasties in the Turin Kinglist.[13] Edward Brovarski analysed the layout of Khety-Ankh's false-door in comparison with other false doors from the Ninth to Twelfth Dynasties; he objected to the Herakleopolitan date suggested by Franke and attributed the monument to the Eleventh Dynasty noting that it also shares many features with Twelfth Dynasty examples.[14] Harco Willems further suggested that the royal names on the architrave could present an early protocol of Amenemhat I or of his otherwise unattested rival; he referred succinctly to the artistic layout of the architrave and the stela as the grounds for dating.[15]

While the artistic features of Khety-Ankh's false-door have been discussed in full detail, the inscriptions on the architrave deserve further attention as they have some value for dating the monument. The architrave has three lines of text comprising a consecration text with self-laudatory epithets and an appeal to the living.

The consecration text runs as follows:

jr js pn n ḫrt-nṯr[16] *nt*(*j*) *m smjt Ḏdt-ᶜ3t nt Jwnw*

jn Ḥr Sᶜnḫ-jb-t3wj nsw-bjtj Sᶜnḫ-jb-rᶜ ᶜnḫ ḏt
rdj.n(*.f*) *st.f n mnḫ.j*
wr.k(*w*) *špss.k*(*w*) *ḥr jb n ḥm.f r sᶜḥ.f nb nt*(*j*) *ḫr.f*

As for this tomb of the necropolis that is in the cemetery of Djedet-aat of Heliopolis, it was Horus Seankhibtawy, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Seankhibra, living forever, who gave its place, because I was splendid (or: because of my splendour), (and because) I was great (and) noble to the mind of his majesty more than any dignitary (of) his who was with him

The formulation *n mnḫ.j* (*.f*), "because I (he) was splendid", accompanied by *ḥr jb,* "to the mind (of the king or a superior)", also used on the stela of Khety-Ankh,[17] figures in private biographies in the reigns of Senwosret I (BM EA 572 l. 10, Leiden AP 63 l. 3, 7, 9, Munich WAF 31 l. 6,[18] Wadi Hammamat G 61 l. 10[19]) and Amenemhat II (Louvre C 172 l. 5-6[20]) and recurs in the late Twelfth Dynasty (as a derivative epithet *mnḫ ḥr jb n nb.f FSN* 400/RIK 12 l. 5[21]), the Thirteenth Dynasty (Cairo CG 20086 l. 3-4;[22] a derivative epithet *mnḫ ḥr jb n nb.f*: Wadi el-Hudi 155 l. 4[23]) and in later times. However, Louvre C 172 from the reign of Amenemhat II provides the closest parallel to our inscription: *n mnḫ.j n jqr.j ḥr jb.f r jrj-ᶜt nb ntj ḫr.f*, "because I was splendid (and) I was excellent to his mind more than any chamber keeper who was with him". Even so, this comparison does not provide enough evidence for dating the architrave.

Before proceeding with the discussion of the appeal to the living, an overview of possible approaches to such texts is suitable. The distribution of different variants of the appeal to the living seems to be governed by some temporal and spatial regularities. These make certain phrases and spellings of the appeal to the living useable for dating the monuments.

The most comprehensive study of the appeal to the living in Middle Kingdom sources up to date is a paper published by Oleg D. Berlev in 1962.[24] It covers 184 instances of the formula from the Ninth to the Seventeenth Dynasty. Regrettably, this work had been over-

[10] Simpson, *JARCE* 38, 11.
[11] Boeser, *Beschreibung der aegyptischen Sammlung*, vol. II, pl. VII.
[12] Simpson, *JARCE* 38, 10.
[13] *Op. cit.*, 10. See also Demidchik, in Bolshakov (ed.), *St. Petersburg Egyptological Readings 2006*, 45-55 (in Russian).
[14] Brovarski, in Silverman, Simpson, Wegner (eds.), *Archaism and Innovation*, 397-406.
[15] Willems, in Lloyd (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egypt*, 90; Willems, in Moreno García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 376-7, n. 102.
[16] For the form of the sign, see Fischer, *MMJ* 12, 8-9, fig. 3b. Franke had noted that the same form occurred on the stela of Khety-Ankh, Simpson, *JARCE* 38, 9.
[17] Simpson, *JARCE* 38, line 19.4.
[18] Landgráfová, *It is my Good Name*, nos. 38, 49, and 79, respectively. These instances are discussed in Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum des Mittleren Reiches*, 300 (G 3.23-4).
[19] Farout, *BIFAO* 94, 145-8, fig. 2.
[20] Landgráfová, *It is my Good Name*, no. 55.
[21] No. 25 in Table 1.
[22] Kubisch, *Lebensbilder der 2. Zwischenzeit*, 148-51 (Abydos 4).
[23] Sadek, *The Amethyst Mining Inscriptions of Wadi el-Hudi*, vol. II, 5-7.
[24] Berlev, *КСИИА* 46, 45-87.

looked in the subsequent study on the matter by Miriam Lichtheim[25] as well as in the recent dissertation on the appeal to the living by Stephen Shubert.[26] Accordingly, Shubert's dissertation omits many examples of the formula enumerated by Berlev, but also adds a number of sources, particularly those published after Berlev's work. To the examples of the formula listed in the works by Berlev and Shubert one can add supplemental sources listed in Table 1.[27]

One phenomenon, which affects the distribution of the phrases, is copying from earlier samples. The well-known Abydene stela (Cairo CG 20539) of Mentuhotep, the vizier of Senwosret I, boasts a highly innovative appeal to the living featuring a tabular representation of the addressed groups and people and a number of earlier unattested phrases. It is well known that large portions of text from Cairo CG 20539 were copied under Amenemhat III for the stela of Sehotepibra (Cairo CG 20538).[28] Among these borrowings was the appeal to the living, and this is a rare case when the reproduction of the appeal to the living from an earlier monument and not from hypothetical common sources is more than a mere guess, because other texts from Cairo CG 20539 including the autobiographical inscription were copied as well. It had been noted[29] that the set of phrases from the appeal to the living of Cairo CG 20539 appears on three other later stelae, as summarised in Table 2. Most of these phrases are barely attested outside this recurring pattern presumably going back to the stela of Mentuhotep; however, as will be shown below, some of these phrases flourished within other patterns under the late Twelfth Dynasty. The possibility that the appeal to the living could be partly copied from an earlier monument should always be born in mind when establishing its evolution.

Another phenomenon is the existence of specific patterns of the appeal to the living inherent to certain artisans or workshops producing inscribed monuments. On the material of Naga ed-Dêr stelae of the First Intermediate Period, Edward Brovarski had established the fact that a stela workshop (a 'group' in his terminology) can be characterised, among other traits, by a specific pattern of the appeal to the living: a set of phrases which appear in different combinations on stelae from the same workshop.[30] The same appears to be true for some Middle Kingdom stela workshops.

Among the early Twelfth Dynasty workshops established by Rita E. Freed in her seminal study was Workshop 10 active from late in the reign of Senwosret I through the reign of Amenemhat II.[31] It appears that this workshop was responsible for the motivation formular (*mr.ṯn*) *ḥs ṯn Ḫntj-jmntjw* (*nb ȝbḏw*), "(as you wish) that Khentiamenti (the lord of Abydos) praises you", in the appeals to the living, which was also used as the address *mrr ḥss sw Ḫntj-jmntjw nb ȝbḏw*, "(Oh), he who wishes that Khentiamenti, the lord of Abydos, praises him". Nine attestations of these phrases are known (Table 3): six on Twelfth Dynasty stelae, one on a mid-Twelfth Dynasty statue, one on an offering table and one on a Thirteenth Dynasty stela. A variation of the same address *mrr ḥss sw nṯr ᶜȝ nb ȝbḏw*, "(Oh,) he who wishes that the Great God, the lord of Abydos, praise him", occurs on a further Twelfth Dynasty stela (Cairo CG 20523). Of these seven Twelfth Dynasty stelae, four are enumerated by Freed as products of Workshop 10. Three other stelae, Cairo CG 20046, Cairo CG 20523 and Cairo CG 20609, arguably belong to the same workshop. They share the same compositional pattern with the wife standing behind the owner, who sits on a chair before a table of offerings; the principal features of this workshop outlined by Freed are visible in the layout and execution of these stelae. It is hard to say whether the unpublished offering table BM EA 590 and statue BM EA 462 belonged to the same workshop; but the available evidence is enough to demonstrate that most Twelfth Dynasty attestations of these phrases are on monuments executed by a single workshop.

Another case concerns one of the phrases cited above as appearing first on the stela of Mentuhotep – *mr*(*r*).*ṯn Wp-wȝwt nṯr.ṯn bnr mrwt*, "as you love Wepwawet, your god sweet of love",[32] which occurs outside the pattern set by Mentuhotep on a number of stelae from the reigns of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III. Some of these stelae also demonstrate other rare phrases (Table 4). Most of these stelae share common artistic and palaeographic features. Arguably, they were products of two interrelated stela workshops (or two departments of a single workshop) active during the late reign of Senwosret III and the early reign of Amenemhat III at the royal res-

[25] Lichtheim, *Maat in Egyptian autobiographies*, 155-90.
[26] Shubert, *Those Who (Still) Live on Earth*. Among other works on the Middle Kingdom appeal to the living, note also Vernus, *RdE* 28, 139-48; Vernus, *RdE* 34, 117-21; and Lanoit, in Cannuyer, Cherpion (eds.), *Regards sur l'orientalisme belge*, 253-62.
[27] Many of these examples are discussed in Uljas, *The modal system of earlier Egyptian complement clauses* or mentioned in: Hannig, *Lexica* 5, 62-3, 539-40, 1478-9, 2134-6, 2686-7; Hannig, *Lexica* 4, 25-6, 278, 628, 1087, 1428.
[28] Leprohon, in Silverman, Simpson, Wegner (eds.), *Archaism and Innovation*, 277-94.
[29] Frankfort, *JEA* 14, 241; Berlev, *КСИИА* 46, 61.
[30] Brovarski, *The inscribed material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga-ed-Dêr*, 475 n. 153.
[31] Freed, in der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. I, 327-34.
[32] For the attestations of this phrase, see Berlev, *КСИИА* 46, 61.

idence. In terms of the appeal to the living, Workshop 1 is distinguished by the phrase *wnwt ḥwt-nṯr mj qd.s*, "the priesthood of the temple in its entirety".[33] The second workshop is differentiated by the phrase *mr.ṯn grg ḥwt-nṯr tn nt* (*Jst-jrt*) *Ḫntj-jmntjw*, "as you wish that this temple of (Osiris) Khentiamenti is supported"; two other phrases unique for the second group are *m mr.ṯn nṯrw.ṯn njwtjw*, "as you love your city gods" (the only two attestations predating the Thirteenth Dynasty), *ʿḥʿ ḫrdw.ṯn ḥr nswt.ṯn*, "as you children (will) stand on your places". For the list of attestations of all these phrases see Table 4.

It is noteworthy that the stelae belonging to the dossier of one of the most prominent officials of this time, the "treasurer" Iykhernofret, (ANOC 1[34]) are split between the two workshops (Cairo CG 20310, Louvre C 5 and Louvre C 33 belong to the first group; BM EA 202, Berlin 1204, Cairo CG 20038, Cairo CG 20140, are attributable to the second; stela Cairo CG 20683 – ANOC 1.5–) contains similar phrases *mrr.ṯn Wp-wꜣwt nb tꜣ-ḏsr nṯr bnr mrwt* and *mr.ṯn grg ḥwt-nṯr tn nt Jst-jrt*, but it differs in palaeography and iconography from the rest of the stelae.

The two workshops have a number of common features (Table 5). Representations and hieroglyphs are in sunk relief (an exception is Cairo CG 20748). Some of the stelae feature figures in the so-called silhouette style.[35] On the stelae of both Workshops 1 and 2 the owner sits on a lion-legged chair in front of a table with offerings. The shoulder-length wig often covers ears completely (Fig. 2). The owner never holds a lotus-flower or a fly-whisk. The name of the god Osiris is spelled in horizontal lines as and 'Abydos' is spelled either as or as , but never with nor with a different determinative.

Several stelae have either mummiform figures in niches[36] or an empty through-niche, presumably, intended for similar figures (CM CG 20153). Another feature recurrent on some stelae of these two workshops is a border of hieroglyphic text running around the edge of a round-top stela. The stelae that do not have a hieroglyphic border are bordered by a straight line or have no border at all (only Rio de Janeiro 627 [2419] displays both a hieroglyphic border and an ornamental border).

Fig. 2 - Shoulder-length wig completely covering ears

Despite these similarities, there are tangible differences between the two workshops.

The stelae of Workshop 1 (Table 6) display exclusively tables with rectangular tops with both straight and figured stands. Many of them show an ox-head beneath the table. In contrast, the stelae of Workshop 2 (Table 7) display tables with rounded tops and figured stands or tables with rectangular tops and straight stands. Some of the stelae have jars beneath the tables, but not ox-heads (except for Cairo CG 20338).

On the stelae of Workshop 1, the inscribed border is only visually separated from the main field of the stela; on the stelae of Workshop 2, the border is raised above the main field forming a niche (the earliest known example of such a raised hieroglyphic border forming a niche is Cairo CG 20531 from the reign of Amenemhat II, belonging to Rita Freed's Workshop 10.[37] Our Workshop 2 seemingly continues this tradition). Kneeling subsidiary female figures have one knee up on the stelae of Workshop 1 and kneel on both knees on the stelae of Workshop 2 (Fig. 3).

Fig. 3 - Kneeling subsidiary female figures, characteristic for Workshop 1 (left) and Workshop 2 (right)

On the stelae of Workshop 1, the sign is distinctively lower than other tall signs (an archaising feature,[38] like some other features maintained by these workshops); this rule is less strictly followed by Workshop 2. Both workshops spell the words *šs mnḫt*, "alabaster and linen" either with two separate signs or with a ligature. But the form of this ligature differs. Workshop 1 employs a form with *šs* only partly set between the two poles of *mnḫt* , which appears only during the mid to late Twelfth Dynasty. Workshop 2 uses the more compact version , which became widespread from the reign of Senwosret III onward. The stelae of Workshop 1 spell *jḫw ꜣpdw*, "oxen and fowl" with the single food determinative or with no determinative at all; Workshop 2 often uses the plural determinative , either alone or combined with the food determinative (Basel III 5002, Cairo CG 20338, Frankfort, *JEA* 14, n. 6; also Cairo

[33] For this phrase, see Berlev, *КСИИА* 46, 57.
[34] Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, 17, 22-3.
[35] As defined by Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 62-3.
[36] For these mummiform figures and their possible connection with shabtis, see Schneider, *Shabtis*, 63-4. For a catalogue and a general discussion of Middle Kingdom stelae with mummiform figures, see Whelan, in Grallert, Grajetzki (eds.), *Life and Afterlife in Ancient Egypt*, 130-54.
[37] Freed, in der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. I, 327-34.
[38] Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian calligraphy*, 10.

CG 20536, which is otherwise closer to Workshop 1), thus inventing a spelling that would later become characteristic of Thirteenth Dynasty inscriptions.[39]

On the stelae of Workshop 2, the owner seated on a chair sometimes wears a kilt with a triangular panel (Fig. 4). This is an overall rare trait during the Twelfth Dynasty, which never occurs on the stelae of Workshop 1.

The coherence of these groups is further supported by the attestations of several rare elements of the offering formula on the stelae of both workshops (Table 8). The gods Khnum (*Ḫnmw*), Heqet (*Ḥqt*), and Hathor lady of the high house (*Ḥwt-ḥr nbt pr qȝ*)[40] are but rarely attested on other monuments during this period, and Horus-who-protects-his-father (*Ḥr nḏ-ḥr jtj.f*) appears to be otherwise unattested in offering formulae during the late Twelfth Dynasty. The stelae of Workshop 2 are set off by a unique request *dj.f* (*.sn*) *mᶜḥᶜt nfrt*, "that he (they) may give a beautiful chapel",[41] which is seemingly unattested on any monument beyond this group during the Middle Kingdom.

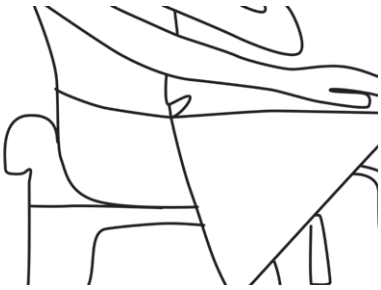

Fig. 4 - Sitting figure wearing a kilt with a triangular panel

Dated examples among the stelae of Workshop 1 are Rio de Janeiro 635 + 636 [2427] (Senwosret III), Cairo CG 20536 (year 1 of Amenemhat III), Louvre C 5 (year 1 of Amenemhat III), Cairo CG 20691 (the coregency of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III). Stelae of the Iykhernofret dossier (Cairo CG 20310, Louvre C 33) are datable to the late reign of Senwosret III or the early reign of Amenemhat III. Cairo CG 20296 is linked prosopographically to Rio de Janeiro 635 + 636 [2427].[42] Cairo CG 20235 is associated prosopographically with BM 101 from the reign of Amenemhat III.[43] The warrior Khusobek, the owner of stelae BM 1213 and Manchester 3306, served under Senwosret III and in the early years of Amenemhat III.[44]

Among the stelae of Workshop 2 the dated examples are Genève D 50 (year 19 of Senwosret III), Berlin 1204 (Senwosret III), Cairo CG 20140 (year 1 of Amenemhat III). Other documents can be related to these two stelae through prosopography (stelae of the Iykhernofret dossier: Basel III 5002, BM EA 202, Berlin 1204, Cairo CG 20038; linked with Cairo CG 20140 are Cairo CG 20127,[45] BM EA 805[46]). Cairo CG 20338 is associated with Cairo CG 20235 datable to Amenemhat III (Workshop 1).[47]

The monuments produced by both workshops can be either directly or indirectly associated with the region of the northern residence (the Memphis-Fayum region). One stela was found at Tura near Memphis (el-Khouli, *JSSEA* 8). Cairo CG 20338 and indirectly Cairo CG 20235 are associated prosopographically with BM EA 101, whose owner stated that he served at the northern residence. Numerous monuments feature characteristic northern Egyptian personal names[48] (Table 9). There are no indications suggesting a non-northern origin for any of the stelae or their owners. This evidence suggests that both workshops were active near Itjtawy late in the reign of Senwosret III and early in the reign of Amenemhat III serving local officials with stelae for subsequent installation at Abydos.

In some cases, a peculiarity in the appeal to the living can be attributed not to a single workshop, but to a certain region, where a local tradition persisted over time.

Among the Thirteenth Dynasty examples of the phrase *swȝ.tj.fj* (*.sn*), "he (those), who pass(es) by", monuments of Theban and Upper Egyptian officials demonstrate abbreviated writings of *swȝ* with , while the monuments of officials from the northern residence spell the word phonetically with .[49] A list of Thirteenth Dynasty attestations of *swȝ* attributable to southern Upper Egypt is given in Table 10; the attestations of *swȝ* from the same period attributable to the northern residence are collected in Table 11; in all these instances, the word *swȝ* is spelled according to the proposed distribution rule (except Zagreb 8. which features a different phonetic spelling *s*(*w*)*ȝ.t*(*j*) instead of).

Another local feature is the request to *dwȝ nṯr*, "hail god" (for the owner of the tomb). Of the four attestation of this phrase as a request, three are from Siut: Siut tomb III (Berlev, *КСИИА* 46, doc. 175, Shubert, *Those Who (Still) Live on Earth*, doc. FIP.7), Siut tomb V (Shubert, *op. cit.*, doc. FIP.32) and statue Liverpool 1966.178 (Suppl. doc. 42, Twelfth-Thirteenth Dynasty). Thus, the use of this phrase at Siut spanned the First Intermediate Period to the advanced Middle Kingdom. Only one attestation comes from a different region, Elephantine (Qubbet

[39] Ilin-Tomich, *ZÄS* 138, 24-5.
[40] For the latter, see Marée, in Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 253, n. 89.
[41] Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, 65, 78, 215, 23, Bitte 80.
[42] Franke, *Personendaten*, Dossier 498.
[43] *Op. cit.*, Dossier 297.
[44] *Op. cit.*, Dossier 455.
[45] *Op. cit.*, Dossier 1.
[46] *Op. cit.*, Dossiers 779+543
[47] Ilin-Tomich, *BiOr* 71, 142.
[48] Ilin-Tomich, *Вісник* 110, 28-30.
[49] A comparable distribution of spellings between the Upper Egyptian and northern sources of this epoch was noted by Barbara Russo for the term *w* 'region', see Russo, *The territory w*, 80.

el-Hawa tomb 36, Berlev, *КСИНА* 46, doc. 2, Shubert, *Those Who (Still) Live on Earth*, doc. MK.57).

Finally, the appeals to the living changed over the course of time and many temporal changes were not limited to a certain region. Berlev's work[50] remains the most comprehensive study of the temporal evolution of the appeal to the living, though newly found monuments occasionally amend Berlev's conclusions. Henry George Fischer and Edward Brovarski had studied some aspects of the appeal to the living relevant for dating First Intermediate Period and Eleventh Dynasty inscriptions.[51]

Thus, the distribution of different versions of the appeal to the living can be analysed in terms of occasional copying from old sources, workshop-specific patterns, of local scribal and artistic traditions spanning years, and the introduction or disappearance of certain elements over time. Also noteworthy is the existence of formulations inherent to certain object types (like the phrase *m33.tj.sn twt pn*, "those who will see this statue" occurring naturally only on statues and pedestals[52]) or to certain locations, where the inscriptions were exhibited (like references to Abydene cults on stelae from different regions set up at Abydos or the wishes to reach home safely attested only in expedition inscriptions from Nubia, Sinai and Hatnub, but also surprisingly on stela Tübingen 458[53] [Berlev, *КСИНА* 46, doc. 177; Shubert, *Those Who (Still) Live on Earth*, MK.66]). These are the principal types of regularities that can serve to explain the distribution of different variants of the appeal to the living on private monuments.

Now I will turn back to the Heliopolis architrave mentioning Seankhibra (Fig. 1). Its appeal to the living runs as follows:

j ʿnḫw tpjw-tȝ
swȝ.t(j).sn ḥr js pn
ʿnḫ n.ṯn nsw.ṯn
ḥsy ṯn nṯrw.ṯn
ḏd.ṯn
ḥȝ t ḥnqt ḥȝ jḫw ȝpdw ḥȝ šs mnḫt
n jmȝḫ ḫr nṯr ᵓȝ (j)m(j)-rȝ [...]-*nṯr* [... *Hn*]*j ms.n* [...]

O you, living on earth,
those who will pass by this tomb,
(as) your king may live for you,
(as) your gods may praise you,
(so) you shall say:
"A thousand (of) bread (and) beer, a thousand (of) oxen
(and) fowl, a thousand (of) alabaster (and) linen
for the favoured by the Great God, the overseer of [...
Heni], born of [...]

As noted by Berlev, the spellings of *tpjw* with occur in the northern part of Egypt from the late Old Kingdom to the reign of Amenemhat II[54] and are unattested in the south.[55] A further attestation not included in Berlev's study fits into this pattern: Fitzwilliam E.6.1909 (Shubert, *Those Who (Still) Live on Earth*, FIP.26; late OK or early FIP, presumably from Busiris), though one of the non-dated mid-Twelfth Dynasty examples cited by Berlev could belong to a slightly later time than the reign of Amenemhat II: Cairo CG 20348 (Berlev, *КСИНА* 46, doc. 68).

For the phrase *ʿnḫ n.ṯn nsw.ṯn*, "(as) your king may live for you", Berlev cites only three examples all datable to the late Twelfth Dynasty.[56] However, additional examples widen the chronological range of its usage: Louvre C 300 (Suppl. doc. 46) dates from the First Intermediate Period, BM EA 1236 (Berlev, *КСИНА* 46, doc. 38) belongs to year 30 of Amenemhat II, Munich ÄS 5361+ÄS 7211 (Suppl. doc. 53) dates from mid-Twefth Dynasty and only Mendes 2MI4 (Suppl. doc. 49) is datable to the late Twelfth Dynasty.[57] No examples postdating the Twelfth Dynasty are known.

The phrase *ḥsy ṯn nṯrw.ṯn*, "(as) your gods may praise you" without the addition of *njwtjw*, "city-(gods)" is attested from early Twelfth Dynasty onwards. The earliest examples are BM EA 579 (Berlev, *КСИНА* 46, doc. 32; Shubert, *Those Who (Still) Live on Earth*, MK.24) arguably belonging to the latter years of Senwosret I,[58]

[50] Berlev, *КСИНА* 46.
[51] Fischer, *Dendera*, 87-9; Brovarski, *The inscribed material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga-ed-Dêr*, particularly, 511-4, 527-8, 577-8, 625 n. 359, 910 n. 306.
[52] Liverpool 1966.178 (Suppl. doc. 42) from Siut, Brooklyn 57.140 (Shubert, *Those Who (Still) Live on Earth*, MK.6) presumably from Fayum and Dahshur Exc. no. 129 (Shubert, *op. cit.,* MK.15) from Dahshur.
[53] The case is discussed by Shubert, *op. cit.*, 423.
[54] BM EA 567 (Berlev, *КСИНА* 46, doc. 30) and BM EA 829 (Berlev, *op. cit.*, doc. 35; Shubert, *Those Who (Still) Live on Earth*, MK.29).
[55] Berlev, *КСИНА* 46, 52-3.
[56] Berlev, *op. cit.*, 60-1.
[57] Through the use of the ligature *šs mnḫt* (Berlev, *КСИНА* 46, 66) and the title *nbt-pr* suggesting the reign of Senwosret III as a *terminus a quo* and the filiation formula '*jr.n*+mother's name' indicating that this northern Egyptian monument predated the Thirteenth Dynasty (Postel, in Régen, Servajean (eds.), *Verba manent*, vol. II, 331-54).
[58] As suggested by the similarity of subsidiary standing figures with those on stelae from Freed's Workshop 10, which

Berlin 1188 (Berlev, *КСИНА* 46, doc. 14) attributed by Freed to Workshop 10 dating from late in the reign of Senwosret I and the reign of Amenemhat II,[59] Cairo CG 20458 attributed by Freed to Workshop 9 active from late in the reign of Senwosret I to early in the reign of Amenemhat II.[60] Other examples belong to the late Twelfth Dynasty, Thirteenth Dynasty and the Second Intermediate Period.

The offerings listed in the appeal to the living are quite usual, but as Berlev noted, the expression 'a thousand of' was spelled with the thousand sign placed after the offering only on several early Twelfth Dynasty monuments.[61] Correcting Berlev's list of attestations one may cite the following examples besides the architrave under consideration: Berlin 1183 (Berlev, *КСИНА* 46, doc. 13; year 3 of Amenemhat II; Freed's Workshop 10); BM EA 584 (Berlev, *op.cit.*, doc. 33; Shubert, *Those Who (Still) Live on Earth*, MK.48; *c.* Senwosret I), Cairo CG 20518 (Berlev, *КСИНА* 46, doc. 78; Shubert, *Those Who (Still) Live on Earth*, MK.51; year 7 of Senwosret I).

To sum up, the spelling of *tpjw* with favours a date not later than Amenemhat II, the phrase "(as) your king may live for you" supports a date not later than the Twelfth Dynasty, the phrase "(as) your gods may praise you" suggests that the inscription does not antedate the early Twelfth Dynasty, and the spelling of "a thousand of" speaks for a date in the early Twelfth Dynasty. Finally, the filiation formula '*ms.n*+mother's name' favours a date either not earlier than Mentuhotep II and before the reign of Amenemhat II[62] or after Amenemhat III.[63] On the balance of these arguments, a date in the early Twelfth Dynasty advocated by William Kelly Simpson and Harco Willems[64] seems the most plausible, suggesting that Seankhibra could be an unsuccessful rival to Amenemhat I, Senwosret I or Amenemhat II or simply an early name of any of these kings.[65] A date in the Thirteenth Dynasty or in the First Intermediate Period is highly unlikely.

Acknowledgment
This paper was originally presented at the Readings Dedicated to the Memory of Oleg D. Berlev (The Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Saint Petersburg, May 27, 2013). I am most indebted to Arkadi E. Demidchik for an intense discussion on the matter of this contribution in 2012 and for bringing to my attention an important study on the architrave in question by Dietrich Raue,[66] regrettably too late to include it in the present paper. I am also thankful to Ivan V. Bogdanov and Timofey Shmakov for discussions and to Dmitri Sychev for valuable help. My thanks are also due to Evgeniya A. Kokina, who kindly copied some necessary literature inaccessible in Russia and to all other friends and colleagues assisting in my research.

emerged late in the reign of Senwosret I (see next note), and the use of the filiation formula '*ms.n*+mother's name', which disappeared after Senwosret I (Obsomer, in Cannuyer, Kruchten (eds.), *Individu, société et spiritualité*, 163-200).

[59] Freed, in der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. I, 327-34.

[60] *Op. cit.*, 323-7.

[61] Berlev, *КСИНА* 46, 66.

[62] Obsomer, in Cannuyer, Kruchten (eds.), *Individu, société et spiritualité*, 163-200.

[63] Postel, in Régen, Servajean (eds.), *Verba manent*, vol. II, 331-54.

[64] See nn. 14 and 16 above.

[65] It should be noted that the pair of names *Ḥr Sᶜnḫ-jb-t3wj nsw-bjtj Sᶜnḫ-jb-rᶜ* resembles formally the names of Mentuhotep IV *Ḥr Nb-t3wj nsw-bjtj Nb-t3wj-rᶜ*, and the early names of Amenemhat I, *Ḥr Sḥtp-jb-t3wj nsw-bjtj Sḥtp-jb-rᶜ*.

[66] Raue, in Backes (ed.). *Kulturelle Kohärenz durch Prestige*, 179-200.

Fig. 5 - Amherst 554, The Griffith Institute Archive, *Williams rubbings*, vol. IV, 58. Copyright: Griffith Institute, University of Oxford

Fig. 6 - Cairo CG 20153. From Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, pl. 14

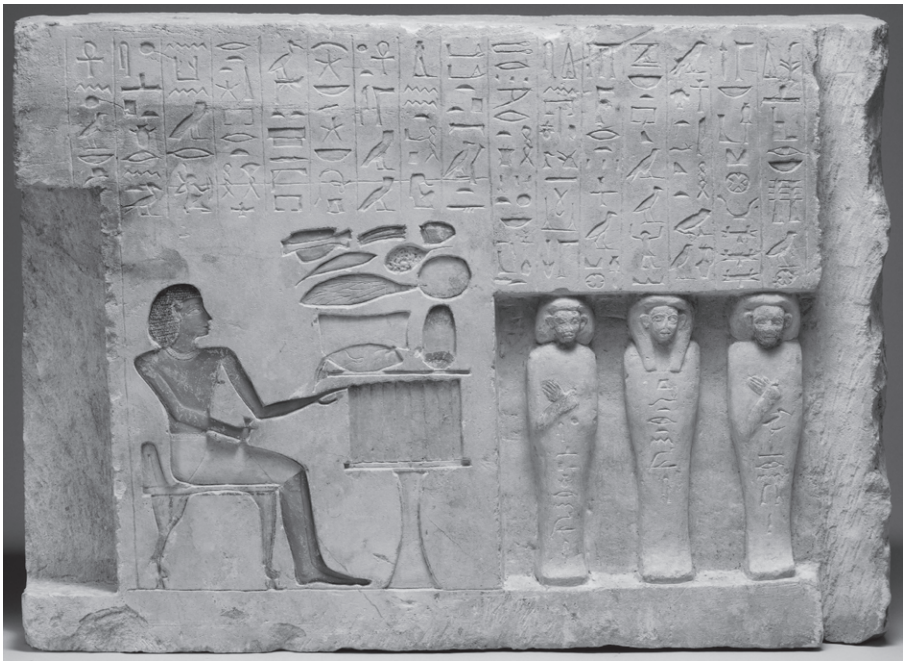

Fig. 7 - MMA 65.120.1. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1965. Open Access for Scholarly Content www.metmuseum.org

Table 1

Attestations of the appeal to the living: a supplement to the lists by Berlev, *KCIHA* 46 and Shubert, *Those Who (Still) Live on Earth*

No.	Document	Origin	Date
1	Amherst 554[1]		Senwosret III - Amenemhat III
2	Ashmolean 1889.1022[2]	Hawara	*c.* Amenemhat III
3	Aswan 1322[3]	Elephantine	Early Twelfth Dynasty
4	Aswan 1376[4]	Elephantine	Early Twelfth Dynasty
5	Berlin 97/66[5]	Presumably Naga ed-Dêr[6]	Late FIP - Eleventh Dynasty
6	Berkeley Hearst Museum of Anthropology 6-11470[7]	Naga ed-Dêr	FIP
7	BM EA 248[8]		Thirteenth Dynasty
8	Boston 1972.17+ Cairo 1.6.24.11[9]		Twelfth Dynasty (?)
9	Buhen 355[10]	Buhen	Thirteenth Dynasty
10	Cairo CG 1642	Mesheikh	FIP
11	Cairo CG 1648	Mesheikh	FIP
12	Cairo CG 20303	Produced at Antaeopolis, set up at Abydos[11]	Late Twelfth Dynasty
13	Cairo JE 26437[12]		Twelfth Dynasty (?)
14	Cairo JE 55605[13]	Naga ed-Dêr	FIP
15	Dahshur Exc. no. 4[14]	Dahshur	Late Twelfth Dynasty
16	Dahshur Exc. no. 46[15]	Dahshur	Twelfth Dynasty
17	Dahshur Exc. no. 128, 136, 142[16]	Dahshur	Early Thirteenth Dynasty
18	Dahshur Exc. no. 137[17]	Dahshur	Mid to late Twelfth Dynasty
19	Dahshur shrine 3[18]	Dahshur	Twelfth Dynasty (?)
20	El Kab tomb 10, entrance to inner hall[19]	El Kab	Sixteenth Dynasty
21	El Kab tomb 10, frieze of the outer hall[20]	El Kab	Sixteenth Dynasty
22	Florence 2500[21]		Early (?) Thirteenth Dynasty
23	Florence 2571[22]	Presumably produced at Itjtawy	Senwosret III - Amenemhat III
24	Florence 7599[23]	Thebes	Late Twelfth - early Thirteenth Dynasty
25	*FSN* 400/RIK 12[24]	Kumna	Not earlier than Senwosret III (likely, late Twelfth Dynasty)
26	*FSN* 410/RIK 22[25]	Kumna	Late Middle Kingdom (likely, late Twelfth Dynasty)
27	*FSN* 420/RIK 420[26]	Kumna	Not earlier than Senwosret III (likely, late Twelfth Dynasty)
28	*FSN* 429/RIK 104[27]	Kumna	Not earlier than Senwosret III (likely, late Twelfth Dynasty)
29	*FSN* 485/RIK 53[28]	Kumna	Not earlier than Senwosret III (likely, late Twelfth Dynasty)
30	*FSN* 486/RIK 51[29]	Kumna	Thirteenth Dynasty
31	*FSN* 494/RIK 118[30]	Kumna	Amenemhat III, year 9
32	*FSN* 496/RIK 113[31]	Kumna	Amenemhat III (around year 43)
33	*FSN* 499/RIK 116[32]	Kumna	Amenemhat III, year 9

34	*FSN* 524/RIS 14[33]	Semna	Late Middle Kingdom (likely, late Twelfth Dynasty)
35	*FSN* 530[34]	Semna	Late Middle Kingdom (likely, late Twelfth Dynasty)
36	*FSN* 531[35]	Semna	Late Middle Kingdom (likely, late Twelfth Dynasty)
37	*FSN* 532[36]	Semna	Not earlier than Senwosret III
38	Gauthier, *BIFAO* 12, 128 (5)	Presumably produced in or near the Fayum	Late Twelfth Dynasty
39	Geneva 19583[37]		Thirteenth Dynasty
40	Kamal, *ASAE* 12, 97-8	Meir	Early Twelfth Dynasty
41	Lacock Abbey 50028[38]		Late Twelfth Dynasty
42	Liverpool 1966.178[39]	Presumably from Siut	Twelfth-Thirteenth Dynasty
43	Liverpool M.13905[40]	Presumably produced at Thebes	Thirteenth Dynasty
44	Los Angeles CMAA002-E0020[41]		Mid to late Twelfth Dynasty
45	Louvre C 43[42]	Produced at Thebes	Thirteenth Dynasty
46	Louvre C 300[43]	Presumably from Abydos or Naga ed-Dêr	FIP
47	Louvre E.20909[44]	Edfu	Sebekhotep IV
48	Manchester 2933[45]	Dendereh	Eleventh Dynasty
49	Mendes 2MI4[46]	Mendes	Late Twelfth Dynasty
50	Mersa Gawasis WG 146[47]	Mersa Gawasis	Mid to late Twelfth Dynasty
51	MMA 65.120.1+65.120.2[48]	Presumably produced at Itjtawy	Senwosret III - Amenemhat III
52	MMA 65.269[49]		Early Twelfth Dynasty
53	Munich ÄS 5361 + ÄS 7211[50]	Ezbet-Rushdi (?)	*c.* Senwosret II (?)
54	Naga ed-Dêr N 2093[51]	Naga ed-Dêr	FIP
55	Naga ed-Dêr N 3737[52]	Naga ed-Dêr	FIP
56	Naga ed-Dêr N 3973[53]	Naga ed-Dêr	FIP
57	OIM 5028[54]	Dendereh	FIP[55]
58	Oldenburg 4403[56]		Thirteenth Dynasty
59	Petrie, *Dendereh 1898*, pl. 7A, 4th from bottom in the middle	Dendereh	FIP/Eleventh Dynasty
60	Petrie, *Dendereh 1898*, pl. 11B, 2nd from top on the left	Dendereh	FIP/Eleventh Dynasty
61	Petrie *et al.*, *Lahun II*, pl. 29[57]	Illahun	*c.* Amenemhat III
62	Petrie, *Season*, no. 91 = de Morgan *et al.*, *Catalogue*, vol. I, p. 17, no. 84 [right]	near Aswan	Senwosret I, year 41
63	Petrie, *Season*, no. 134[58]	near Aswan	Late Middle Kingdom (likely, late Twelfth Dynasty)
64	Petrie, *Season*, no. 147[59]	near Aswan	Late Middle Kingdom (likely, late Twelfth Dynasty)
65	Pillon, *RdE* 62, 115-39	Presumably Naga ed-Dêr	FIP
66	Pittsburgh Z9-497[60]		Eleventh Dynasty
67	Rifeh tomb VII[61]	Rifeh	Early to mid-Twelfth Dynasty (?)
68	Rio de Janeiro 627 [2419][62]	Presumably produced at Itjtawy	Senwosret III
69	Rodin 275[63]	Probably produced at Antaeopolis[64]	
70	Saqqara block of Ipy[65]	Saqqara	FIP

71	Selim, *SAK* 35, 295-300		FIP - Eleventh Dynasty
72	Sinai 413[66]	Sinai	Late Twelfth Dynasty
73	Siut tomb VI[67]	Siut	Early Twelfth Dynasty
74	Siut tomb VII[68]	Siut	Early Twelfth Dynasty
75	Siut tomb VIII[69]	Siut	Mid Twelfth Dynasty
76	Sohag III[70]		Thirteenth Dynasty
77	Stockholm MM 11444[71]		Thirteenth Dynasty
78	Toledo 25.520[72]	Naga ed-Dêr	FIP
79	Turin Suppl. 12349[73]	Gebelein	Thirteenth Dynasty
80	Toulouse 49.273[74]		SIP
81	*TPC* 289, no. 4[75]	Saqqara	Early Twelfth Dynasty
82	Vernus, *Edfou*, no. 43[76]	Probably from Edfu	
83	Vernus, *RdE* 28, pl. 11	Saqqara	Late Twelfth - early Thirteenth Dynasty
84	Wadi Abu Agag AG02[77]	Near Aswan	Twelfth Dynasty
85	Wadi el-Hudi 154[78]	Wadi el-Hudi	Senwosret I
86	Vienna ÄS 166[79]	Presumably produced at Thebes	Thirteenth Dynasty
87	Vienna ÄS 168[80]		Thirteenth Dynasty
88	Vienna ÄS 186[81]	Presumably produced at or near Itjtawy	Thirteenth Dynasty
89	Zagreb 7[82]	The owner from Akhmim	Thirteenth Dynasty
90	Zagreb 8[83]	Presumably produced at or near Itjtawy	Thirteenth Dynasty
91	Unpublished Liverpool Negative H.119[84]	Hierakonpolis	SIP
5A	Berlin 31210 (10/66)[85]	Presumably from Fayum	Thirteenth dynasty (?)
84A	Wadi el-Hôl 6[86]	Between Thebes and Abydos	

[1] Wiedemann, *PSBA* 11, 420-21 (7); The Griffith Institute archive, *Williams rubbings*, vol. IV, 58.
[2] Fiore-Marochetti, *JEA* 86, 45-6, pl. 8; Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*, pl. 11.4.
[3] Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, no. 48.
[4] *Op. cit.,* no. 61.
[5] Kaiser, *Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin,* 33-4 (300).
[6] Brovarski, *The inscribed material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga-ed-Dêr,* 753-5.
[7] Unpublished; translation in Brovarski, *op. cit.*, 565; unreadable excavation photograph: <http://pahma.berkeley.edu/delphi/modules/browser/details.php?onum=6-11470>, accessed 21.16.2014; s*ee also* Pillon, *RdE* 62, 128, n. 102.
[8] Franke, Marée (ed.), *Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum,* Vol. I/1, 123-5.
[9] Simpson, *RdE* 24, 169-73, pl. 1*5*.
[10] Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen*, 4-6, pl. 1 (3), 57 (4).
[11] Ilin-Tomich, in Bolshakov (ed.), *St. Petersburg Egyptological Readings 2009-2010*, 92-102.
[12] Simpson, *RdE* 24 (1972), 173-4, pl. 1*5*.
[13] Brovarski, *The inscribed material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga-ed-Dêr*, 688-90, 1190, fig. 143. In the copy of the dissertation available to me, the photograph is illegible.
[14] Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur*, vol. II/2, 51-2, pls. 65, 66.a.
[15] *Op. cit.*, 27, pl. 60b.
[16] *Op. cit.*, 63-9, pls. 68-9.
[17] *Op. cit.*, 17-8, pls. 53-4.
[18] *Op. cit.*, 74-5.
[19] Davies, in Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 233; Tylor, *The Tomb of Sebeknekht*, pl. 11.
[20] Tylor, *The Tomb of Sebeknekht*, pls. 2-5.
[21] Bosticco, *Le stele egiziane dall'antico al nuovo regno*, no. 30.
[22] *Op. cit.*, no. 38.
[23] *Op. cit.*, no. 41.
[24] Hintze, Reineke, *Felsinschriften aus den sudanesischen Nubien*, 109-10.
[25] *Op. cit.*, 112-4.
[26] *Op. cit*., 117.
[27] *Op. cit.*, 120.
[28] *Op. cit.*, 139-40.
[29] *Op. cit.*, 140.
[30] *Op. cit.*, 143.
[31] *Op. cit.*, 144.
[32] *Op. cit.*, 146-7.
[33] *Op. cit.*, 157-8.
[34] *Op. cit.*, 160-1.
[35] *Op. cit.*, 161-2.
[36] *Op. cit.*, 162.

[37] Valloggia, *Genava* 20, 55-60.
[38] Satzinger, Stefanović, in Bechtold, Gulyás, Hasznos (eds.), *From Illahun to Djeme*, 241-46.
[39] Bourriau, *Pharaohs and mortals*, 69-70 (55).
[40] Sams, *Ancient Egypt*, pl. 18.
[41] Wiedemann, *PSBA* 11, 419 (3).
[42] Hamza, *MDAIK* 63, 53-9.
[43] Fischer, *BES* 9, figs. 1-2.
[44] Marée, *BMSAES* 12, 44, fig. 8.
[45] Petrie, *Dendereh 1898*, pl. 7A (bottom middle).
[46] Soghor, *JARCE* 6, 30-1, pl. 18 (bottom).
[47] Pirelli, *RdE* 58, 99-105, pl. 18.
[48] Freed *et al.*, *The secrets of Tomb 10A*, 62, figs. 31-2.
[49] <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/545875>, accessed 09.02.2011.
[50] Fischer-Elfert, Grimm, *ZÄS* 130, 60-80.
[51] Unpublished; translation in Brovarski, *The inscribed material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga-ed-Dêr*, 631-2.
[52] Peck, *Some Decorated Tombs of the First Intermediate Period*, pl. 13.
[53] Unpublished; translation in Brovarski, *The inscribed material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga-ed-Dêr*, 569-70.
[54] Petrie, *Dendereh 1898*, pl. 2A (bottom left).
[55] For the date, see Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millenium BC*, 85-91.
[56] Franke, *SAK* 10, 157-78.
[57] Petrie, Brunton, Murray, *Lahun II*, pl. 29.
[58] Petrie, *A Season in Egypt*, pl. 6 (134).
[59] Petrie, *A Season in Egypt*, pl. 6 (147); de Morgan *et al.*, *Catalogue des monuments,* vol. I/1, 15 (70 [bottom left]).
[60] Patch, *Reflections of Greatness*, 22-3 (14).
[61] Griffith, T*he inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, pl. 18.
[62] Kitchen, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection in the National Museum, Rio de Janeiro*, 15-23 (1).
[63] Goldscheider (ed.)*, Rodin Collectionneur*, pl. 19 (59).
[64] As betrayed by the phrase *ddt pt qmȝt tȝ jnnt Ḥʿpj m ḥtp dj nsw* in the offering formula, Ilin-Tomich, *ZÄS* 138, 25-6.
[65] Daoud, *Corpus of Inscriptions of the Herakleopolitan Peiod*, 147, pl. 81 (6.2.2).
[66] Gardiner, Peet, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, pl. 68.
[67] Montet, *Kêmi* 6, 132.
[68] *Op. cit.*, 134.
[69] *Op. cit.*, 136. 70 el-Masry, in Engel, Müller, Hartung (eds.), *Zeichen aus dem Sand*, 93-6.
[71] <http://collections.smvk.se/pls/mm/rigby.VisaObjekt?pin_masidn=3011101>, accessed 25.09.2011.
[72] Brovarski, *The inscribed material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga-ed-Dêr*, 642-3, 1182, fig. 138.1.
[73] <http://collezioni.museoegizio.it/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=105107&viewType=detailView>, accessed 05.08.2012.
[74] Ramond, *Les stèles égyptiennes du Musée G. Labit à Toulouse*, n. 6.
[75] Firth, Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, 289 (4).
[76] Vernus, *Edfou du début de la XIIe Dynastie au début de la XVIIIe Dynastie*, 139 (43), pls. 23-4. I render my thanks to Pascal Vernus, who has graciously allowed his PhD thesis to be copied, and I owe much to the selflessness of Lana Martysheva for copying this voluminous work for me in Paris.
[77] Rothe, Miller, Rapp, *Pharaonic inscriptions from the southern Eastern Desert*, 386.
[78] Sadek, *The Amethyst Mining Inscriptions of Wadi el-Hudi*, vol. II, 3-4.
[79] Hein, Satzinger, *Stelen des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. I, 103-6.
[80] *Op. cit.*, 114-7.
[81] Hein, Satzinger, *Stelen des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. II, 112-27.
[82] Monnet Saleh, *Les antiquités égyptiennes de Zagreb*, 20-1.
[83] *Op. cit.*, 22-3.
[84] The document was accessible to me though a print in the Griffith Institute archive MSS Clère 02 made from Clère neg. T.06-305. I am grateful to Steven Snape (Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool) for the information on the original negative from John Garstang's excavations at the Temple/Town site at Hierakonpolis.
[85] Unpublished photograph courtesy of Klaus Finneiser (The Egyptian Museum and Papyrus collection of Berlin).
[86] Darnell, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, vol. I, 102-4.

Table 2

Appeals of the living copied from Cairo CG 20538. Sources: Berlev, *KCHHA* 46; Shubert, *Those Who (Still) Live on Earth*

Source	Reference	Date	Tabular representation of the addressed groups	*ḫm-nṯr ꜣ, ḫm-nṯr ꜥḳ*	*ꜥnḫ nb n njwt*	*ḫpr.tj.fj m ḫwt-nṯr tn*	*ḳd.tj.sn wḏ pn*	*wḫm.tn ỉrt ḫbw.f*	*mr(r).tn Wp-wꜣwt nṯr.ṯn bnr mrwt*	*nḏm.jb.ṯn m nsw …*	*snb ḫr ḫrdw.ṯn*
CG 20539	Berlev, doc. 83; Shubert, MK.32	Senwosret I	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
CG 20040	Berlev, doc. 51	Amenemhat II[1]	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
CG 20538	Berlev, doc. 82; Shubert, MK.77	Amenemhat III	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+ (*snb n.ṯn ḫrdw.ṯn*)
CG 20536	Berlev, doc. 81	Year 1 of Amenemhat III	-	-	-	+ (*ḫpr.tj.sn m njwt tn*)	-	+	-	+	+
Frankfort, *JEA* 14, n. 6	Berlev, doc. 105	Not earlier than the reign of Senwosret III	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-
Attested elsewhere				-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+

[1] Franke, *Personendaten*, Dossier 74.

Table 3

The attestations of the motivation (*mr.ṯn*) *ḥs ṯn Ḫntj-jmntjw* (*nb ꜣbḏw*), "(as you wish) that Khentiamenti (the lord of Abydos) praises you" and the address *mrr ḥss sw Ḫntj-jmntjw nb ꜣbḏw*, "(Oh,) he who wishes that Khentiamenti, the lord of Abydos, praises him". Sources: Berlev, *KCHHA* 46; Shubert, *Those Who (Still) Live on Earth*

Source	Reference	Notes	Appeal
Berlin 1183	Berlev, doc. 13	Freed, Workshop 10	*mrr ḥss sw Ḫntj-jmntjw nb ꜣbḏw*
BM EA 462	Berlev, doc. 27	Statue, early to mid-Twelfth Dynasty	*mrr ḥss sw Jst-jrt Ḫntj-jmntjw nb ꜣbḏw Wp-wꜣwt ḫrp tꜣwj*
BM EA 590	Shubert, MK.52	Unpublished offering table, mid to late Twelfth Dynasty	*mr ṯn nsw* *ḥs ṯn Ḫntj-jmntjw*
CG 20046[1]	Berlev, doc. 53; Shubert, MK.60		*mrr ḥss sw Ḫntj-jmntjw nb ꜣbḏw*
CG 20523	Berlev, doc. 79		*mrr ḥss sw nṯr ꜥꜣ nb ꜣbḏw*
CG 20567	Berlev, doc. 86; Shubert, MK.79	Freed, Workshop 10	*mrr ḥss sw Ḫntj-jmntjw nb ꜣbḏw*

CG 20609[2]	Berlev, doc. 89		*m mry.ṯn nsw.ṯn* *swḏ (?).ṯn n ḫrdw.ṯn* *ḥs ṯn Ḫntj-jmntjw nṯr ꜥ3 nb 3bḏw*
Louvre C 172	Berlev, doc. 123	Freed, Workshop 10 Amenemhat II, year 3	*m mrj.ṯn* *ḥss ṯn Ḫntj-jmntjw nb 3bḏw*
Louvre C 181	Berlev, doc. 125	Freed, Workshop 10	*m mr.ṯn rnp.ṯn* *ꜥnḫ msw.ṯn* *ḥs ṯn Ḫntj-jmntjw*
CG 20100	Berlev, doc. 57	Thirteenth Dynasty	*mrr.ṯn ḥs ṯn Jst-jrt Ḫntj-jmntjw nb 3bḏw*

[1] Cairo CG stelae that are not reproduced photographically in Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches,* or in Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos,* were accessible to me as photographs in the archive of Oleg D. Berlev at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (Saint Petersburg) through the kindness of Ivan V. Bogdanov.
[2] Trapani, in Hawass (ed.), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century*, vol. III, 414-6.

Table 4

The attestations of the phrases *mr*(*r*).*ṯn Wp-w3wt nṯr.ṯn bnr mrwt*, "as you love Wepwawet, your god sweet of love", *wnwt ḫwt-nṯr mj qd.s*, "the priesthood of the temple in its entirety", *mr.ṯn grg ḫwt-nṯr tn nt* (*Jst-jrt*) *Ḫntj-jmntjw*, "as you wish that this temple of (Osiris) Khentiamenti is supported", *ꜥḥꜥ ḫrdw.ṯn ḥr nswt.ṯn*, "as you children stand on your places", and all Twelfth Dynasty attestations of the phrase *m mr.ṯn nṯrw.ṯn njwtjw*, "as you love your city gods". Sources: Berlev, *КСИНА* 46; Shubert, *Those Who (Still) Live on Earth*

Source	Reference	Date	Notes	*mr(r).ṯn Wp-w3wt nṯr.ṯn bnr mrwt*	*wnwt ḫwt-nṯr mj qd.s*	*mr.ṯn grg ḫwt-nṯr tn nt (Jst-jrt)Ḫntj-jmntjw*	*ꜥḥꜥ ḫrdw.ṯn ḥr nswt.ṯn*	*m mr.ṯn nṯrw.ṯn njwtjw*
Cairo CG 20539	Berlev, doc. 83; Shubert, MK.32	Senwosret I		+				
Cairo CG 20040	Berlev, doc. 51	Amenemhat II	sequence copied from Cairo CG 20539	+				
Cairo CG 20538	Berlev doc. 82; Shubert MK.77	Amehemhat III	sequence copied from Cairo CG 20539	+	*wnwt ḫwt-nṯr. ṯn jmjw njwt.ṯn*			
Frankfort, *JEA* 14, n. 6	Berlev, doc. 105	Not earlier than the reign of Senwosret III	sequence copied from Cairo CG 20539	+	+			
Amherst 554 (Fig. 5)	Suppl. doc. 1		Workshop 1		+			
BM EA 1213	Berlev, doc. 37		Workshop 1	+				
Cairo CG 20153 (Fig. 6)	Berlev, doc. 60		Workshop 1	+	+			
Cairo CG 20401	Berlev, doc. 71; Shubert, MK.23		Workshop 1	+				

Cairo CG 20497	Berlev, doc. 74; Shubert, MK.7		Workshop 1	+	+			
Cairo CG 20691	Berlev, doc. 91		Workshop 1	+	+			
Louvre C 5	Berlev, doc. 119; Shubert, MK.63		Workshop 1	+				
MMA 65.120.1+ 65.120.2 (Fig. 7)	Suppl. doc. 51		Workshop 1	+	+			
Rio 627 [2419]	Suppl. doc. 68		Workshop 1	+				
Cairo CG 20119	Berlev, doc. 58		Workshop 2	+		+	+	+
Rio 627 [2419]	Suppl. doc. 68		Workshop 1	+				
Cairo CG 20119	Berlev, doc. 58		Workshop 2	+		+	+	+
BM EA 805	Berlev, doc. 34		Workshop 2	+		+	+	+
CG 20748	Berlev, doc. 92; Shubert, MK.41		Workshop 2	±	± *wnwt ḥwt-nṯr nt ntj-jmntjw Wp-w³wt nṯr.ṯn bnr mrwt*	+	+	
Florence 2571	Suppl. doc. 23		Workshop 2			+		
Basel III 5002	Shubert, MK.62		Workshop 2			+		
Geneva D 50	Berlev, doc. 103; Shubert, MK.10		Workshop 2			+		
Louvre C 169	Berlev, doc. 154	Amenemhat II - Senwosret II		+				
BM EA 101	Berlev, doc. 20; Shubert, MK.36	Amenemhat III			+			
Cairo CG 20141	Berlev, doc. 59	Mid to late Twelfth Dynasty				+		
Cairo CG 20683	Berlev, doc. 90	Senwosret III - Amenemhat III		+		+		
Dahshur shrine 3	Suppl. doc. 19	Twelfth Dynasty (?)					+	

Table 5

Common traits of Workshops 1 and 2 active at the royal residence in the reigns of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III

Stela	Workshop	The owner holds neither a lotus-flower nor a fly-whisk	Long male wigs covering ears completely	'Osiris' spelled as in horizontal lines	'Abydos' spelled as or (and)	is lower than other tall signs	Some (all) figures in the silhouette style	Niche and (or) mummiform figures
Amherst 554 (Fig. 5)	1	+	+	n/a	+	+	-	-
BM EA 1213	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Cairo CG 20153 (Fig. 6)	1	+	+	+	++	+	-	+
Cairo CG 20310	1	+	n/a	+	+	+	-	-
Cairo CG 20401	1	+	+	-	+	+	+	-
Cairo CG 20497	1	n/a	n/a	n/a	+	+	n/a	+
Cairo CG 20536	1	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
Cairo CG 20691	1	+	-	n/a	+	+	-	-
Louvre C 5	1	+	-	+	n/a	n/a	+	-
MMA 65.120.1+ 65.120.2 (Fig. 7)	1	+	+/-	n/a	+	+	-	+
Rio de Janeiro 627 [2419]	1	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
Cairo CG 20629	1	+	short wigs only	+	+	+	+	-
el-Khouli, *JSSEA* 8[1]	1	+	?	+	n/a	+	-	-
Cairo CG 20067	1	+	+	+	+	n/a	-	-
Cairo CG 20217	1	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
Cairo CG 20235	1	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
Cairo CG 20296	1	+	+	+	n/a	?	-	-
Cairo CG 20713	1	+	+	+	n/a	-	+	-
Manchester 3306[2]	1	+	silhouette figures only	+	n/a	+	+	-
Rio de Janeiro 635 + 636 [2427][3]	1	n/a	-	+	+	+	-	+
Louvre C 33[4]	1	+	+	+	n/a	n/a	-	-

Cairo CG 20119	2	+	+	+	+	n/a	-	-
BM EA 805	2	+-	+	+	+	-	-	-
CG 20748	2	+	short wigs only	+	n/a	+ (?)	-	+
Florence 2571	2	+	+	+	n/a	n/a	-	-
Frankfort, *JEA* 14, n. 6	2	+	?	+	+	+	-	-
Berlin 1204[5]	2	+	-	+	+	-	-	-
BM EA 202[6]	2	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
Basel III 5002[7]	2	n/a	n/a	+	+	+	-	+
Cairo CG 20028	2	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Cairo CG 20038	2	+	-	+	+	±	-	+
Cairo CG 20127	2	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
Cairo CG 20140	2	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
Cairo CG 20338	2	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
Geneva D 50	2	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
Cairo CG 20122	2	+	+	+	+	+	-	-

[1] El-Khouli, *JSSEA* 8, 46-7.
[2] Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, pl. 4.
[3] *Op. cit.*, pl. 31.
[4] Kitchen, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection in the National Museum, Rio de Janeiro*, pls. 25-6.
[5] Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, pl. 1.
[6] *Op. cit.*, pl. 3.
[7] *Op. cit.*, pl. 3.

Table 6

Peculiar traits of Workshop 1

Stela	**Rectangular table-top**	**An ox head beneath the table**	**The ligature 'alabaster and linen' has the form**	**The inscribed border is flat**	***jḫw ʾpdw* only with the food determinative**	** is lower than other tall signs**	**Kneeling female figures with one knee up**
Amherst 554 (Fig. 5)	+	+	separate signs	n/a	no determinative	+	+
BM EA 1213	+	+	+	n/a	no det.	+	+
Cairo CG 20153 (Fig. 6)	+	-	sep. signs	n/a	+	+	n/a
Cairo CG 20310	+	-	sep. signs	n/a	+	+	+
Cairo CG 20401	+	-	+	+	no det.	+	+

Cairo CG 20497	n/a	n/a	sep. signs	n/a	no det.	+	n/a
Cairo CG 20536	+	-	- _	+	+	+	+
Cairo CG 20691	+	+	sep. signs	n/a	+	+	+
Louvre C 5	+	+	+	+	no det.	n/a	+
MMA 65.120.1+ 65.120.2 (Fig. 7)	+	-	+	n/a	+	+	n/a
Rio de Janeiro 627 [2419]	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Cairo CG 20629	+	-	+	+	- (plural)	+	+
el-Khouli, *JSSEA* 8	+	-	n/a	n/a	no det.	+	+
Cairo CG 20067	+	+	sep. signs	n/a	no det.	n/a	n/a
Cairo CG 20217	+	+	+	n/a	n/a	+	n/a
Cairo CG 20235	+	+	sep. signs	n/a	+	+	n/a
Cairo CG 20296	+	+	+	n/a	no det.	?	+
Cairo CG 20713	+	+	+	n/a	no det.	-	+
Louvre C 33	+	+	sep. signs	n/a	+	n/a	+
Manchester 3306	+	+	sep. signs	n/a	+	+	+
Rio de Janeiro 635 + 636 [2427]	n/a	-	sep. signs	n/a	+	+	n/a

Table 7

Distinctive traits of Workshop 2

Stela	Rectangular table-top with a straight stand	Table top with rounded edges	The ligature 'alabaster and linen' has the form	Female figures kneeling on both knees	A kilt with a triangular panel (seated figures)	The inscribed border is raised	*jḫw ꜣpdw* with the plural determinative	is lower than other tall signs
Cairo CG 20119	+ -	-	+	+	+	+	no determinative	n/a
BM EA 805	+	+	+	+	+	+	no det.	-
CG 20748	n/a	n/a	+	n/a	+	n/a	no det.	+ (?)
Florence 2571	+	-	+	+	-	n/a	no det.	n/a
Frankfort, *JEA* 14, n. 6	+	-	+	n/a	-	n/a	+	+
Berlin 1204[1]	+	+	n/a	n/a	+	+	n/a	-
BM EA 202[2]	+ -	-	separate signs	+	+	n/a	no det.	+
Basel III 5002[3]	n/a	n/a	+	n/a	n/a	+	+	+
Cairo CG 20028	+	-	sep. signs	+	-	n/a	no det.	+
Cairo CG 20038	-	-	sep. signs	n/a	-	+	-	±
Cairo CG 20127	+	-	n/a	n/a	-	n/a	+	-
Cairo CG 20140	-	+	n/a	n/a	-	n/a	-	+
Cairo CG 20338	-	+	sep. signs	n/a	-	n/a	+	+
Geneva D 50	-	-	sep. signs	+	-	n/a	+	+
Cairo CG 20122	-	+	n/a	+	-	n/a	no det.	+

[1] Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, pl. 1.
[2] *Op. cit.*, pl. 3.
[3] *Op. cit.*, pl. 3.

Table 8

Rare elements in the offering formulae on the stelae produced by Workshops 1 and 2

Stela	Workshop	*Ḫnmw*	*Ḥqt*	*Ḥr nḏ-ḥr jtj.f*	*Ḥwt-ḥr nbt pr qꜣ*	*ḏj.f mᶜḥᶜt nfrt*
BM EA 1213	1	+	+	+	+	
CG 20713	1				+	
Louvre C 33	1			+		
MMA 65.120.1+ 65.120.2	1	+	+	+	+	

Frankfort, *JEA* 14, n. 6	2	+	+	+		+
Basel III 5002	2					+
BM EA 202	2	+	+	+		
BM EA 805	2	+	+	+		+
CG 20028	2	+	+	+		
CG 20748	2			+	+	+
Florence 2571	2	+	+			

Table 9

Characteristic northern Egyptian personal names on the stelae produced by Workshops 1 and 2

Stela	Workshop	Names
BM EA 202	2	*Ḫpr-kꜣ-rᶜ, Snfrw*
CG 20028	2	*Ḫntj-ḫty, Jmny*
CG 20119	2	*Sḥtp-jb-rᶜ, Kkj*
CG 20122	1	*Sḥtp-jb-rᶜ, Ḥtp*
CG 20127	2	*Ḫᶜ-kꜣw-rᶜ, Jmny, Ḥtp*
CG 20140	2	*Ḫntj-ḫty, Pjpj*
CG 20153	1	*Sꜣt-snfrw, Sꜣt-ḫntj-ḫty*
CG 20217	2	*Sḥtp-jb-rᶜ, Ḥtp*
CG 20296	1	*Rn.f-ᶜnḫ, Jmny*
CG 20338	2	*Sḥtp-jb-rᶜ, Snfrw, Jmny*
CG 20401	1	*Ḫpr-kꜣ-rᶜ, Ppj*
CG 20713	1	*Sḥtp-jb-rᶜ, Nbw-kꜣw-rᶜ, Sꜣt-ḫntj-ḫty, Rn.f-ᶜnḫ, Snfrw, Jmny-wꜣḥ*
Florence 2571	2	*Sḥtp-jb-rᶜ, Mkt*
Geneva D 50	2	*Jmny, Rn.f-ᶜnḫ, Sꜣt-ḫntj-ḫty*
Louvre C 5	1	*Jmny, Ppj, Ḫᶜ-kꜣw-rᶜ-snb, Ḫpr-kꜣ-rᶜ, Wr-ḫntj-ḫty*
MMA 65.120.1+65.120.2	1	*Sḥtp-jb-rᶜ, Ḫntj-ḫty-rᶜ, Rn.s-ᶜnḫ*
Rio de Janeiro 627 [2419]	1	*Sḥtp-jb-rᶜ, Sꜣ-ḫntj-ḫty, Rn.f-ᶜnḥ, Ḥtpt, Jmny*
Rio de Janeiro 635 + 636 [2427]	1	*Ḫntj-ḫty-ḥtp, Jmny*

Table 10

Thirteenth Dynasty attestations of *sw3* attributable to southern Upper Egypt. References: Berlev, *KCIHA* 46; Shubert, *Those Who (Still) Live on Earth*

Document	References	Geographical attribution
Alliot, *Tell Edfou 1933*, 32 n. 10	Shubert, SIP.5	From Edfu
Berlin 7311	Berlev, doc. 15; Shubert, MK.43	Another stela of the same person was produced by a Theban workshop;[1] Berlin 7311 should possibly be added to the same artistic dossier
Berlin 7732	Berlev, doc. 17	Theban origin is indicated by the mention of Amun-Ra in the offering formula
Berlin 19500	Berlev, doc. 19	From Elephantine
BM EA 471	Berlev, doc. 28	The owner was a priest of Montu at Medamud according to his title on his other monument, Vienna ÄS 5897[2]
CG 20100	Berlev, doc. 57	While the owner of the stela was a high official of the central administration, a high steward, four officials mentioned on this and related stelae are known from seal impressions from the town of Wahsut,[3] suggesting that they could have served at Abydos
Liverpool M.13905	Suppl. doc. 43	The owner is likely identical with the reporter of the vizier Senwosret, who is known from stelae Louvre C 16, C 17 and C 18, produced at Thebes[4]
Ny Carlsberg ÆIN 964	Berlev, doc. 147	Theban origin is indicated by the mention of Amun-Ra in the offering formula
Tübingen 458	Berlev, doc. 177; Shubert, MK.66	The stela was likely executed at a Theban workshop,[5] and an *wab*-priest of Amun figures on another monument of the same official, Marseille 228[6]
Zagreb 7	Suppl. doc. 89	The owner was a lector-priest of Min at Akhmim

[1] Cairo CG 20104 (Franke, *Personendaten*, Dossier 389), for the workshop, see Ilin-Tomich, *GM* 234, 73-8.
[2] Franke, *Personendaten*, Dossier 767.
[3] Wegner, in Hawass, Der Manuelian, Hussein (eds.), *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt*, 438-41, 454.
[4] Ilin-Tomich, *GM* 234, 73-8; compare Franke, *Personendaten*, Dossier 492.
[5] Ilin-Tomich, *GM* 234, 80-4.
[6] Franke, *Personendaten*, Dossier 587.

Table 11

Thirteenth Dynasty attestations of *sw3* attributable to the northern part of Egypt. References: Berlev, *KCIHA* 46; Shubert, *Those Who (Still) Live on Earth*

Document	References	Geographical attribution
Engelbach, *Harageh*, pl. LXXII.1	Shubert, MK.34	From Harageh
Florence 2561	Berlev, doc. 102	The owner figures on stela Cairo CG 20520,[1] naming a god's father of Ptah, which makes a Memphite origin likely
Ny Carlsberg ÆIN 1539	Berlev, doc. 148; Shubert, MK.69	From Harageh
Vienna ÄS 156	Berlev, doc. 184	Two characteristic northern names: *Snfrw* and *Kkj*[2]

Vienna ÄS 186	Suppl. doc. 88	Four characteristic northern names: *Snfrw*, *S3t-Snfrw*, *Sḫtp-jb* and *Jppj*
Zagreb 8	Suppl. doc. 90	Two characteristic northern names: *Jmny* and *Snfrw*

[1] Franke, *Personendaten*, Dossier 447.
[2] Ilin-Tomich, *Вісник* 110, 28-30.

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A unique Funerary Complex in Qubbet el-Hawa for Two Governors of the Late Twelfth Dynasty

Alejandro Jiménez Serrano

Abstract

In the last six years, a multidisciplinary team has been working in the funerary complexes of the second half of the Twelfth Dynasty in Qubbet el-Hawa. In the present article we will focus on the results obtained from the archaeological work in the funerary complex catalogued as QH33. The preliminary results show that the governor of Elephantine Heqaib III, who died before the end of the works, originally constructed QH33. His brother and successor Ameny-Seneb decided to bury him in a –by then– completed area of the funerary complex. Although our archaeological research is not yet finished –we are still excavating the main shaft and its associated chambers– we can suggest that Ameny-Seneb finished the construction work in the main burial area and he and his closest relatives occupied the subterranean chambers of the main shaft, originally destined for Heqaib III and his family.

QH33, a funerary complex without a certain discoverer

During the first years of the 1880's, many ancient objects began to appear on the Aswan antiquities market.[1] During that time the *Sirdar* Grenfell was stationed there defending the rearguard of the Anglo-Egyptian army, which was fighting against the Sudanese troops of El-Mahdy. The abundance and quality of the objects attracted the attention of the British officials and diplomats, who soon discovered their provenance.

A little to the south of the island of Elephantine, on the highest elevation of the West Bank known as Ali Abu el-Hawa (from the beginning of the Twentieth century, Qubbet el-Hawa), Napoleonic troops had noted the existence of Christian 'catacombes'.[2] However, more than eighty years later it was clear that the ancient Egyptians had also used the hill before as a necropolis. Grenfell made a request to the Antiquities Service for authorisation to work in the area and called upon the British Museum for scientific assistance.[3] Thus, in the fall of 1885 he ordered one of his officials, Major Plunkett, to begin the excavation works. The labour force was made up of his own Egyptian soldiers (11th Company of Royal Engineers), who obviously lacked any archaeological experience.[4] In December 1885, a young Wallis Budge arrived in Aswan. It was his first time in Egypt and, as in the case of the Anglo-Egyptian labour force, he had no fieldwork experience. By the time of his arrival, the troops under Major Plunkett's command were unearthing the tomb of the Middle Kingdom nomarch Sarenput II.[5] Unfortunately, little more is known about Budge's scientific supervision, because, he claimed, his notes were lost by Sir Peter Le Page Renouf, Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, some months later in the United Kingdom.[6] Moreover, his publication about his stay in Qubbet el-Hawa was reduced to a general presentation of the work to the Society of Biblical Archaeology and some descriptions compiled in his memoirs. Many of these snippets of information are related to the excavation of the tombs dated to the Middle Kingdom, although Budge also described earlier tombs from the Old Kingdom.

After two seasons of work (1885-87), Grenfell's troops had unearthed many tombs and the total of these was added to the 'catacombes' recorded by the French. They were in reality pharaonic tombs later re-used as part of a large Christian complex. Unfortunately, the first exhaustive presentation of these discoveries did not appear until the publication of the first volume of the ambitious *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte Antique*,[7] almost ten years later, when Harkhuf's tomb was unearthed by Ernesto Schiaparelli. From the first plan of the necropolis published in the Catalogue and the indirect references given by Budge, we can conclude that together with Sarenput II (QH31) and tomb QH32, another Mid-

[1] *Cf.* Grenfell's letter (28th January 1887) in *The Times* in Edel, *Die Felsgräbernekropole*, XVII.
[2] *Description de l'Égypte,* vol. I, pl. 31.
[3] Budge, *Nile and Tigris*, 74.
[4] Budge, *PSBA* 10, 16.
[5] Budge, *Nile and Tigris*, 91.
[6] *Op. cit.*, 93.
[7] de Morgan *et al.*, *Catalogue des monuments*, 141-201.

dle Kingdom tomb was unearthed situated to the north, QH33.[8] Between 1885-87 and 1936, when Hans Müller photographed that part of the hill,[9] there is no more references to it. We can only conjecture that QH33 was open for some years. From 1936 until 1960, QH33 remained covered by sand, when Elmar Edel's team took some notes for its description and measured the chapel.[10] From these notes it is clear why neither Grenfell nor any other scholar devoted their scientific interest to this tomb; the chapel had suffered an enormous fire that affected the original painted decoration of the central niche, as well as the funerary goods that covered the surface of the chapel in great quantity and diversity.

The works carried out by the Universidad de Jaén

In 2008, the Universidad de Jaen started, with almost no published archaeological data from Qubbet el-Hawa,[11] a multidisciplinary project whose major goals were not only concentrated on the archaeological record, but also on the conservation and archaeological management of the whole site. In the present paper, we will only describe the former goal.

From the beginning, QH33 was conceived not as a tomb but as a funerary complex, which meant that the excavation had also to focus on the exterior and not only on the chapel (generally referred to as a tomb) or the burials. This strategy provided a new vision of the Middle Kingdom funerary complexes in Qubbet el-Hawa. Up to the time of our excavations there was no architectural typology of the cultic area of Twelfth Dynasty funerary complexes, because Sarenput I and II were quite different from one another. The former had a peristyle court with reliefs before the entrance of the 'tomb'.[12] The latter, in a first instance, lacked this court, but presented more monumental architecture.[13] The excavation of QH33 has shown that there was indeed a unique type of architecture for the cultic area, in some cases –as with Sarenput II– not completely concluded. Thus, the Twelfth Dynasty funerary complexes of the governors presented, or should have presented at the end of their construction, a court enclosed by a monumental wall. In that area, the funerary ceremonies of the solar cult should have been performed. In QH33, those cults were unlikely to have been fully performed because the extraction work of the bedrock had not been finished when suddenly it was abandoned (Fig. 1). Different pieces of evidence for this abrupt stop include the stacked position of the already extracted blocks and the presence of a cylindrical mortar, in which an artist once pounded local haematite and ochre. These pigments were the remains of those used for the decoration of the main *naos* of the chapel.[14] The unfinished works in the exterior can be clearly seen in the northern part of the exterior façade of the chapel, where the master of the workers carved a polished stripe in the stone to indicate how the final surface should be.[15]

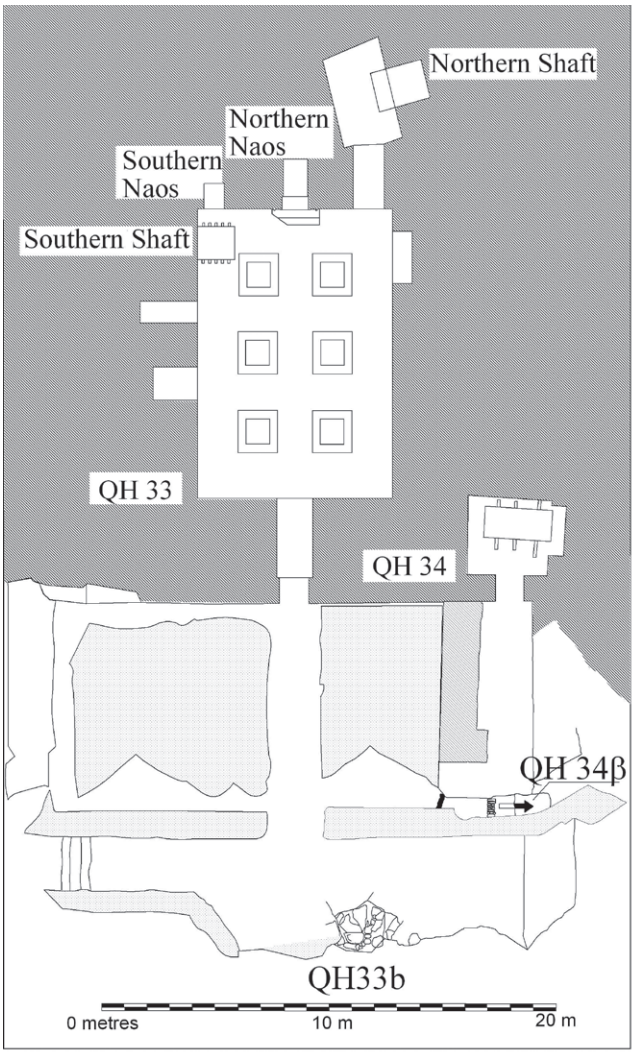

Fig. 1 - The funerary complex of QH33, which includes an earlier grave (QH33b), a contemporary chamber (QH34β) and a later tomb (QH34)

In 2009, in the northern part of the court, an intact burial (catalogued as QH34β) dated to the late Twelfth Dynasty was discovered. Although wood-boring insects

[8] de Morgan *et al.*, *Catalogue des monuments*, 142.
[9] Müller, *Die Felsengräber*, pl. 21.
[10] Edel, *Die Felsgräbernekropole*, 429.
[11] Edel, *Die Felsgräbernekropole* was published in September 2008, some months after our first archaeological season.
[12] Müller, *Die Felsengräber,* 18-34, figs. 2, 5, 6, pls. 2-9.
[13] *Op. cit.*, 62.
[14] Cardell Fernández, *BAEE* 18, 10-2.
[15] Jiménez Serrano *et al.*, *BAEE* 18, 42-3, fig. 4.

had destroyed much of the coffin, enough parts survive for us to understand the high quality of the piece. It was a cedar coffin fully decorated with complex offering formulae, which mentions the name and the title of the owner, the "overseer of the house" (*jmj-r3 pr*), Sarenput. On his legs, we found part of a decorated band of *cartonnage*, which also mentions the name of his mother Sattjeni (Pl. XVI). This datum was again repeated on the *shabti* (Pl. XV) and on the *shabti's* anthropoid coffin that accompanied the deceased.[16] Moreover, the anthropological study of his bones show that this individual was seventeen or eighteen years old when he died[17] and his ethnic features were negroid.[18] There is no doubt that Sarenput was member of the late Twelfth Dynasty ruling family of Elephantine because of the richness of his burial, the name of his mother (very common for women of the ruling family)[19] and his own name, which linked him with the initiator of the lineage. But, what was unexpected was the discovery that a member of the ruling family of Elephantine had Nubian physical features.

But our understanding of the family of governors of Elephantine in this period is far from being so simply explained. More data found in the chambers excavated in the chapel reveal more complex circumstances surrounding the ruling family of Elephantine.

The entrance of the chapel is through the largest doorway ever found in the Middle Kingdom tombs of Qubbet el-Hawa (4.83 m) It is 53 cm taller than Sarenput II (4.30 m),[20] which must be understood as an expression of the monumentalisation process also observed in the size of the chapels and in the size of the statues found in the sanctuary of Heqaib on the nearby island of Elephantine.[21] After a monumental corridor, a hall opens with six pillars, which presents similar measurements to that of Sarenput II.[22] But this is the only similarity; the architecture of the hall of QH33 is more sophisticated than the latter and the *naos* for the funerary cult is in the central nave located in the west wall. This design coincides with the chapel of Heqaib II (QH30), the governor of Elephantine shortly after Sarenput II.[23] The architectural features and the design of the plan preliminarily led us to consider that QH33 was later than Sarenput II, a hypothesis that was later confirmed by the pottery, which situated the construction and use of the former funerary complex in the third part of the Twelfth Dynasty.[24]

Apart from correspondences in the measurements of the halls of Sarenput II and QH33, there were other similarities in the design of the plan of the hall. In the southern wall of the latter, a chamber was found in the same place as another in Sarenput II's. Once again, the measurements and position coincided. Although the chamber of QH33 was originally constructed with the rest of the funerary complex, it contained three intact burials of the Late Period. Unfortunately, no Middle Kingdom material was found inside. Only some seal-impressions that once sealed the slab stones of the chamber were found just in front of the Late Period closing. They mention a certain individual named Amenemhat-Seneb, perhaps the same person whose seal-impressions were also found at the site of Elephantine.[25]

As in the case of Sarenput II, QH33 presents a second chamber in the south wall (sector C19), in a lower position and smaller than the former. This second chamber (C19) was found intact, with its original Middle Kingdom occupant. Two stone slabs closed the chamber. Although briefly opened in 2010,[26] the chamber was not opened definitively until 2013 because firstly it was necessary to excavate the area in front of the chamber in order to have the best conditions for their restoration team. When the slabs were removed there was a single burial consisting of two cedar coffins dated to the Middle Kingdom. The outer was very much decayed due to the ancient action of wood-boring insects, but the inner was in perfect condition. However, the inscriptions of both differed on one very important point; the outer was dedicated to a man, entitled as a priest (Fig. 2), whose name was lost; the inner was dedicated to a woman and the place for the owner's name remained blank. It was clear that the person buried in these contradictory coffins was a man, who deserved a burial according to his rank. For reasons unknown, perhaps the scarcity of cedar coffins available to the ruling family of Elephantine, led them to choose one destined for a female relative as an inner container.

[16] Jiménez Serrano *et al.*, *BAEE* 22, 34-7, plan 5, figs. 22-3. Unfortunately, both pieces were stolen from a MSA/SCA store in Elephantine in 2013 and it was not possible to conduct the analysis scheduled for 2014 in order to identify the materials from which were made.

[17] Jiménez Serrano *et al.*, *BAEE* 22, 50-1.

[18] Jiménez Serrano *et al.*, *BAEE* 23.

[19] In fact, there are five different women named Sattjeni in the ruling family of Elephantine, *cf.* Sánchez-León, Jiménez-Serrano, *ZÄS* 142.

[20] All the measurements are taken from the recent research carried out by Juan Antonio Martínez-Hermoso (Universidad de Córdoba), which will be included in his PhD dissertation "Representación gráfica y diseño de la tumba de Sarenput II (QH31). Arquitectura funeraria de la necrópolis de Qubbet el-Hawa", expected for 2015.

[21] The measurements of the Twelfth Dynasty chapels in the sanctuary of Heqaib in Elephantine can be found in Habachi, *Sanctuary of Heqaib*.

[22] QH33 (11.90 x 8.60 m) and QH31 (11.90 x 8.40 m), Jiménez Serrano, Martínez de Dios, Anguita Ordóñez, *BAEE* 18, 45.

[23] *Cf.* the plan of Heqaib II's chapel in Müller, *Die Felsengräber*, fig. 44.

[24] Jiménez Serrano *et al.*, *BAEE* 21, 125.

[25] Jiménez Serrano *et al.*, *BAEE* 22, 19 (with reference), fig. 7.

[26] Jiménez Serrano *et al.*, *BAEE* 20, 71, fig. 3.

In any case, the outer and visible coffin was individualised according to his gender, title and name.[27]

The mummy of the anonymous deceased was analysed in order to compare his vital features with those of Sarenput. On the left part of his belly appeared a dagger covered by bandages. The handle was composed of an elephant ivory pommel with the rest made of a dark exotic wood (most probably ebony) and silver. The blade was made of copper. The high quality of workmanship and the absence of wear on the blade indicate that it was an object which defined the high rank of the owner.

His body confirmed that, as in the case of the *jmj-r3 pr* Sarenput, he also died young (twenty one years old) and was also negroid. Future DNA analyses will confirm whether both were in any way related.

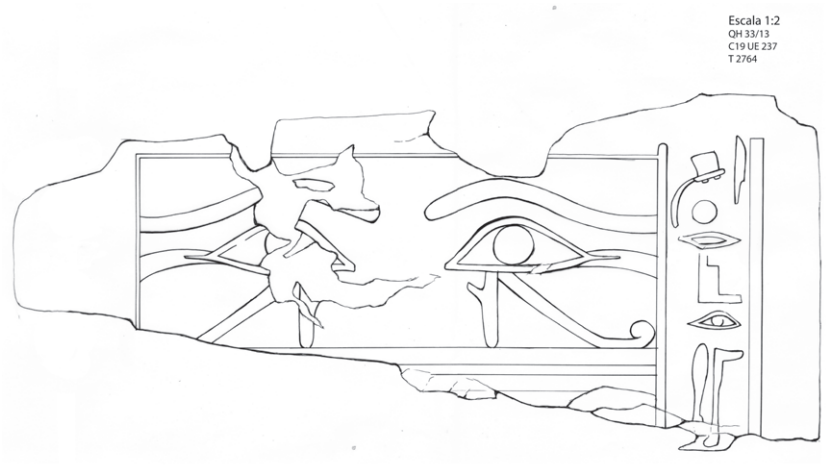

Fig. 2 - Drawing of the surviving text of the outer coffin discovered in the intact chamber (C19) of the anonymous priest, drawn by Ana Belén Jiménez Iglesias

All indications are that the ruling family of the Twelfth Dynasty in Elephantine had negroid features, as Habachi had already suggested from the statues that he found in Elephantine.[28]

The discovery of a governor's tomb

In the southwest side of the hall there is a secondary niche, much simpler than the main one. In contrast to the main niche excavated in the central nave, the southern niche presents no access by steps and no other decoration (such as a cavetto cornice or dado). But its situation (in the west wall) and its dimensions (similar to the central niche) seem to indicate that it was a place destined for a funerary statue and focus for a funerary cult, different to the one that would be carried out in the central *naos*. In addition, before the secondary *naos*, is a shaft 5 m deep. During the excavation process clear evidence of ancient looting were observed. In the western and eastern sides of the bottom are two different chambers.

In the east chamber the body of a woman was found inside two cedar coffins. The outer was completely decayed by the action of wood-boring insects and a few remains of texts confirm that it was decorated with the typical formulae found on Middle Kingdom coffins. In contrast, the inner, as in the case of the anonymous individual, was in much better condition and it was possible to establish that its occupant was named Gaut-Anuket.[29] In contrast to Sarenput and the anonymous individual, Gaut-Anuket's ethnic type was more Mediterranean.

Similar to the east chamber, the west room was also disturbed shortly after the last burial. In addition, insect activity had also affected the wooden containers. On first sight it seems that there were two burials, although the one situated in the north of the chamber might well be just a chest. It was emptied by the robbers and might well have been destined to hold diverse funerary equipment. Moreover, it had no decoration other than a thin coating of plaster. In contrast, in the south of the chamber the burial was intact. Inside an inscribed cedar coffin there was a body covered with a shroud and a mask made of *cartonnage* (Pl. xvii). Inside was a thirty year old man, who had suffered from severe scoliosis. On the head side of his single coffin the name of the deceased was found, Heqaib.[30] Although this name is very common amongst the male members of the ruling family of Elephantine, he can be identified from indirect pieces of evidence. The chronology of the use

[27] Jiménez Serrano *et al.*, *BAEE* 23.
[28] Habachi, *Sanctuary of Heqaib*, 49.

[29] The name of Gaut-Anuket has been read as Anuket-Kut (Habachi, *Sanctuary of Heqaib*, 45, 54) or Anuket-Gaut (Ranke, *PN*, 69.5), which were discussed by Franke, who finally proposed the reading of Gaut-Anuket, Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib*, 208-9. Gaut-Anuket is a name only belonging to women of the ruling family of Elephantine. Thus, there are three women chronologically identified: Gaut-Anuket I, Sarenput I's grandmother (Habachi, *Sanctuary of Heqaib*, 45), Gaut-Anuket II, Heqaib II's spouse and Heqaib-Ankh's mother, and the woman found in QH33, who probably was Heqaib III's wife. Apart from them, there is a statue of a certain Gaut-Anuket (Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, vol. II, 55, no. 464, pl. 77) who was member of the ruling family of Elephantine, but cannot with certainty be identified with the preceding individuals, as well as a stela found by Lady Cecil in Qubbet el-Hawa mentioning a woman with this name (Amherst of Hackney, *A sketch of Egyptian history*, pl. opposite page 78).
[30] Jiménez Serrano *et al.*, *BAEE* 22, 29-31. For the anthropological analysis, *cf.* Jiménez Serrano *et al.*, *BAEE* 23.

of the funerary complex QH33 indicated by the pottery was between Senwosret III and Amenemhat III. In the northwest of the shaft, just beside the west chamber, a pottery vessel with a hieratic inscription was found.[31] It reads: "The daughter of the *ḥ3tj-ʿ*, Sattjeni" (Fig. 3). Although, this name appears frequently amongst the women of the ruling family of Elephantine, just one is attested with this name at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty. She is well known from epigraphic data from the sanctuary of Heqaib: she married the governor Heqaib II (buried in QH30), with whom she had two sons, Heqaib III and Ameny-Seneb, who became governors.[32]

But there is another argument which points to this identification. In this sense, it is necessary to understand the space in which Heqaib was buried. His chamber was located directly under a *naos* (southern *naos*). After a brief view of the Middle Kingdom *naoi* in Qubbet el-Hawa, it can be confirmed that this structure was just constructed for the cult of the governors. QH33 is the only site in the necropolis that possesses two *naoi*, which implies that two governors occupied this funerary complex. Heqaib III was buried under the southern *naos*.

Thus, it seems very likely that Heqaib III began the construction of QH33, but died before the end of the work. Then, his brother Ameny-Seneb, after succeeding Heqaib III as governor,[33] decided to bury the latter in a completed part of the tomb, concretely in the main hall. As governor, Heqaib III deserved his own *naos* for his funerary cult. In order to resolve this obligation, Ameny-Seneb ordered a squared space to be cut into the rock, which could not have the typical decoration of the *naoi* (cavetto cornice, jambs and other architectural elements), because the hall was already finished and it would have broken the original plan of the hall. But this space might have accommodated a statue for the cult of Heqaib III.

Concerning the anthropological characteristics, the analysis of Heqaib III's remains show that his ethnic features were more Mediterranean, like Gaut-Anuket. Doubtless, these results were unexpected and opened many questions about who were buried in the funerary complexes at Qubbet el-Hawa and, overall, the complexity of the ruling family of Elephantine.

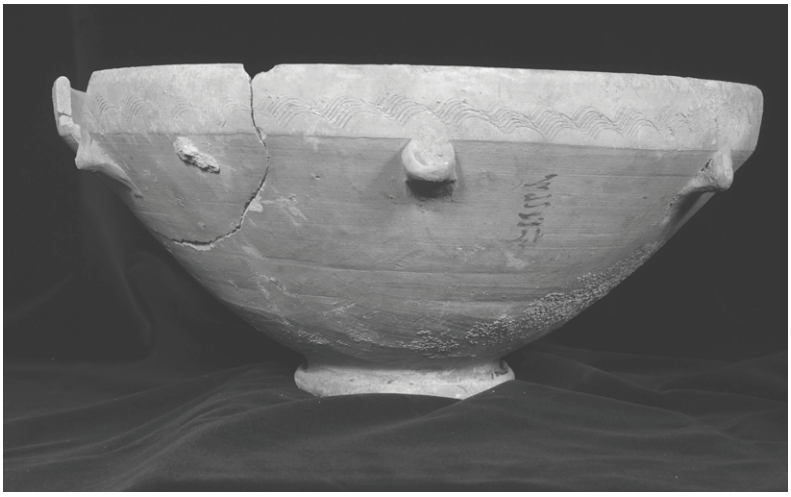

Fig. 3 - The vessel with Sattjeni's inscription

A large family with a common nexus: Sattjeni

The different ethnic types found in the individuals buried in QH33 at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty show the diversity of the members of the local élite. But the inscriptions permit us to go further. The *jmj-r3 pr* Sarenput had the same mother (Sattjeni) as Heqaib III, but they had physical differences. As briefly commented above, the former was negroid and the latter was closer to Mediterranean. This might only be explained because of the existence of different fathers. Heqaib III´s father is well-known thanks to the abundant epigraphic data which mentions the parent-child relationship,[34] while nothing about Sarenput was known before the discovery of his grave. However, epigraphic data from Sattjeni is much more abundant and not only related to the sons Heqaib III and Ameny-Seneb that she had with Heqaib II, and who later became governors.[35] She was also identified by Labib Habachi[36] as a member of a different family unit in which the husband is identified as Dedu-Amun who was an individual with negroid features. This situation might explain the different ethnic features that both of her children present.

Habachi already noted the negroid features of some of the governors of Elephantine, but there was no proof to confirm that the ruling family of Elephantine was composed of two different ethnic groups, Mediterranean and negroid. In short, the members of this family showed the char-

[31] A carinated bowl with incised decoration and ring base. Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery,* vol. I, 280, dated this type since the reign of Senwosret III.

[32] Sánchez-León, Jiménez-Serrano, *ZÄS* 142.

[33] About this succession, *cf*. Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib*, 41-3.

[34] Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib*, 42.

[35] As Heqaib III's mother, *cf.* Habachi, *Sanctuary of Heqaib*, 57; as Ameny-Seneb's mother, *cf. op. cit.*, 51, no. 21; 52, no. 23; 53, no. 26.

[36] *Op. cit.*, 60 with discussion and references. Habachi's interpretation is the departing point of ours, which is also based in Franke's reconstruction of the ruling family of Elephantine (*cf.* n. 34) at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty.

acteristics seen in the local society of Elephantine, where people with different ethnic features coexisted.[37]

More burials in QH33

Apart from the previously described burial of a governor at the bottom of a shaft, QH33 was constructed with another deeper shaft. The latter is preceded by an antechamber which opens to the north of the main *naos*. The archaeological material found in it during our fieldwork was chronologically diverse after different periods of plundering and re-occupations (early Eighteenth Dynasty and 9th-6th centuries BC). Fortunately, it was possible to find a late Twelfth Dynasty *shabti* most probably made from diorite. Under the head and on his legs is an inscribed band mentioning the name of the owner, Sene(t)-Ankh(w).[38] This female individual is completely unknown from the sources, but her name might be related to Sarenput II's successor, Ankhw.[39]

In 2014, the shaft was excavated completely without finding any epigraphic data from the late Twelfth Dynasty. Just another *shabti*, in this case made of wood and depicting a female figure, was found at the bottom of the main shaft, suggesting that more burials were carried out in the neighbouring rooms. In the south side of the main shaft, at the bottom, was found a chamber (denominated as C24) similar to the one situated at the top of the shaft. Unfortunately, later burials found in C24 will slow down the research of the oldest layers.

Conclusions

In spite of the fact that the fieldwork in the funerary complex QH33 is not completely finished some conclusions can be advanced concerning the local government at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty.

QH33 seems to have been the resting place of two governors. The body of Heqaib III was found in a disturbed chamber. For unknown reasons the early Thirteenth Dynasty looters respected his body, perhaps because the intruder knew that the mummy of the governor lacked any value or perhaps because of fear of the deceased (moreover a governor).

As seen, Heqaib III was buried under a *naos* that was not in the original plans of the chapel, as it is possible to conclude from its simplicity and lack of the architectural decoration compared to the main niche. Moreover, he was interred in the southern part of the funerary chamber when the rest of the main burials in the other funerary complexes were situated in the north. All these elements lead us to believe that the QH33 funerary complex was originally prepared for Heqaib III, whose death before the end of its construction prompted Ameny-Seneb, his brother and successor, into appropriating the unfinished monument, displacing his older brother to a secondary burial place. Ameny-Seneb continued the construction work in the main shaft.

The anthropological analyses of the bodies of the four members of the ruling family of Elephantine showed its complexity. The ruling family is far from the ideal representation of an Egyptian family composed of a couple and their offspring. In the case of the late Twelfth Dynasty ruling family of Elephantine, what can be seen is that their most important concern was the maintenance of descendants. Their abundance guaranteed the survival of the lineage.

The presence of at least two different branches of the same nuclear family in the same funerary complex indicates that the unifying individual was the holder of the dynastic lineage. In this case, we know for certain that that person was Sattjeni, since she was entitled "daughter of the *ḥ3tj-ʿ*". Moreover, none of her husbands is known to be related to the ruling family of Elephantine before their marriage.

[37] Seidlmayer, in Leder, Streck (eds.), *Akkulturation und Selbstbehauptung*, 103-7.
[38] Jiménez Serrano *et al*, *BAEE* 22, 13-5, fig. 2.
[39] Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib*, 39.

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In the Realm of Reputation: Private Life in Middle Kingdom Auto/biographies

Renata Landgráfová

Abstract

The Egyptian auto/biography is a complex and primarily commemorative genre that spans almost the entire existence of ancient Egyptian culture. The reason for the longevity of the genre lies primarily in its usefulness for the deceased – the auto/biography serves to create and maintain a good reputation for its owner, and through this, ultimately, his (social) immortality. The aim of the present paper is to examine the value system represented in Middle Kingdom auto/biographies using the definitions of reputation and its opposite, respectability, as coined by the anthropologist Peter Wilson. It is especially useful to examine the sphere of private life, which belongs primarily to the domain of respectability, and is generally considered to be absent from Egyptian auto/biographies in general. Yet, Middle Kingdom texts offer several apparent exceptions. The moments when the course of life does come to the fore in Middle Kingdom auto/biographies include three motives: that of birth, that of childhood and youth, and that of old age. The present study examines these cases and take a closer look at the private life and life cycle and the tension between the realms of reputation and respectability.

The Egyptian auto/biography[1] is a complex and primarily commemorative genre that spans almost the entire existence of ancient Egyptian culture. The oldest known auto/biography is that of Metjen,[2] who lived at the turn of the Third and Fourth Dynasties, and consists of little more than a commented titulary of the owner. The genre continued to flourish until the Graeco-Roman period, when, for the first time, women[3] could own auto/biographies.[4] The reason for the longevity of the genre lies primarily in its usefulness for the deceased – the auto/biography serves to create and maintain a good reputation (as the term was coined in anthropology by Peter Wilson)[5] for its owner, and through this, ultimately, his (social) immortality.[6]

Throughout its history, while retaining its main goals and a number of key features, the Egyptian auto/biog-

[1] This study was written within the Programme for the Development of Fields of Study at Charles University, No. P14 Archaeology of non-European regions, sub-programme Research of ancient Egyptian civilisation.

I am borrowing the term 'auto/biography' from Saunders, *Self Impression*, as neither autobiography nor biography is a term that fits the Egyptian texts exactly, and auto/biography covers precisely works that combine characteristics of both genres. While they are almost consistently written in the first person, it is often the case that someone else (usually, a or the eldest son) is mentioned as the author, or at least commissioner, of the text. We can also not be certain to what extent these texts were indeed authored by their owners (or their sons), and to what extent they were commissioned at a workshop including a scribe's service and thus, in contemporary terminology, 'ghost-written'. All owners of Egyptian auto/biographies belonged to the elite or upper middle class, and all were probably literate, so the possibility of their authorship of these texts cannot be sweepingly refuted.

[2] See Baines in Leahy, Tait (eds.), *Studies in honour of H. S. Smith*, 23-37.

[3] For the still open question of female literacy in the Middle Kingdom, *cf.* Grajetzki, *RdE* 60, 209-14.

[4] E.g. the texts of Taimhotep and Tanii. For the latest analysis of the text of Taimhotep see Panov, *LingAeg* 18, 169-91, for Tanii see Leahy, *GM* 108, 45-56. The auto/ may be superfluous in these cases. Taimhotep speaks from the grave in her text, which she most certainly did not compose herself (as it even contains the identification of the author, the priest (Hor)imhotep). Tanii's text is written in part in the first person (the titulary and epithets) and partially in the third person (the part of the text that describes the events after her death). Middle Kingdom women could have stelae set up for themselves, but they contain offering formulae and depictions, names and titles of various members of their families, *cf.* Stefanović, *GM* 218, 81-91; Stefanović, *GM* 220, 95-8.

[5] Wilson, *Crab Antics*.

[6] *Cf.* Horowitz, *NLH* 9, 173-9. In this short article, Horowitz analyses modern autobiography as the 'presentation of self for social immortality' – it is clear, and not only through the Call to the Living, that the Egyptian auto/biographers aimed for the same goal.

raphy also underwent profound changes which usually reflect the historical development of the country and the changing mentality, or seeing and defining one's self, connected with it.[7]

Middle Kingdom auto/biographies usually form parts of complex texts, the components of which include three genuinely auto/biographical parts, namely, the so-called 'ideal auto/biography',[8] the expository self-presentation[9] and the career auto/biography.[10] These texts (at least one of them, but often in combination) form the actual auto/biographical parts of the text compositions. They may be accompanied by one or more of the following: the *ḥtp-dj-nswt* offering formula,[11] the afterlife wishes,[12] the Call to the Living,[13] the tomb consecration formula,[14] and also threats and curses.[15] In the present study, we will focus only on the genuinely auto/biographical parts of these texts.

We have already mentioned that Middle Kingdom auto/biographies were, as a genre, directed at the building and maintaining of the auto/biographer's reputation. Reputation as the core of a value system was studied in great detail by the anthropologist Wilson, who based his observations on a small community in the Caribbean.[16] Without wanting to draw parallels between the ancient Egyptian society and that of the Caribbean, Wilson's definition of reputation appears to be to a large extent applicable to the value system expressed in Egyptian Middle Kingdom auto/biographies and can provide us with a useful general framework within which these texts can be viewed. In P. Wilson's terminology,[17] reputation is a value system that emphasises skills and experience, expressive (rhetorical) skills, fatherhood and sexual adventures. Of those, only the latter is one that is (almost, *cf*. below) absent from Middle Kingdom auto/biographies. In Wilson's system, reputation is the realm of men, whereas for women a different value system is central, namely that of respectability, emphasising marriage and the home, self-restraint and work.[18] The sphere of private life, which belongs primarily to the domain of respectability, is generally considered to be absent from Egyptian auto/biographies in general.[19] Yet, Middle Kingdom texts[20] offer several apparent exceptions, and the life cycle, in the form of the explicit identification of the stages of the life of the autobiographer, appears more frequently. Altogether, 25 examples from 22 different texts have been identified as connected to the life cycle and/or private life of the owner, which amounts to 11% of the approximately 200 Middle Kingdom auto/biographies known today. The moments when the course of life does come to the fore in Middle Kingdom auto/biographies[21]

[7] For the development of the Egyptian auto/biography, see Gnirs, in Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 191-241.

[8] We define 'Ideal auto/biography' in a narrow sense to cover the set of standardised phrases, such as "I gave bread to the hungry" and their variations. They assert that the owner had lived in accordance with the principles of *ma'at*, but have no claims on being 'real' in detail.

[9] Close to what Gnirs, in Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 205, has termed 'encomiastic autobiography', but to be understood in a wider sense to refer to all of the more or less standardized or innovative laudatory epithets that assert the owner's (exceptional) success in performing his duties and tasks, his extraordinary talents and innate abilities, and the favours bestowed upon him by the king. While it is clear that many of the individual phrases of the expository self-presentation were part of a common 'text-base' of the time and might have also at times been copied directly from one stela to another, see Leprohon, in Silverman, Simpson, Wegner (eds.), *Archaism and Innovation*, 277-92, no two texts are exactly the same and the selection and composition of these phrases seems to reflect the owner's idea of his self.

[10] The career auto/biography offers highlights of the owner's career and is usually, but not exclusively, written in narrative style.

[11] Franke, *JEA* 89, 39-57.The auto/biographies often contain more than one example of this formula.

[12] A highly standardised collection of Osirian wishes for the deceased, also known as the Abydos Formula, *cf.* Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies*, 55-9, 129.

[13] A highly standardised address to future passers-by, asking them to stop and read the text of the auto/biography or listen to it as it is read to them, followed by a request for offerings or, "if there is nothing in [the] hands [of the passers-by]" (Stela of Meru, Turin Supp. 1447), recitation of the offering formula. For an overview *cf.* Shubert, *Those who (still) Live on Earth*.

[14] A standardised text asserting that the owner has built his tomb in an ancient cemetery in order to dwell with his ancestors, *cf.* Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies*, 67, 73, 91, 95.

[15] Formulae that usually appear at the end of the text and warn anyone harbouring harmful intentions against the deceased's tomb, stela or inscriptions. Morschauser, *Threat-formulae*.

[16] Wilson, *Crab Antics*.

[17] Summarised by Boucher, *TOTEM* 11/1, 85.

[18] *Op. cit.*, 85. While Wilson draws a strict dividing line between the two value systems, seeing reputation as indigenous and male, whereas respectability as introduced by the Western world and female, *op. cit.*, 85-7 shows that in fact, both value systems are largely indigenous and both sexes partake of both of them, even though respectability remains primarily the domain of women and reputation that of men (and women partake in it only indirectly, though their sons).

[19] With the exception of some very late texts. *Cf.* Gnirs, in Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 197.

[20] Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies*; Kubisch, *Lebensbilder der 2. Zwischenzeit*; Landgráfová, *It is my Good Name*.

[21] This, in fact, seems to also be true for auto/biographies in general. Thus, for example, James Olney writing about modern auto/biography, states that "*bios* should not be understood as 'the course of a lifetime', but as the spirit, vital principle, the act of consciousness, a transcendent reality, a mode of living, a certain set of personality and character", *cf.* Olney, *Autobiography*, 239.

include three motives: that of birth, that of childhood and youth, and that of old age. In the ensuing text, we will examine these cases and take a closer look at the private life and life cycle and a suspected tension between the realms of reputation and respectability.

Birth

Ex. 1 – Stela of Samontu (BM EA 828, 2-3),[22] time of Amenemhet II

ms(*.w*)*=j m rk ḫm n nswt-bjtj sḫtp-jb-rᶜ mɜᶜ-ḫrw*
I was born in the time of the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Sehetepibre, justified

Ex. 2 – Stela of Wepwawetaa (Leiden V4 = AP 63, 5-6),[23] temp. Amenemhet II

ms.n.tw=j m sɜɜ=f jr=f
I was born as one who was wise in his doing

Ex. 3 – Stela of Khusobek (Manchester 3306, 10),[24] temp. Sesostris III

ms(*.w=j*) [*m rnp.t*] *27 ḫr ḫm n nswt-bjtj nbw-kɜ.w-rᶜ mɜᶜ-ḫrw*
I was born [in year] 27 under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nubkaure, justified

Examples 1 and 3 are equivalent – they mention the owner's birth in order to situate his life in time, to date him. Samontu's stela itself is dated to year 3 of Amenemhet II, but according to the stela, he lived under three kings, Amenemhet I, Sesostris I (under whom he had grown up), and Amenemhet II (under whom his career unfolded). With the mention of the three kings and his situation under each of them ('birth' under Amenemhet I, reaching 'maturity'[25] under Sesostris I, and 'royal official' under Amenemhet II), Samontu's auto/biography could indeed almost be regarded as a description of his lifetime as it unfolded, but the following text contains solely a listing of his appointments up to his final rank, scribe of the royal registrar (*zš ᶜ nswt*).

The dating of the birth of Khusobek in example 3 is more precise, down to the regnal year, but the mention of Khusobek's birth seems to be equally motivated by his having lived under more than one king. In the case of Khusobek, he was born in year 27 of Amenemhet II. Interestingly, he leaves out the 5 years of his childhood under the sole reign of Sesostris II[26] completely (the king is not even mentioned on the stela), and goes on to describe his military career, which unfolded under Sesostris III. Sesostris II is clearly left out because of the short reign of this king, during which Khusobek remained a child and achieved no promotions.[27] The time is thus irrelevant for Khusobek's auto/biography, which is an account of Khusobek's military valour, successes and rewards in the service of his king.

Example 2 is different from the other two. The theme of birth does not serve to date the stela, and, also unlike the two previous examples, does not start the actual auto/biographical account. The phrase "I was born as one who was wise in his doing" appears in the middle of a long string of laudatory epithets, and serves basically as one of them, asserting Wepwawetaa's innate abilities (and contrasting them, or rather mentioning them alongside, the favours accorded to him by the king). Like in the case of Samontu, Wepwawetaa's text also includes statements relating his early ascent into office (*cf.* below).

Childhood and Youth

There are several expressions that the auto/biographies of the Middle Kingdom use for 'child' and/or 'youth'. Of these, *ḫrd*(*.w*), "child(hood)", and *nḫn*(*.t*), "youth", are the most frequent. Unfortunately, the term *ḫrd* does not tell us much about the actual age of the 'child' to which it refers, as it can be used for a baby as well as a fully grown young man.[28] The examples are as follows:

Ex. 4 – Inscription of Renu (Hatnub Gr. 28, 5), time of Amenemhet I[29]

jr.n=j wᶜb sḫnt=j m ḫrd[*.w=j...*] *n-ᶜɜ.t-n ḥzz wj nb=j*
I became a *wab* priest, I was promoted in [my] child[-

[22] Photograph as well as bibliography available online at the British Museum: <http://www.britishmuseum.org>, accessed 15. 6. 2014.
[23] Boeser, *De Monumenten*, vol. I, 3, pl. 4.
[24] Baines, in Osing, Dreyer (eds.), *Form und Mass*, 45-61, pl. 1.
[25] *ṯɜz-mḏḥ*, the transformation from a child to a young man and the time when the young man is ready to take up office. See Feucht, *Das Kind im Alten Ägypten*, 238-42.
[26] For the chronology *cf.* Schneider, in Hornung, Warburton, Krauss (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology,* 172. For the reign of Amenemhet II, see Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt*, 48-51.
[27] Khusobek would have been about 12 years old at the succession of Sesostris III. Unfortunately, we do not know at what age Egyptian boys performed the *ṯɜz-mḏḥ* ceremony and became of age to hold the first offices (*cf.* Feucht, *Das Kind im Alten Ägypten*, 238-42). According to the much later p. Insinger, childhood amounted 10 years, and learning another 10 (Feucht, *Das Kind im Alten Ägypten*, 556), and if this is relevant for the Middle Kingdon, Khusobek would have just entered schooling.
[28] Feucht, *Das Kind im Alten Ägypten*, 537-9.
[29] Gestermann, *ZÄS* 135, 1-15; according to Edward Brovarski, the years of the nomarch Nehri correspond to the reign of Mentuhotep II and the final stages of the fighting for the unification of Egypt; *cf.* Brovarski, in Woods, McFarlane, Binder (eds.), *Studies in honour of Naguib Kanawati*, 31-86.

hood] [...] because my lord praised me

Ex. 5 – Sebekemhat (Hatnub Gr. 22, 2-3), time of Amenemhet I[30]

jr m wn=j m ḫrd wn=j m smr zj n(.j) ᶜ-ḥn.wtj n sn.nw=f
As for (the time) when I was a child, I was (already) a companion (of the king), a man of the inner apartments of the palace without a second

Ex. 6 – N-nakht (Hatnub Gr. 16), time of Amenemhet I[31]

wn=j m ḫrd n jdn.w wj
(Already) when I was a child, I had no deputy (lit. 'was not replaced')

Ex. 7 – Stela of Antef (Louvre C 168, x+4), time of Sesostris I

pr.n=j m jz<.t> m ḫrd.w(=j) zḫ3 r jr.t šfḏ.w m pr-nswt
I came out of the palace in (my) childhood, (as) a scribe to make papyrus rolls in the royal palace

Ex. 8 – Igay-hetep (Kumma 16-E-2/32, National Museum Khartoum), time of Sesostris III[32]

ṯz.tw(=f) r smr jw=f m ḫrd
(He)[33] was raised to companion when he was a child

The second term that appears just as frequently as *ḫrd*(.*w*) is *nḫn.t*, translated as "youth". Just as with *ḫrd*, though, *nḫn* too can refer to a broad range of ages from a newborn baby to a young man.[34] The examples are as follows:

Ex. 9 – Stela of Rediukhnum (Cairo CG 20543, 10-11), temp. Antef II

ḫpr.n(=j) ḫr rd.wj ḥm.t=s [*ḏr*] *nḫnw.t(=j) n.t tp-ᶜ.wj jḫr rḫ=s jḳr s.t-ᶜ(=j) mḏd(=j) mṯn n sr.w*
I grew up under the feet of Her Majesty [since] (my) earliest youth, because she knew that (my) actions were excellent and that I followed the path of the officials

Ex. 10 – Antef, son of Tjefi (MMA 57.95, 5), temp. Mentuhotep II

tm.n ḫpr zp th m ᶜ=f ḏr ḥ3.t(=j) r jr.t jp.wt jsṯ w(j) m-ḫn.w nḫn.t=j m dd nswt zj r j3.t=f m ḥ33 zj m s.t jtj(=f)
One by whose hand never happened an occasion of wrongdoing since I descended (*i.e.* was appointed) to doing missions – I was then within my youth, when the king (usually) appoints a man to his office, when a man (usually) assumes (his) father's position

Ex. 11 – Stela of Sahathor (BM EA 569, 5), temp. Amenemhet II

jr.n=j bj3 m nḫn.t(=j) d3r.n=j wr.w r wᶜb.t nbw
I went on a mining expedition in my youth, and I forced (lit. 'suppressed') the chieftains to wash gold

Ex. 12 – Stela of Wepwawetaa (Leiden V4 = AP 63, 4-5), temp. Amenemhet II

jr.n=j j3.t jw=j m nḫn.t(=j) wᶜb.n=j r tr=j n s33
I performed office (already) when I was in (my) youth, I became a priest at my time of becoming knowledgeable

Ex. 13 – Stela of Semti (BM EA 574, 2-4), temp. Amenemhet II

jw dj.n wj ḫm=f r rd.wj=f m nḫn.t(=j) dm(.w) rn=j ḫnt mj.tjw=j
His Majesty placed me at his feet in (my) youth, and my name was pronounced before (those of) my equals

In two examples, the term used to refer to the youth of the text owner is *sḏ.tj* "(foster-)child". From these two examples alone, it would seem that *sḏ.tj* refers to a still small child in need of care.[35] Neither of the following two examples are in the first person, as is usual for auto/biographies. Example 14 is in the second person, as it refers to the son of the actual auto/biographer, Khnumhotep II:

Ex. 14 – Tomb inscription of Khnumhotep II (Beni Hassan Tomb 3, 184-185), temp. Amenemhet II

ḥḳ3.n=f njw.t=f m sḏ.tj n fḫ.t=f m ṯ3m jr.n=f wp.tj nswt
He[36] governed his city as a (foster-)child, before he was freed of the foreskin, he acted as a royal messenger

Khnumhotep's example is interesting, as it explicitly refers to the turning point when a boy became a man, that is, when he is circumcised[37] as the rite of passage of a boy from childhood. The age when circumcision was performed is estimated at about 12, but unfortunately, as our evidence is scarce and the ritual was not regularly performed after the Middle Kingdom,[38] the exact age at

[30] Gestermann, *ZÄS* 135, 1-15.
[31] *Op. Cit.*, 1-15.
[32] Hintze, Reineke, *Felsinschriften aus dem sudanesischen Nubien*, vol. I, 109-10.
[33] Or 'I was raised to companion when he (*i.e.* the king) was still a child', but such phrase seems to make little sense in the context. Third person auto/biography is not unheard of in ancient Egypt or in modern times.
[34] Feucht, *Das Kind im Alten Ägypten*, 527.
[35] Feucht, *Das Kind im Alten Ägypten*, 230-1, with no specification of the age (range) of the *sḏ.tj*.
[36] The pronoun refers to Khnumhotep's son Nehri and the text seems to be a third person auto/biography – in this part of the text, Nehri is the main character. Whether the mind behind this text is to be attributed to Khnumhtep, Nehri, or someone else altogether remains, unfortunately, unknown.
[37] For circumcision see Janssen, Janssen, *Growing up in Ancient Egypt*, 93-7 and Quack, in Berlejung, Dietrich, Quack (eds.), *Menschenbilder und Körperkonzepte*, 561-651, with further references. For the word *ṯ3m*/*mṯ3*/*mṯ3m* as "foreskin" *cf.* Willems, in Flossmann-Schütze *et al.* (eds.), *Tuna el-Gebel 4.*, 553-8.
[38] Meskell, *Private life*, 88.

which boys were circumcised and deemed fit to enter offices must remain uncertain.

Ex. 15 – Ikhernefret (Berlin 1204, 6), temp. Sesostris III

> *jw ḫpr.n=k js m sḏ.tj ḥm=j sbȝ.tj wˁ n ˁḥ=j*
> You have indeed grown up as a foster-child of My Majesty, the sole pupil of my palace
> (quotation from a royal letter)

Ex. 16 – Ikhernefret (Berlin 1204, 7), temp. Sesostris III

> *jw dj.n ṯw ḥm=j r smr jw=k m ḫwn n rnp.t 26*
> My Majesty appointed you as a courtier when you were a young man of 26 years
> (quotation from a royal letter)

This example is interesting because Ikhernofret is apparently not saying that he had entered the rank of a courtier at a particularly early age – at 26, the man was no child under any interpretation of the word. While the word *ḫwn* can be translated as and indeed also used to mean "child", it can, besides the present case, also refer to a man in his thirties.[39] It is therefore likely that *ḫwn* is a more general term and refers to youthful vigour rather than childhood or very young age.

In one exceptional case, we actually do learn something about the auto/biographer's childhood, namely that he had become an orphan:[40]

Ex. 17 – Mentuhotep (Cambridge E.9.1922),[41] early Twelfth Dynasty[42]

> *jnk gr.t tp.j m ḏȝm=f sḫḏ n ˁpr.w=f gm.w ṯȝz wšd.t(w)=f jrj=f wšb m-zp r zp=f ḳb mw šzp t r tr=f jdn.n n=f sḫr=f mw.t m-ḫn.t jtj ḫr jrj gm <n>=k zȝ=j nfr ḳd sbȝ.n bjȝ.t=f mj ḫrd ḫpr m-ˁ jtj jw sk (w)j gr.t wȝ.kwj r nmḥ ḫrp.n=j kȝ jr.n=j kȝ sḫpr.n=j sšm=j m wˁ.tj=j ḳd.n=j pr šȝd. n=j š ḥm-nṯr mnṯ.w-ḥtp.w*
> I was, furthermore, the first in his generation, inspector of his gang of workmen, one who always found the (appropriate) phrase when he was addressed, making the answer at once and to the point, who libated water and received bread in his time, one to whom his conduct replaced a mother within and a father at (saying): 'Do and find out <for> yourself, my son!'; one good-natured, whom his character taught like a child who was brought up with a father, when, actually, I had become an orphan. I handled (lit. 'controlled') bull(s) only after I had acquired (lit. 'made') bull(s); I developed my business with my (own) goat(s). I built a house, I dug a lake – the priest Mentuhotep

Mentuhotep's account starts with a short call to the living (not translated here), and continues with a more or less traditional string of laudatory epithets ascribing to him the characteristics that were in vogue at the time, namely leadership skills and rhetorical abilities. After a short phrase describing his actions as a priest, he continues by actually giving a detail of his life – namely, that he had grown up as an orphan.[43] The orphan (*nmḥ*) was in the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty a common topos of auto/biographies, the prototype of a disadvantaged child who needed the help of local high officials.[44] However, instead of concentrating on the hardships that he faced growing up without parents, Mentuhotep uses the unfavourable circumstances of his childhood to bring in to focus the exceptionality of his character and abilities. Thus, his character, nature and conduct (*bjȝ*, *ḳd*, *sḫr*) not only enabled him to grow up successfully, but also made him rise to excellence, to ranks to which otherwise (and this seems to be the main, albeit tacit, claim of this short auto/biography) only those brought up by their parents could aspire. In the (short) remainder of the text, the claim is that he developed his business on the basis of cattle that he acquired all by himself (again implicitly as opposed to most successful Egyptians, who would be starting with an inheritance from their parents).[45]

Apparent exceptions to the career auto/biographies

Besides the last example of the orphan Mentuhotep, there are several cases where Middle Kingdom auto/biographies seem to concentrate on aspects of private life besides or even instead of on the career progression of their protagonists.

Ex. 18 – Stela of Hetepi (SCA magazine Edfu, 8),[46] time of Antef II

> *jw gr.t jr.n(=j) ḥm.t ḫr tȝy*[*.t*] *sk jnk js ḫpr.w ḥnˁ mw.t n.t*

[39] A late example from Abusir el-Meleq: a man was a *ḫwn* of 36 years when he died, TLA DZA 26.650.640.

[40] According to Janssen, Janssen, *Growing up in Ancient Egypt*, 100. Mentuhotep may have used the word *nmḥ* in its meaning of 'simple citizen', but the context makes it clear that 'orphan' must be meant here.

[41] Bourriau, *Pharaohs and mortals*, 21-2; Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib*, 18, n. 52; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies*, 68-9, pl. 4.

[42] Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib*, 18, n. 52.

[43] Growing up as an orphan cannot be dismissed as a *topos* of the time – while it is good tradition to claim to have nourished and/or protected orphans, auto/biographers do not usually claim that they grew up as orphans themselves. For epithets reflecting the common *topoi*, *cf.* Doxey, *Egyptian non-royal epithets*.

[44] For the concept of orphan and the topos of caring for orphans in Middle Kingdom Egypt, see Kóthay, *AOASH* 46, 151-6.

[45] Janssen, Janssen, *Getting Old in Ancient Egypt*, 46.

[46] Gabra, *MDAIK* 32, 45-56.

jtj=s jtj n(j) mw.t=s jw ms.n=s ḫ.t 12 jw swḏ.n(=j) ḫr<d. w=j> pr=sn
Furthermore, I married a woman at the gate(?),[47] actually, I was also one who was brought up with[48] the mother of her father and the father of her mother. She gave birth to 12 children (lit. 'bodies'). I made <my> chil<dren> and their household(s) prosper

The auto/biography of Hetepi consists of eight lines of hieroglyphic text, and the first seven lines (as well as, actually, most of the eighth line) contain an account of Hetepi's career and favoured status with the king – it describes Hetepi's participation in royal military campaigns, his activities at a time of famine, working as temple inspector and finally also initiating (*bzj*)[49] priests. At the very end of the crammed eighth line, however, comes something otherwise unattested in Middle Kingdom auto/biographies: a short account of the owner's family life. We learn that Hetepi married a woman with whom he had grown up in the household of her grandparents, and that his wife gave birth to twelve children. The wife and children are otherwise absent in Middle Kingdom auto/biographies, with the exception of the eldest son who is often also the one who had the stela made or the tomb finished.[50] And even here, in Hetepi's text, the private life segment looks like it has been added only after the text of the stela had been composed, as a kind of afterthought, forcing the entire eighth line to abandon the (relatively) neat structure of the rest of the stela in order to cram in as much text as possible.

Ex. 19 – Heqaib (Qubbet el-Hawa 28, 1-2), early to mid-Twelfth Dynasty[51]

jw jr.n(=j) ḫrd(.w) jr.n(=j) nḏs ḫntš.n(=j) jᶜ.n(=j) jb(=j) jr.n(=j) ȝ.t nfr.t ḥnᶜ ḥm.wt jr.n(=j) st jw pr=j grg(.w) nfr wr.t jr mjt.j(=j) nb[52]
I spent (my) childhood being an able young man.[53] I walked about freely while making my heart happy, and I spent a good time with women while I was having intercourse with (lit. 'doing')[54] the[m].[55] My house[56] was much better equipped than (that of) any of (my) equals

The text quoted here is most of the text on the north wall of the chapel of Heqaib's tomb.[57] Other texts containing parts of his auto/biography appear on the north[58] and south[59] walls of the cult chamber and on the left door jamb in the façade,[60] and they include both traditional epithets and quite unique auto/biographical phrases referring to Heqaib's prowess with weapons and in hunting.[61] However, the longest narrative text does not refer to Heqaib's career or professional abilities, but concentrates solely on his private life and on "following his heart", even having enjoyed sexual activities with an unspecified number of women. Nonetheless, Heqaib's auto/biography is most certainly not a 'naïve confession'.[62] The concept of "following one's heart", *i.e.* being able to relax and enjoy one's leisure time, is an important one in contemporary wisdom literature,[63] and it would seem that Heqaib has identified an aspect of life that, while important, rarely found its way into Egyptian auto/biographies, and through it, a unique way of self-expression well within the norms of lifestyle of Middle Kingdom high officials.[64]

A different, but equally interesting concept is expressed in the late Eleventh Dynasty[65] auto/biography of Hetep. In lines 5-6, he speaks about his more than close relationship to his mistress (*nb.t*), unnamed on the stela:[66]

[47] Only the O16 sign is visible. It is tempting to see in this phrase an allusion to a sort of wedding ceremony, but since there is no evidence of any marriage rites in pharaonic Egypt (Janssen, Janssen, *Growing up in Ancient Egypt*, 109), the meaning remains enigmatic.
[48] With Buchberger, *Transformation und Transformat*, 427 and n. 82, "with" should not be read as growing up alongside, but growing up in the house of – *i.e.* probably, alongside his future wife.
[49] See Haikal, in Frood, McDonald (eds.), *Decorum and experience*, 135-40.
[50] Interestingly, this is also the case in many modern auto/biographies, *cf.* Olney, in Olney (ed.), *Autobiography*, 25.
[51] Backes, *ZÄS* 135, 97-103.
[52] Reading after Edel, *Die Felsgräbernekropole*, 288-9, pl. 20.
[53] For the concept of *nḏs*, *cf.* Franke, *GM* 167, 33-48.
[54] For *jrj ḥm.t* as "having intercourse with a woman", *cf.* already Gardiner, *ZÄS* 45, 130.
[55] For an unmarried man, having intercourse with unmarried women does not seem to have been problematic in ancient Egypt, *cf.* Landgráfová, Navrátilová, in Mařík ová Vlčková, Mynářová, Tomášek (eds.), *My Things Changed Things*, 34-46.
[56] This sentence appears to be strangely out of context here. Possibly the "house" may be an early example of the metaphor known above all from the Ramesside love songs, which include many architectural metaphors for the erotic and sexual domains. *Cf.* Vinson, in Landgráfová, Navrátilová (eds.), *Sex and the Golden Goddess II*, 25.
[57] Text A of Sethe, *Urk*. VII, 9.
[58] Sethe, *Urk*. VII, 10, Text E; Edel, *Die Felsgräbernekropole*, 291-2.
[59] Sethe, *Urk*. VII, 10, Text B; Edel, *Die Felsgräbernekropole*, 284, pl. 18.
[60] Sethe, *Urk*. VII, 10, Text D; Edel, *Die Felsgräbernekropole*, 283, pl. 16.
[61] Edel, *Die Felsgräbernekropole*, 292.
[62] Gardiner, *ZÄS* 45, 130.
[63] Junge, *Die Lehre Ptahhoteps*, 193.
[64] Similarly, and interestingly Backes, *ZÄS* 135, 100.
[65] Schenkel, *Memphis, Herakleopolis, Theben*, 299-300.
[66] If the *ḫkr.t nswt wᶜt.t* Iku, to whom Hetep libated according to lines 5-6, is the same one as Iku, mother of the nomarch Antef the Great, the forefather of the Eleventh dynasty, mentioned on the stela of Maati (MMA 14.2.7, Cléré, Vandier,

Ex. 20 – Hetep (Cairo 20506, 5-6), late Eleventh dynasty

> *jnk jwjw sḏr m ḫn tẓm n ḥnk*(*.yt*) *mr.n ḥn.wt=f*
> I am a dog who sleeps in a tent, a hound for (or of?) the bed, whom his mistress loved

There are other Egyptian officials whose auto/biographies tell us that they served women, notably Rediukhnum[67] who served queen Nefrukayet, but they usually speak about the offices and tasks the men performed for their mistresses, and not about a relationship that would include bed-warming duties. But while this phrase probably indeed indicates that the ancient Egyptians would sometimes take their pets to bed with them,[68] there may be an alternative explanation to Hetep's phrase regarding his relationship to his mistress. The dog is a productive metaphor in Egyptian.[69] Most of the attestations come from the New Kingdom[70] and refer to enemies of the Egyptian king, but they can mostly be shown to be derived over the conventional metaphor DOG = SUBMISSION.[71] It is possible that another or even the original metaphorical use of the dog may have been DOG = OBEDIENCE or the like, and the two dog metaphors in Hetep's auto/biography only tell us that Hetep was a loyal, trusted and close servant of his mistress, just like the dog she would keep close at all times.

Old age and death

The final theme related to private life that appears in Middle Kingdom auto/biographies is that of old age and death. Once again, rather than describing the reality of life as an old man, they use the topic of old age to emphasise aspects of the protagonists successful careers and righteous living.

Ex. 21 – Henwen (Cairo E. 36346, 10), time of Mentuhotep I[72]

> *… jš.wt*(*=j*) *tp tȝ m-ᶜ zȝ*(*=j*) *jwᶜ.w=j m sḫȝ.y*(*=j*) *sṯ sw m zš* [...]
> … my possession on earth being in the hand of my son, my heir as one who shall keep the memory of me alive, for he is a scribe […]

Henwen says that, in accordance with the Egyptian tradition, he passed his possessions on to his eldest son. While keeping the memory of the father alive (and his funerary cult going) was the traditional task of the eldest son in ancient Egypt, the conscious connection between maintaining the memory of the father and being a scribe, *i.e.* literate, is interesting here.

Ex. 22 – Antef, son of Senet (BM EA 572, 8-9), temp. Sesostris I[73]

> *dj*(*.w*) *n=j pḥ jȝ*(*w.t*) *ms.w=j nb* (*m*) *jȝw.t m pr-nswt*
> I was granted to reach old age with all my children (holding) offices in the royal palace

Ex. 23 – Mentuwosre (Firenze 1774, 6-7), early Twelfth Dynasty[74]

> *jnk spd ḫr ḫrp mr.wt=f r jw hrw nfr*(*.w*) *n=j jm=f dd.n=j*(sic!) *st n zȝ=j m jm.jt-pr*
> I was one attentive in leading his subordinates, until the day came on which it went well for me[75] and then I gave them (the sub-ordinates) to my son in a testament

Ex. 24 – Beb (Leiden V 88, 11-12),[76] Twelfth Dynasty

> *swḏ.n*(*=j*) *wp.wt*(*=j*) *n zȝ=j jw*(*=j*) *ᶜnḫ.kwj jr.n=j n=f jm.jt-pr m-ḫȝ.w jr.t.n jtj=j pr=j grg.w ḫr snṯ.t=f sḫ.t=j m s.t=s nn tš.t=s jš.wt nb.t m s.t jr.j*
> I handed over my assignment to my son while I was still alive, I made for him a testament greater than that which my father had made, my house having been established on its ground-plan, my field being in its place, with nothing of it missing, all things being in their respective place

All the above examples concentrate on the traditional passing of property from the father to the son or children.[77] The protagonists of these auto/biographies do not tell us anything specific from their lives, but merely stress that their lives were successful up to the very end and beyond.

Ex. 25 – Netjeruhetep (Hatnub Gr. 14, 13)[78]

> *pr.n=j ᶜȝ r ḫw.t-nbw m zj n rnp.t 73*
> I came here to Hatnub as a man of 73 years

Textes de la Première Période Intermédiaire, 8-9), then she cannot be the mistress who favoured Hetep.

[67] Stela Cairo 20543, time of Antef II, from Dendera.

[68] Zahradnik, *Der Hund*, 254.

[69] Animals are cross-linguistically very productive and favourite source domains of metaphors, *cf.* Kövecses, *Metaphor*, 19.

[70] For examples of the use of the dog metaphor, see Hsu, *JEgH* 6, 1-18, esp. 11.

[71] For the concept of conventional metaphor, see Lakoff, in Ortony (ed.), *Metaphor and Thought*, 202-51.

[72] He served under three kings, all of whom are mentioned in his auto/biography –Antef II, Antef III and Mentuhotep I– the stela was made under the latter.

[73] Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, ANOC 5.1, pl. 12.

[74] Fischer, *RdE* 24, 64-71.

[75] The meaning is clearly "the day on which I died". Gramatically, *nfr* can either be a relative form – *hrw nfr*(*.w*)*.n=j jm=f*, "the day on which I became good/complete" or a passive participle – *hrw nfr*(*.w*) *n=j jm=f*, "the day on which it was good/completed for me". See Gardiner, *Grammar*, 307.

[76] Boeser, *De Monumenten,* 5 (Nr. 11), pl. 10.

[77] Janssen, Janssen, *Getting Old in Ancient Egypt*, 46.

[78] *Nṯr.w-ḥtp.w*; Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, 193, 32-4.

Netjeruhetep's text describes his long and interesting career as overseer of the fleet, travelling the Nile on assignments of the king. The sentence quoted here comes towards the end of the inscription and is followed only by the oath of veracity.[79]

Conclusions

We have seen that motifs connected with private life are mostly used for very distinct purposes in Middle Kingdom auto/biographies. The protagonist's birth is either used to situate his career in time (examples 1 and 3), or to emphasise his innate abilities, which formed the basis of his success (example 2). The latter is also frequently the motivation for mentioning childhood (while there are texts that consciously evade it as insignificant, a proceeding which becomes visible in example 3). The protagonist is said to have entered his career at an unusually young age due to the quality of his character and abilities. Example 14 shows that the time before circumcision, *i.e.* the time of passage from boyhood to manhood, meaning a career beginning before reaching 12 years of age (if the scanty data about circumcision can be taken for a reliable guide).

The motif of old age, on the other hand, is exclusively used to show that the protagonist's life culminated in the passing of his office and/or possessions to his son or children. The sole exception, example 25, is a career statement parallel to the childhood motifs – the protagonist's rigour and abilities were such that he was able to successfully lead an expedition to the alabaster mines at Hatnub at the advanced age of 73 years.

It is in this context that we must regard the apparent exceptions – the testimonies of the orphan Mentuhotep (example 17), the bon vivant Heqaib (example 19), and the meekly loyal Hetep (example 20). A close examination of these texts has shown that, far from being exceptions stressing their private lives, these men have rather ingeniously used unusual motifs for their auto/biographies to show off their exceptional ability to build a career under less than favourable circumstances (Mentuhotep), their compliance to the rules of ma'at and the rightful behaviour dictated by wisdom literature (Heqaib, who also adds the aspect of sexual prowess to the reputation values expressed in Middle Kingdom auto/biographies), and their extreme and over-the-board loyalty to their superior (the 'dog-like' Hetep). These texts remain completely within the value system of reputation, which is characteristic for the genre of Middle Kingdom auto/biography, perhaps even more so by their eloquence.

The sole example that indeed speaks about an aspect of respectability –and private life– of its protagonist thus remains the stela of Hetep (example 18). Two things are significant in connection with this text. Firstly, the aspects of private life mentioned are marriage, founding a household, fathering children and taking care of them – essentially themes belonging to the realm of respectability. Secondly, this part of the text is crammed into insufficient space at the very end of the last line of the stela, as an afterthought and addition to the already composed text. This shows that, while respectability was by no means insignificant to the Middle Kingdom official (and contemporary wisdom literature, asking officials to marry a woman, found a household and raise a son, support this),[80] the Middle Kingdom auto/biography was a genre dedicated to the realm of reputation.

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[79] For veracity statements in general, *cf.* Coulon, *BIFAO* 97, 109-38. Often, such statements appear in connection with narrative parts of the auto/biography, where concrete details are given. Here, the exact and very high age might have triggered the use of the oath.

[80] *Cf.* Junge, *Die Lehre Ptahhoteps*, 193, 196-7.

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The So-called Governors' Cemetery at Bubastis and Provincial Elite Tombs in the Nile Delta: State and Perspectives of Research

Eva Lange

Abstract

Next to the Middle Kingdom palace at Bubastis, there is a cemetery for the Twelfth Dynasty governors. The cemetery was excavated in 1961 by Shafik Farid and presents an otherwise rarely preserved example of an elite cemetery in a Delta city. Its close connection to the palace adds to the uniqueness of this site. The paper aims to present the cemetery and its occupants, discussing the building history and deducible patterns of occupation and comparable archaeological records of the Nile Delta as well as investigating identity, genealogy and rank of its occupants and their position within the administration of Bubastis and the Nile Delta in the Middle Kingdom.

As Shafik Farid unearthed an elite cemetery of the Middle Kingdom at the north-eastern part of the ruins of Tell Basta in 1961, he also revealed a very rare example of a special funerary tradition of the Delta. Despite numerous excavations and discoveries over the last fifty years, cemeteries, not only of the Middle Kingdom, but of many other periods of Egyptian history in the provinces of the Nile Delta, must still be considered dramatically underrepresented in scholarly studies as well as in the known archaeological record – the latter being partially a result of the former (and not the other way around as one might assume).

The reason for this can be seen in the overwhelming existence of better preserved funerary monuments in the Nile Valley which have long been the focus for scholars, as they provide us not only with archaeological evidence but also with textual evidence about the historical, administrative, social and, of course, religious data for a given period. Still, the oftentimes neglected Delta, despite its comparatively difficult conditions for preservation, presents us with very valuable data, all the more welcome as we know little about the history of the Delta in certain periods, which nevertheless oftentimes played a crucial role in the social and political history of Egypt. A closer look to the cemetery of the so-called governor's cemetery at Bubastis/Tell Basta, now labelled as cemetery E (Fig. 1), which attempts to set this site within a wider geographical and cultural context, may contribute to a new appreciation of this problematic and challenging topic.

Introduction to the Site

Tell Basta, the site of the ancient city of Bubastis, is located in the south-eastern part of the Nile Delta, where once the two waterways of the Tanite and Pelusian Nile branches were close, thus offering access to two main waterways. Moreover, Bubastis also had access to the Wadi Tumilat, the traditional overland route to the Sinai and Palestine. Its location was doubtless very attractive for early occupants for it allowed them to take part in the evolving supra-regional commercial exchange as a main distribution and trading centre of goods from the Levant and from the southern Nile valley as well. Such an obvious favourable geographic setting not only gave a major initial impulse for the evolution of the city assumed to have begun in the predynastic period, but continued to form one of the basic fundamentals for the continuing importance of the city until its gradual decline in the Roman Period.

Another reason for Bubastis' prominence was its role as the main cult centre of Bastet, the local feline deity, whose earliest appearance as the Lady of Bubastis occurs on the door lintel of the Ka-Temple of Pepi I.[1] Still at the end of the Old Kingdom, Bubastis was the residence of high officials, as the tombs of members of the elite demonstrate. Burials excavated by M. I. Bakr which are under current investigation by the Tell Basta-Project[2] may provide us with data about the beginning of the

[1] Lange, *ZÄS* 133, 123-4.

[2] Lange, *EA* 42; Bakr, *Tell Basta I: Tombs and Burial Customs at Bubastis.*

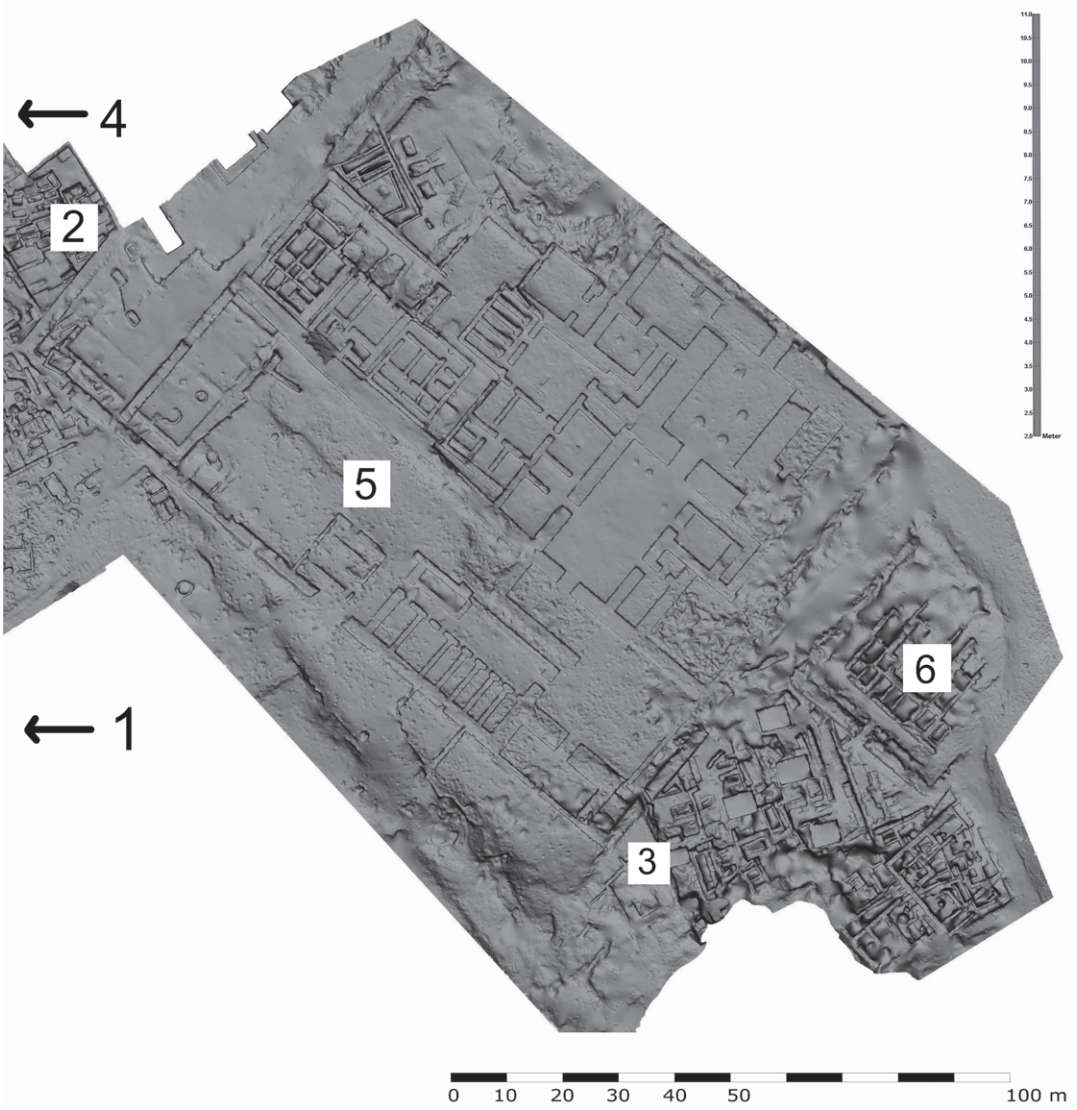


Fig. 1 - 3D-scan of the Governor's Cemetery east to the palace of the Middle Kingdom and adjacent cemeteries © 'Tell Basta-Project'

1: Cemetery A: 4th Dyn.- FIP
2: Cemetery B: 6th Dyn.- NK
3: Cemetery C: 6th Dyn.-FIP
4: Cemetery D: MK (?)
5: Royal Palace of the MK
6: Cemetery E: Governors of the MK

First Intermediate Period, which up to now is virtually absent from the archaeological record of the Nile Delta.[3]

Whatever historical and political processes took place in the city, the available sources for the Middle Kingdom demonstrate that Bubastis effectively (re-?)achieved importance. The palace[4] and its associated cemetery to the north of the later temple of Bastet (see below), which is the subject of this paper, show clearly the city's status as a ruling regional centre at that time.

In spite of the removal of the once high-standing mounds of the *tell* at the beginning of the Nineteenth century AD during the construction of the Delta Railways,[5] Shafik Farid, at the beginning of his archaeological exploration of that area in 1961, was met with a 'comparatively high' mound[6] strewn with the remains of later periods, mostly pottery, but also burials. The excavation of this area led to the discovery of a cemetery with a well-defined, compact and almost square outline, oriented to the north, encompassed by a massive mud-brick wall[7] measuring 40 x 33 m, with a thickness of around 3 m (Figs. 1-3). The tombs of this cemetery displayed a completely different type of tomb architecture, not well known to scholars, as research concentrated heavily on either residential burial ground mastabas in the Memphitic area or rock cut tombs in the provinces of Upper Egypt.[8]

Basically, the cemetery developed around a main tomb from which a cluster of other tombs radiated outwards. Still, the apparent order of the tombs, which are not particularly crowded at the area encompassed by the enclosure wall, but rather almost set in neat rows,

[3] Seidlmayer, *Gräberfelder*, 393-7; Jansen-Winkeln, *Orientalia* 79/3, 288-9.
[4] For the first results of a new project at the palace of the Middle Kingdom at Tell Basta see: Bietak, Lange, *EA* 44, 4-7.
[5] Edgar, in Maspero (ed.), *Le Musée Égyptien*, vol. II, 93, 95.
[6] Farid, *ASAE* 58, 85.
[7] *Op. cit.*, 86.
[8] Grajetzki, *Burial Customs*, 43-6.

reveals a certain degree of spatial organisation hinting to the existence of quite masterful planning, which, even more astonishingly, was obviously followed for a relatively short period of usage even though hints of a change to the original layout can be observed (see below).

The following description is constrained by the lack of detailed published information. Nevertheless, it should be possible to extract a general picture from it. Personal observations made on the site will be added.[9]

At the centre of the cemetery is tomb 1.[10] It consists of a burial chamber made of slabs of limestone (6.0 x 4.10 m) set into a mud-brick structure, of which remains can still be seen, with a vaulted roof the nature of which is open to speculation (high pointed, flat or barrel?). As the limestone chamber forms the actual burial chamber, it is reasonable to assume that the tomb once had an upper part with a chapel for the cult of the deceased.[11] The typical funerary equipment we would expect in such chapels, such as offering tables, door jambs and stelae were found by Farid on various occasions having fallen into the burial chambers below.[12] Other evidence, which would enable us to reconstruct the architecture of the upper structures is absent, as the tombs were heavily robbed and the roofing either collapsed or had entirely disappeared.[13]

The limestone slabs of the burial chamber of tomb 1 are well worked and polished. There are absolutely no traces of decoration visible today, although at the time of its discovery Farid may have been able to observe faded inscriptions and/or painted decoration.[14]

The tomb opened to the north as did the majority of the burials.[15] The entrance to the cemetery was situated in the same direction; the plan published by Farid shows a long passage leading to tomb 1. Another tomb, which is located in front, may be of earlier date.

The entrance of tomb 1 was blocked by two limestone blocks, as was the case with other tombs in the cemetery equipped with limestone chambers.[16] One can assume

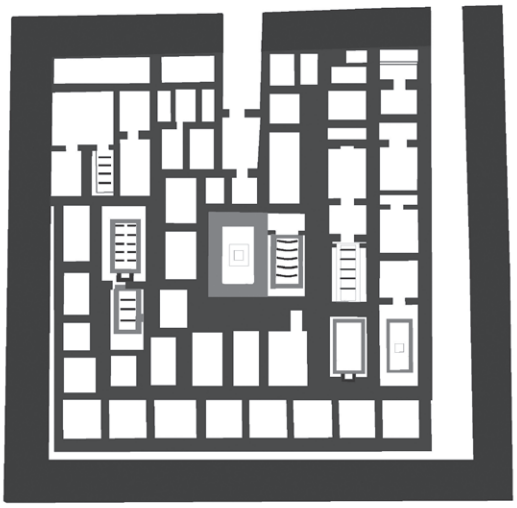


Fig. 2 - Schematic drawing of the ground plan of the Governor's Cemetery after Sh. Farid (1964). Drawing: E. Lange © 'Tell Basta-Project'

Fig. 3 - The main tomb of the Cemetery, to northwest © 'Tell Basta-Project'

[9] I would like to thank Manfred Bietak for numerous inspired conversations about this topic.

[10] The numbering of the tombs is according to Shafik Farid's system: Farid, *ASAE* 58, 87, fig. 1.

[11] A parallel for this construction can be found at the nearby tombs of the Late Old Kingdom/beginning of the First Intermediate Period of cemetery A, Area N 1 to the southeast of the Palace of the Middle Kingdom and C in Area N to the immediate southwest of the governors' cemetery: see Bakr, *Tell Basta I: Tombs and Burial Customs at Bubastis*, and Bakr, in Nibbi (ed.), *Proceedings of colloquium 'The archaeology, geography and history of the Egyptian Delta'*, 31-2. See also van Siclen, in Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses*, 189.

[12] van Siclen, in Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses*, 189.

[13] Farid, *ASAE* 58, 90.

[14] Unfortunately, the excavator only talks in general about "traces of unclear colored paintings and inscriptions", still visible on the walls of three stone tombs, without specifying which tombs it were and what has been depicted there. Farid, *ASAE* 58, 86.

[15] *Op. cit.*, 86.

[16] van Siclen, in Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses*, 189. Van Siclen states that this publication is based on the field notes of Shafik Farid in his possession (*op. cit.*, 187). Still, the full publication of those doc-

there had been a shaft leading to the burial chambers, as attested for Old Kingdom burials at Tell Basta and Middle Kingdom tombs at El Qatta.[17] In the case of tomb 1, one or two structures to the north could be its shaft and not another tomb, as indicated by Farid who assigned a number to it (Fig. 2).[18]

Recorded in the centre of tomb 1 was a canopic niche in the floor surrounded by six grooves for wooden beams, once being placed under the (wooden) coffin to avoid direct contact with the supposedly moist underground.[19] This central tomb was assigned to a certain Rens(eneb) "mayor" of Tell Basta by van Siclen, on the basis of a limestone offering table found in close proximity to the tomb.[20] The offering table is published in a photograph by Farid[21] and will be discussed in the following section.

Offering table B 1[22]

A rectangular offering table with a large loaf sign in the upper part and a narrow long basin with spout forming the lower zone. The object is quite badly preserved: a big part of its left and the lower part of its right side is broken off. Also the surface of the offering table is damaged. Based on its stylistic features, the offering table can be dated to the Twelfth Dynasty.[23]

The remains of the inscription on the outer rim of the lower part show the beginning of a symmetrical running *ḥtp dj nsw.t*-Formula:

→ [*ḥ*]*tp* ⌜*dj*⌝ [*nsw.t*][…]
⌜An offering, which⌝ [the king] ⌜gives⌝ […]

← [*ḥ*]*tp dj* ⌜*nsw.t*⌝ *bꜣst.t nb.t bꜣ*[*s.t*^{DET}] […]
⌜An offering⌝, which ⌜the king⌝ gives and
Bastet, mistress of Bubastis […]

At the right side, the beginning of the connected column is still visible:

jmꜣḫ.t ḫr ⌜*wsjr*⌝ [...]
The revered one with ⌜Osiris⌝ […]

Due to the poor quality of the photograph, the symmetrical inscription on the lower rim is difficult to read:

← (?) […]^{a} *ḏ* […]*tꜣ mr mꜣᶜ*(*.tjw*) *rn* ⌜*s*⌝ […]
[…] (…?) Ma'at(iu)^{b} (?), Ren⌜s⌝ (?) […]^{c}

→ […] *wsr* […]
[…] User […]

Commentary:

a. The *ᶜnḫ*-sign visible at the beginning is not to be read. It appears also on another offering table from Tell Basta of the same period; clearly, it is just as an iconographic symbol marking the division between the two symmetrical running inscription lines: B 1511; see below, and El-Sawi, *ASAE* 63, pl. 3 a, b.
b. For this name see below, offering table B 1511.
c. The right to left direction of the reading assumed here, is by no means, certain, as the parallels B 1503 and B 1511 show a retrograde reading on that part of the offering table. Therefore, the reverse reading […] ⌜*s*⌝ *rn* ^{DET} *mꜣᶜ*(*.tjw?*) *tꜣ mr ḏ* [..] (*ᶜnḫ*) would be at least equally, if not more, possible.

It has to be pointed out here that the attribution of the described offering table to a "mayor" Ren(seneb) by van Siclen, as well as the identification of this individual with the owner of tomb 1 is problematic. Firstly, the situation of the find, which is by no means given in any detail, seems not to be *in situ* and so offering table B 1 may therefore derive from another burial. Secondly, the damaged state of the inscription on the offering table does not provide us with a firm basis to draw conclusions about the identity of the owner or his office. It may be the same Rens(…) referred to in the lower part of the offering table, but it may well be another individual. The naming of a female deceased on the left upper part has to be taken into consideration too. It is possible to amend the traces reading *rn*⌜*s*⌝[…] to *rn=s* or *rn=s ᶜnḫ.w* or the like, both common female names of the Middle Kingdom.[24] Moreover, the direction of the reading is not certain (see above, commentary to B 1, remark c).

Very problematic is also the lack of any title on this offering table. So far, the connection between tomb 1 and a "mayor of Tell Basta, Ren(seneb)" remains, in my opinion, a mere hypothesis.

uments has yet to happen. Their publication would be most welcome since the two preliminary articles by van Siclen do not, unfortunately, provide the reader with necessary details.
[17] Bakr, *Tell Basta I: Tombs and Burial Customs at Bubastis*; Chassinat, Gauthier, Pieron, *Fouilles de Qattah*.
[18] Farid, *ASAE* 58, 87, Fig. 1.
[19] van Siclen, in Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses*, 190.
[20] *Op. cit.*, 190.
[21] Farid, *ASAE* 58, pl. 2.
[22] *Op. cit.*, 86 and pl. 2 does not mention its dimensions. Nevertheless, judging from the scale on the published photograph, the offering table seems to be quite big, probably up to 100 m x 80 cm.
[23] A more detailed dating is not possible at the moment due to the lack of any thorough study of offerings tables of the Middle Kingdom besides that of Hölzl, *Ägyptische Opfertafeln und Kultbecken*.
[24] Ranke, *PN I*, 223.19 ff.

Still, the assumption that the central tomb was also the first tomb to be planned and built is very reasonable.[25] Doubtless, the tomb belonged to a, maybe *the*, leading member of the elite of Bubastis at that time.

Situated to the east of tomb 1 is tomb 2. Its dimensions are smaller[26] and the limestone-slabs, which lined the walls, are no longer visible. Van Siclen gives a ground plan of the tomb, with a canopic niche at the centre of the southern wall and five east-west oriented beam-grooves. In his opinion, the tomb belonged to a 'lady' Nefret, according to an inscribed jamb and offering table found next to that tomb. Unfortunately, neither of the two objects is published.

There are four more tombs in the cemetery which possessed limestone burial chambers. Two of them, Farid's no. 3 and 12, lie to the west of the central tomb. The northernmost one, tomb 3 (3.50 x 2.60 m)[27] has a canopic niche in the centre of the southern side and ten east-west oriented beam-grooves, five on each side. Small niches in the walls (arranged on the north-eastern and north-western corner of the long sides and two framing the canopic niche) were reported by Farid.[28] Tomb 3 is one of only two tombs which can actually be assigned with certainty to an individual; in this case Maheshotep, son of Sithathor. His name is preserved in the remains of the painted decoration and inscriptions on the walls, whereas the filiation comes from some other (unpublished) objects bearing his name.[29]

Immediately to the south of the tomb of Maheshotep lies tomb 12. The dimensions of its burial chamber are smaller (2.90 x 1.40 m). It has a canopic niche in the south-eastern corner and four beam-grooves. Judging from the find of an unpublished fragmentary stela found in tomb 3 and therefore in front of tomb 12, the latter has been assigned to a son of Nefret, whose name is not preserved.[30]

The other two tombs with limestone vaults are located in the south-eastern corner of the cemetery. The easternmost one is the tomb of Antef (tomb 5, 4.15 x 1.90 m), the second one whose ownership can be confirmed by means of inscriptions on the walls.[31] The canopic niche is located in the centre of the floor as in the central tomb and apparently there were no beam-grooves. To the west follows tomb 7 of slightly larger dimensions (3.50 x 1.80 m) with a canopic niche in the centre of the southern wall and five east-west oriented beam-grooves. No finds have been recorded which would indicate the identity of its owner.[32]

About 20 more burial chambers exist in the cemetery, but none were equipped with a limestone vault. At the present stage of documentation and publication, it is not possible to give an exact number of burials.[33] The same is true for the reconstruction of the building chronology and the process of occupation, which would require new archaeological investigations on the site to gain a broader base of data.

Van Siclen, however, suggests a sequence of tomb owners based on the finds of offering tables, stelae and the like, recorded by Shafik Farid and on his interpretation of the evolution of the architectural layout of the limestone vault, essentially the orientation of the beam-grooves and the canopic niche. Starting from what is doubtless the earliest tomb, number 1, he classifies the location of the canopic niche in the centre of the floor as an early feature and therefore concludes that the tomb of Antef (5) would be the next one in the chronological sequence of the cemetery. The third in the chronological phase is identified as tomb 12 (son of Nefret?) according to the location of the canopic niche in the east wall. These are the earlier group of tombs, followed by the later group characterised by the location of their canopic niche in the centre of the southern wall, consisting of tomb 7 (NN), tomb 3 (Maheshotep) and finally tomb 2 (Nefret?), although the date of the actual burial of Nefret in this sequence remains unclear.[34]

Chronology of Tombs in Cemetery D according to van Siclen:

Name	Tomb No.
Ren(seneb)	1
Antef	5
NN (son of Nefret, grandson of Antef)	12
NN	7
Maheshotep (son of Sithathor)	3

However, this sequence is far from being certain and leaves us with doubts. Apart from the general problem of assigning tombs to individuals by means of (unpublished)

[25] van Siclen, in Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses*, 190.
[26] Approx. 4.5 x 2.5 m: *op. cit.,* 192, pl. 2.
[27] The measurements given her refer to the tomb chamber of limestone.
[28] *Op. cit.*, 190-1, fig. 2.
[29] *Op. cit.*, 192.
[30] *Op. cit.*, fig. 2.
[31] *Op. cit.*, 190.
[32] *Op. cit.*, 190-1, fig. 2.
[33] Some of the chambers marked as burials on the plan of Shafik Farid may actually have been shafts (Fig. 4).
[34] van Siclen, in Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses*, 192 speculates that Nefret, being a wife of a mayor, may have outlived her husband and children, which would allow a longer time span between the building of the tomb and its actual use. Yet, no reasons for such speculation are given.

finds which have not been found *in situ*, there are other concerns.

The positions of the floor grooves and the canopic niche do not provide a sound basis for reconstructing an architectural chronology, even more so as we are not dealing with a very lengthy time span where alterations could more clearly be assigned to stylistic changes. It may also be that the alterations in particular details do not reflect so much a chronological order but a flexible use of such details for practical reasons while still following the general patterns of a particular Delta building tradition (limestone vaults in brick chambers). Here, one would have wished van Siclen to have supported his hypothetical sequence with more arguments.

Also problematic is that the sequence suggested by van Siclen creates a strange pattern of use in the cemetery (Fig. 4): As the location of the tomb of the cemetery's founder lying at the heart of the cemetery is very logical, the seemingly quite restricted location of his supposed follower Antef at the south-eastern corner raises questions; whether tomb 1 occupied more space at the time of the building of Antef's tomb than is visible today (because of encroaching subsidiary buildings or connected tombs?) or the tomb of Antef may not have been the immediate follower of tomb 1, despite the similar location of the canopic niche. The placement of the tomb of Nefret, daughter of a mayor Antef, adds to the confusion: if the Antef of tomb 5 was indeed her father and she herself the wife of the owner of tomb 1, we face the problem that the tomb of her father and the predecessor of her husband in office is not in the centre of the cemetery where we would expect it but the awkward corner position. A solution would be to assume the existence of more than one official bearing the name Antef (see below). However, the problem has not been addressed by van Siclen.

In fact, the placement of tomb 12 (son of Nefret?), the last of van Siclen's earlier group, would fit better in this pattern as it commands more of the surrounding space one would expect for a major tomb with supposedly lesser burials attached and magazine rooms or the like. The same is true for tomb 7 (NN) neighbouring the tomb of Antef, as it is located in a more convenient position in terms of available space. The tomb of Maheshotep (3) to the immediate north of tomb 12 is the latest one according to van Siclen's reconstruction. Also here, with its position almost parallel to the central tomb, one wonders if this was not an obvious place for an earlier occupation such as an immediate follower in the office.

On the other hand, it cannot be excluded that even in the short period of use of the cemetery some sort of reorganisation may have taken place, changing the layout of the first stage of use. Many questions concerning the process and patterns of use of the so-called governors' cemetery remain unanswered. For example, it is rather problematic to identify the exact number of burials based on the documentation available. Also the layout of lesser burials would need to be investigated in greater detail. Another problem is the interpretation of the storerooms excavated by Farid at the southern enclosure wall, still containing storage vessels *in situ* at the time of their discovery.[35] They raise the question as to what tomb or group of tombs they actually belonged. In the end, only a new investigation of the site will bring us closer to a full understanding of the building chronology of the site and reveal possible stages of occupation.

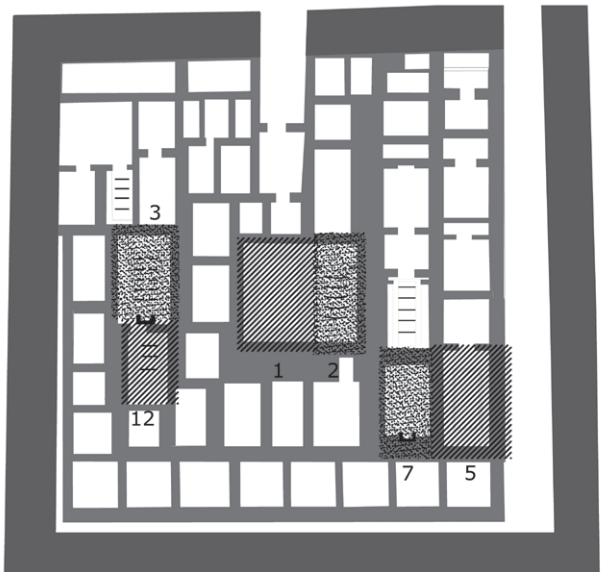


Fig. 4 - Chronological pattern of use after van Siclen's suggestion: stage 1 (earlier period): hatched, stage 2 (later period): pixeled. Drawing: E. Lange © 'Tell Basta-Project'

Nevertheless, the existence of this elite cemetery allows us to consider the administration of Bubastis in the Middle Kingdom, a subject which is evidently strongly connected with the wider topic of administration and bureaucracy of the Nile Delta. Before addressing this point, some other objects will be presented here, giving us a broader data-set about the individuals holding offices at Bubastis at that time:

Evidence of the identity of tomb owners does not come solely from the cemetery itself. Excavations conducted by Ahmed el-Sawi in the eastern area of the Middle Kingdom palace at Tell Basta (see below) produced two offering tables of limestone, found in the *debris* of a room close to the eastern enclosure wall of the palace. While the find spot makes it very possible that the objects originally came from the governors' cemetery, their inscriptions reveal the names and offices of some individuals.

[35] Farid, *ASAE* 58, 90.

Offering table B 1503 (Fig. 5)[36]
Dimensions: L.: 48.0 cm; W.: 37.0 cm

The offering table is rectangular, divided in two sections by a long narrow basin at the lower part. The object shows some damage, especially a large angular cut running over the whole surface and another even deeper angular cut on the left upper corner. The raised border is broken off in bigger portions on the right and the middle of the left side of the table. The lower part shows a spout in its centre leading to a narrow basin, extending over the entire length of the table with another smaller spout on the centre as well. The upper part of the table is covered by a large loaf-sign decorated in relief with the depictions of food offerings, of fowl, fruits and vegetables as well as libation vessels. To the right, is a woman or goddess holding a *ḫrp*-sceptre in her raised right hand and an unidentifiable object in her left hand shown in a gesture of dedicating those offerings. An oversized *nb* hieroglyph is located in the upper left corner of the scene. To the left and right side of the table are two rectangular basins with a communicating channel framing the loaf-sign. As with B1 (see below) and the following offering table B 1511, offering table B 1503 can be dated only very generally to the Twelfth Dynasty.

Right side of offering table

Upper part:
← [*ḥtp dj nsw.t*] *jnpw* […] ⌜*ḫnty sḫ-nṯr*⌝ [a] (?)
[An offering, that the king gives] and Anubis […], ⌜who presides over the Divine Booth⌝ […]

Column:
[…] […] […] ⌜*bȝst.t*⌝ *ḥn.wt tȝ.wy dj*=⌜*s*⌝ [b] (*?*)*t ḥ*(*n*) *q.t* ⌜*jḳ*(.*w*) *ȝpd*(.*w*)⌝ [*n kȝ n*(*y*)] […]
[…] […] […] ⌜Bastet⌝, Mistress of the two lands, that she (?) may give bread, beer, ⌜cattle and fowl⌝ […][for the Ka of]

Lower Part (2):
→ […] […] *m ḫm ms.t*/*n mn*[*ḫ*]*j*(.*t*) […] *jmȝḫ*[*y.t*] [.]
[…] […] Khem, born of Menkh(et) […] the revered One …]

Lower part (1):
→ *jmȝḫy.t ḫr wsjr sȝ.t –jm ms.t~n ḫm* […]
The revered One with Osiris, Sat-Im, born of Khem […]

Left side of offering table

Upper part:
→ [*ḥtp dj nsw.t*] […] *n*=*f* (*?*)[c] *nṯr.w* (*nb.w*) *pr.t-ḫrw* (*m*) *t ḥ*(*n*)*q.t jḳ*(.*w*) *ȝpd*(.*w*) *n snfr* […]
[An offering, that the king gives] (….] (and all) the gods. An invocation offering (consisting of) bread, beer, cattle, fowl for the beautification (?) […]

Column:
[…] *jmȝḫy.t ḫr wsjr* […] […] […] *dj* […] ⌜*ḫ*ȝ⌝ *m t ḥ*(*n*) *q.t jḳ*(.*w*) *ȝpd*(.*w*) *ȝs mnḫ.t ḫȝ m ḥtp.wt ḫȝ m*
[…] the revered One with Osiris […] may give ⌜thousands⌝of bread and beer, cattle and fowl, alabaster and clothing and thousands of offerings, thousands of

Lower part (2):
← *dfȝ*[*.t*] […] [*n*] ⌜*kȝ n*(*y*)⌝ *ḫm.t ms.t~n mn*[*ḫ.t*][d]
provisions […] [for] ⌜the Ka of⌝ Khemet, born of Men[khet] […]

Lower part (1):
← *jmȝḫy.t ḫ*[*r*] *ptḥ*[e] *sȝ.t –jm ms.t~n ḫm.t* ⌜*mȝ*[c]*.t*⌝[f]*-ḫrw*
The revered One with Ptah, Sat-Im, born of Khemet, justified

Commentary:

a. Almost illegible traces on the photograph.
b. The drawing[37] gives *=f*, but the traces of the sign in the photograph would allow the reconstruction of an *s* as well, even more likely, as the offering formula before seems to involve an invocation to the goddess Bastet.
c. Although given by El-Sawi in the drawing, the reading seems doubtful. The quality of the published photograph allows no further clarification.
d. The signs given by El-Sawi in the drawing are not visible on the object as the stone here is broken off.
e. The sign Gard. Y1given by el-Sawi in the drawing is doubtful.
f. The group is almost illegible in the photograph and the drawing is not completely conclusive.

It is interesting to note that the upper zone of the table focusses on the latest recipient of the cult (Sat-Jm), while the lower zone is reserved for the preceding generations (her mother Khemet and her grandmother Menkhet). A detailed discussion of these individuals will follow below.

Offering table B 1511: (Fig. 6)[38]
Dimensions: L.: 55.0 cm; W.: 52.0 cm

B 1511 is of a similar rectangular type, divided in two zones by a long narrow basin at the lower part. The

[36] El-Sawi, *ASAE* 63, 155, pl. 2 a, b. Van Siclen, in Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses*, 193.

[37] El-Sawi, *ASAE* 63, pl. 3a, b.

[38] *Op. cit.*, 155, pl. 2a, b. van Siclen, in Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses*, 193.

object is relatively well preserved except for some slight damage to the surface, especially on the upper part.

The basin has two spouts forming the lower zone of the table, which do not extend the entire length of the table and thus serve to separate this part from the main body of the object. Also, the upper part of the table is covered by a large loaf-sign, decorated in relief with depictions of food offerings and water-vessels, but only a few traces remain. Two small rectangular basins frame the loaf-sign together with two additional circular loaves. A small channel for liquids, communicating with all basins, forms the base of the lower part.

Right side of offering table

Upper part:
← *ḥtp dj nsw.t wsjr nb ḏdw ḫnty jmn.tyw*[a]
An offering, that the king gives and Osiris the foremost of the Westerners,

Column:
nb ȝbḏw (*dj=f*) *pr.t ḫrw m t* […] *ḥb*[DET] [*ȝpd.w*] […][…] *pr.w=snfr* (*?*) *n*(*y*).*t* […]
lord of Abydos, (that he may give) an invocation offering, consisting of bread […] at the […] festival, [fowl] […] […]

Lower part (1):
→*ḥȝty.w*[b]-[ʿ] (*j*)*m*(*y*).*w-r*(*ȝ*)[b] *ḥm*(.*w*)-*nṯr* (*j*)*m*(*y*).*w-r*(*ȝ*)[b] *gs-pr ḫty ms mr*(.*t*)-*jj.t*
The governor, overseer of the priests, overseer of the production place, Khety, born of Mer(et)-Jj.t

Lower part (2):
ḥȝty.w-[ʿ] ((*j*)*m*(*y*)-*r*(*ȝ*).*w ḥm*(.*w*)-*nṯr* (*j*)*m*(*y*).*w-r*(*ȝ*) *gs-pr*[c] *ṯbw* → *sȝ jntf mȝ*[ʿ]-*ḫrw ḥȝty-*[ʿ] ((*j*) *m*(*y*)-*r*(*ȝ*) *ḥm*(.*w*)-*nṯr* (*j*) *m*(*y*)-*r*(*ȝ*) *gs-pr*)[d] *ȝḫw* (*?*)[e]-*jnj-jtj=f*
The governor, (overseer of the priests, overseer of the production place), Tjebu, son of Antef, justified. The governor (overseer of priests and overseer of production place) Akhu(?) - Intef

Left side of the offering table

Upper part:
→ *ḥtp* [*dj*] *nsw.t* [*jnp*]*w tpj ḏw=f jmj-wt*
An offering, that the king [gives] and Anubis, who is upon his hill, the *Imi-ut*,

Column:
nb tȝ ḏsr (*dj=f*) *qrs.t=f nfr.t m smj.t jmn.tjt n*(*y*).*t ḫr.t-nṯr* […]
lord of the sacred land, (that he may give) his beautiful burial in the western desert of the necropolis[f] […]

Lower part (1):
←[*ḥȝ*].*tyw*-[ʿ] (*j*)*m*(*y*).*w-r*(*ȝ*) *ḥm.w-nṯr* (*j*)*m*(*y*).*w-r*(*ȝ*) *gs-pr jnj jtj=f*-[…] *ȝḫw*(*?*)[g]
[The governor], overseer of the priests, overseer of the production place, Antef-Akhu

Lower part (2):
ḥȝty-[ʿ] ((*j*)*m*(*y*)-*r*(*ȝ*) *ḥm.w-nṯr* (*j*)*m*(*y*)-*r*(*ȝ*) *gs-pr*) *jntf sȝ mȝ*[ʿ].*tjw* (*?*) ← *ḥȝty*-[ʿ] ((*j*)*m*(*y*)-*r*(*ȝ*) *ḥm.w-nṯr* (*j*)*m*(*y*)-*r*(*ȝ*) *gs-pr*) *mkt sȝ wsr*
The governor, (overseer of the priests, overseer of the production place), Antef, son of Ma'atju. The governor, (overseer of the priests, overseer of the production place), Meket, son of User

Commentary:

a. Note the unusual writing of *ḏdw* and *ḫnty jmn.tyw*. For the complementing of the determinative Gardiner, *Grammar*, O49 with the feminine *.t* compare Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, 40d.
b. Due to the limited space for inscriptions, the plural of the titles here may refer not to Khety alone but to all the individuals following on the right side of the table, at least those marked by the introduction *ḥȝtj-*[ʿ]. For further implications see below.
c. The addition of the title follows my suggestion made above (see remark b).
d. That this addition is correct is shown by the title string of the assumedly same individual in the inscription on the left side of the offering table, lower part 1.
e. Reading not certain.
f. Maybe the result of slight confusion with the quite similar phrase *qrs.t=f nfr.t m smj.t jmn.tjt m js=f m ḫr.t-nṯr*.
g. The conversion of the name of the official obviously already named on lower part 2 of the right side of the offering table is puzzling; it seems more likely to me that the order of the writing of the two elements of the name were confused due to the unfamiliar use of retrograde writing and therefore here we are dealing with just one individual.

Before investigating in detail the governors and their family members mentioned on the offering tables, three more objects need to be taken into consideration.

During the excavation conducted by Shafik Farid in the eastern part of the palace, three statues of officials came to light. They were found leaning against the western wall of the so-called throne-hall of the building.[39] While two statues bear no inscription and therefore no possibility of identifying their owner(s) at the moment, the other one depicting a cross-legged seated official has several inscriptions: on the lap (1), on the base (2) and on the dorsal pillar (3):

[39] Farid, *ASAE* 58, 92-3, figs. 5, A, B, C, pls. 4, 7. van Siclen, in Bietak (ed.), *Haus und Palast*, 244, fig. 9; Bakr, Brandl, Kalloniatis (eds.), *Egyptian Antiquities from Kufur Nigm and Bubastis*, 108-9.

(1)
←(1): *ḥtp dj nsw.t rᶜw-ḥr-ȝḫ.ty sȝ gb wsjr*
An offering, that the king gives and Re-Harakhty, the son of Geb, Osiris,

(2): *psḏ.t wr.t jtr.t šmᶜ mḥw bȝst.t*
the Great Ennead, the row of Upper and Lower Egyptian chapels, and Bastet

(3): *nb.t bȝs.t pr.t-ḫrw t ḥ(n)q.t jḫ(.w) ȝpd(.w) wᶜb(.w) snṯr mrḥ.t*
lady of Bubastis, (that they may give) an invocation offering, (consisting of) bread, beer, pure cattle and fowl, incense, unguent

(4): *n kȝ n(y) jrj-pᶜ.t ḥȝ.tj-ᶜ ḥrj-tp nḫb m pr-wr (j)m(y)-r(ȝ)*
for the Ka of the hereditary prince, governor, spokesman of Nekheb in the *Per-wer*, overseer

(5): *ḥm(.w)-nṯr bȝst.t ḫᶜ-kȝ.w-rᶜw-snb jr.n mw.t*
of the priest(s) of Bastet, Khakaure-seneb, begotten of Mut

(2)
← (1) *jrj-pᶜ.t ḥȝ.tj-ᶜ (j)m(y)-r(ȝ) ḥm(.w)-nṯr bȝst.t ḫᶜ-kȝ.w-rᶜw-snb jr.n*[sic!] *mw.t mȝᶜ-ḫrw*
The hereditary prince, governor, overseer of the priest(s) of Bastet, Khakaure-seneb, begotten of Mut, justified

(3)
(1) *ḥȝ.tj-ᶜ (j)m(y)-r(ȝ) ḥm(.w)-nṯr n(y) bȝst.t ḫᶜ-kȝ.w-rᶜw-snb jr.n*[sic!] *mw.t mȝᶜ-ḫrw*
The hereditary prince, governor, overseer of the priests of Bastet, Khakaure-seneb, begotten of Mut, justified

A rather small statue base found by Shafik Farid also in the area of the palace, bears an inscription in two columns and two lines, naming another governor:[40]

Left column:
[…] [*ḫ.t nb.t nfr.t*] ᶜ*nḫ.t nṯr jm n kȝ n(y)*
[…] [every good thing] on which a god lives, for the Ka of

First Line:
← *ḥȝ.tj-ᶜ mȝj-ḥs(ȝ)-ḥtp*
the hereditary prince, Maheshotep

Second Line:
← *mȝj-ḥs(ȝ)-ḥtp nb jmȝḫ*
Maheshotep, possessor of reverence

Right column:
[…]
[…] *mȝj-ḥs(ȝ)-ḥtp nb jmȝḫ*
[…] Maheshotep, possessor of reverence

Another statue base, still showing the feet of a woman possibly standing beside a seated figure (probably the husband), preserves the last part of a single line of inscription:

[…] *nb.t-pr ḫr.t-jb*[…]
[…] The lady of the house, Kheret-ib […]

A synopsis of all available sources of the elite members of Bubastis in the Middle Kingdom provides us with the data-set overleaf.

It remains very problematic to tackle the chronology and genealogy of the above listed members of the elite of Bubastis in the Middle Kingdom as there are almost no fixed points for a more specific dating.

The only reliable source is the statue of Khakaure-Seneb, whose personal name suggests that his (at least later) career and lifetime was spent in the reign of Sesostris III, which may well have lasted into the time of Amenemhet III. This would narrow the window for the lifetime of his mother Mut to the (earlier) reign of Sesostris III. Even so, we have to bear in mind that this official may not have borne the name since childhood, but changed his personal name into a basilophoric one after the accession of this king to the throne and following his appointment to the office of governor of Bubastis.

The offering formula on his statue, invoking the gods of Heliopolis before mentioning Bastet, may point to that direction and reveal a former Heliopolitan provenance for Khakaure-Seneb, who may have assumed office at Bubastis at a later point in his career. On the other hand, not having comprehensive sources about the importance of Heliopolitan gods at Bubastis in the Middle Kingdom, this suggestion must remain a hypothesis at best for the time being.

Other sources would be the tombs still preserving the names of their owners beside traces of tomb decoration (tomb 3, 5). But here we face the serious problem of those sources not being published along with the ceramics found in the tombs.[41] Also a detailed study of the architecture of the tomb is still missing and therefore, only general considerations about the chronology of the building and use of the tombs can be made (see above).

The offering tables, which are very important sources of names, titles and relationships of individuals

[40] Bakr, Brandl, Kalloniatis (eds.), *Egyptian Antiquities from Kufur Nigm and Bubastis*, 21, fig. 13.

[41] Farid, *ASAE* 58, 90, states for example that "pottery vases mostly of coarse workmanship" have been found in the tombs. Large storage vessels have been detected in the magazine-like structures at the south end of the cemetery.

Name	Title	Related Individual	Source
Antef	*ḥ3tj-ᶜ (?)*[a]		Cemetery: tomb 5 (wall inscription)
Antef	*ḥ3tj-ᶜ*	Nefret (daughter)	Door jamb B 8, offering table B 9 adjacent to tomb 1
Antef	*ḥ3tj-ᶜ ((j)m(y)-r(3) ḥm.w-nṯr (j)m(y)-r(3) gs-pr)*[b]	Tjebu (son)	Offering table B 1511, from the *debris* of the eastern part of the palace[c]
Antef	*ḥ3tj-ᶜ ((j)m(y)-r(3) ḥm.w-nṯr (j)m(y)-r(3) gs-pr)*	Ma'atju (father)	Offering table B 1511, from the *debris* of the eastern part of the palace
Antef-Akhu (?)	*ḥ3tj-ᶜ (j)m(y)-r(3) ḥm.w-nṯr (j)m(y)-r(3)gs-pr*		Offering table B 1511, from the *debris* of the eastern part of the palace
Khety	*ḥ3tj-ᶜ (j)m(y)-r(3) ḥm.w-nṯr (j)m(y)-r(3)gs-pr*	Meret-Jjt (mother)	Offering table B 1511, from the *debris* of the eastern part of the palace
Ma'atju	*ḥ3tj-ᶜ (?) rḫ nsw.t (?)*[d]	Antef (son)	Offering table B 1511, from the *debris* of the eastern part of the palace; Offering table B 1, from the cemetery, found near tomb 1 (?); tomb NN[e]
Meket	*ḥ3tj-ᶜ ((j)m(y)-r(3) ḥm.w-nṯr (j)m(y)-r(3) gs-pr)*	User (father)	Offering table B 1511, from the *debris* of the eastern part of the palace
User	*ḥ3tj-ᶜ (?)*	Meket (son)	Offering table B 1511, from the *debris* of the eastern part of the palace; Offering table B 1, from the cemetery, found near tomb 1
Tjebu	*ḥ3tj-ᶜ ((j)m(y)-r(3) ḥm.w-nṯr (j)m(y)-r(3) gs-pr)*[f]	Antef (father)	Offering table B 1511, from the *debris* of the eastern part of the palace
Khakaure-Seneb	*jrj-pᶜ.t ḥ3tj-ᶜ ḫrj-tp nḫb m pr-wr (j)m(y)-r(3) ḥm.w-nṯr n(y) b3st.t*	Mut (mother)	Statue B 96 from the western wall of the so-called throne hall of the palace
Maheshotep	*ḥ3tj-ᶜ*	Sithathor (mother)	Cemetery: tomb 3 (wall inscription); base of statue[g]
Sat-Jm	/	Khemet (mother) Menhet (grandmother)	Offering table B 1503, from the *debris* of the eastern part of the palace
Khemet	/	Menkhet (mother)	Offering table B 1503, from the *debris* of the eastern part of the palace
Menkhet	/	Khemet (daughter) Sat-Jm (granddaughter)	Offering table B 1503, from the *debris* of the eastern part of the palace
Kheret-ib	*nb.t-pr*		Base of statue B 663[h]
Mut	/	Khakaure-Seneb (son)	Statue B 96 from the western wall of the so-called throne hall of the palace
Sithathor	/	Maheshotep (son)	Cemetery: tomb 3 (wall inscription)[i]
Nefret	/	Antef (father) NN (son)	Fragmentary stela B 12; door jamb B 8; offering table B 9[j]

[a] The inscription is not published and only generally mentioned by Van Siclen, without further details: Van Siclen, in Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses*, 190; [b] For the addition of those titles see above; [c] Van Siclen, in Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses*, 190; [d] Farid, *ASAE* 58, 86; [e] Farid, *ASAE* 58, 86. He does not mention the number of the tomb where he recorded his title, translated by Farid as "the kings relative", which may refer to *rḫ-nsw.t*. As the inscription is not published it is not possible to verify this reading; [f] For the addition of those titles see above; [g] Van Siclen, in Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses*, 192; Bakr, Brandl, Kalloniatis (eds.), *Egyptian Antiquities from Kufur Nigm and Bubastis*, 21, fig. 16; [h] Van Siclen, in Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses*, 193; photo in Bakr, Brandl, Kalloniatis (eds.), *Egyptian Antiquities from Kufur Nigm and Bubastis*, 21, Fig. 13; [i] Van Siclen, in Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses*, 192, mentions "other inscribed fragments" with her name, not published or discussed in further detail (B 7, B 12, B 56); [j] Van Siclen, in Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses*, 190, without detailed information.

discussed here, fit well into the later rather than earlier Twelfth Dynasty, yet our understanding of them remains unsatisfyingly general and superficial due to the lack of detailed investigations about this class of object, as mentioned above. The filiations given in some of the above-listed inscriptions shed some light on the sequence of some of the persons, but for others, genealogies are difficult and in some cases impossible to establish.

Personal names, titles and genealogy

The personal names in general are very well attested for the Middle Kingdom. Antef (*jnj jtj=f*)[42] and Khety (*ḫtjj*)[43] are extremely frequent in that time. Also in Bubastis, it is very possible that we are dealing with more than one individual named Antef: While the governor Antef, the owner of tomb 5 and possible father of Nefret[44] (the possible owner of tomb 2) may be identical with Antef, the father of Tjebu, mentioned on offering table B 1511; another Antef mentioned on the left part of the offering table and specified by the filiation "son of Ma'a.tjw" may either be a different individual or the same person, for the system of mentioning names and related individuals on those tables is not entirely conclusive, apart from the general tendency to name the older generation on the lower zone (see below).

Another governor Antef, with the second element Akhu (*3ḫw*)[45] is mentioned on offering table B 1511 on the same line as the governor Khety, which is somehow puzzling, as there are no further indications about their relationship other than the assumption that Khety and Antef-Akhu are singled out from the group of individuals mentioned on the offering table. Khety is the son of a woman called Meret-Jj.t (*mr*(*.t*)*-jj.t*)[46] without additional titles, who appears only one time in the available sources, whereas a filiation for Antef-Akhu is not obvious.

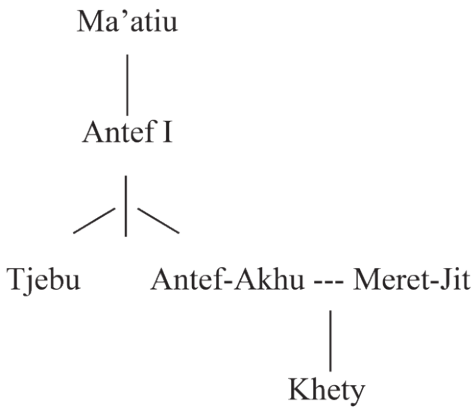
The right part of offering table B 1511 lists: Khety, son of Meret-Jit on the upper line, followed by Tjebu (*ṯbw*),[47]Gram his father Antef I, and again Antef-Akhu. A filiation between Khety and Tjebu is not given, and having a closer look to the system of the inscriptions on B 1511 as well as B 1503 suggests we should not search here for a parentage constellation. On the other hand, the naming of Meret-Jit as mother of Khety and the appearance of Antef-Akhu on the same line with his full title string may indicate that he is the father of Khety and therefore Meret-Jit his wife. The reappearance of Antef-Akhu on the lower part may indicate the special involvement of that governor in this line of kinship, if this is indeed the same person as mentioned on the upper part. On the lower part of the right side of the offering table, another filiation is given: Here we have the "governor Antef, son of Ma'atiu", followed by the "governor Meket,[48] son of User".[49] Ma'atiu (*m3ʿ.tjw*)[50] is also mentioned on offering table B 1, where User also appears. Unfortunately, due to the bad state of preservation and the loss of lengthy parts of its inscription, B 1 does not provide us with further information about those governors and their genealogies. If the sequence with Antef-Akhu and Antef on the left side of the offering table can be understood as a filiation (even if not expressed by *s3*), than Antef-Akhu and Tjebu would be brothers, both holding the office of governor, but surely not at the same time. Tjebu could be an older brother succeeded first by his younger brother Antef-Akhu and then by his nephew Khety. Following these presuppositions, the following genealogy could be reconstructed, but remains hypothetical until further evidence comes to light:

The relationship of User and his son, the governor Meket, to this family is unclear. The simple addition of both individuals as father and grandfather of Ma'atiu would be possible; but first, a filiation between Ma'atiu and Meket is not expressed and second, this would result in a listing of five generations of governors which, though not impossible, is doubtful for it suggests an unusually and impressively long time span for a dynasty of governors. Also the connection between those governors and Khakaure-Seneb and Maheshotep, who are attested on other objects (see above), remains uncertain.

Offering table B 1503 offers names and defines degrees of kinship for several women, most probably belonging to the family or families of governors: Sat-Im (*s3.t-jm*),[51] her mother Khem (*ḫm*)[52] and her grandmother Menkhet (*mnḫ.t*).[53] Unfortunately, none of these women can be connected to any of the attested governors so far. The mothers and daughters of the governors we have knowledge of are: Sithathor (*s3.t ḥw.t-ḥr*),[54] the mother

[42] Ranke, *PN I*, 34.1.
[43] Ranke, *PN I*, 277.26.
[44] Although the location of his tombs is problematic, see above.
[45] If the reading is correct. Not attested in Ranke, *PN I*.
[46] For numerous attestations of names with the element *mrjj.t* see Ranke, *PN I*, 161. 14; this exact variant, however, does not appear in his list.
[47] Ranke, *PN I*, 390.18.
[48] Frequent in the Middle Kingdom: Ranke, *PN I*, 166.17.
[49] Frequent in the Middle Kingdom: Ranke, *PN I*, 85.6.
[50] A *m3ʿ.t* of the Middle Kingdom is attested at Meir: Ranke, *PN I*, 144.24.
[51] Ranke, *PN I*, 286.
[52] Ranke, *PN I*, 269.13 ff.
[53] Ranke, *PN I*, 153.14.
[54] A common name in the Middle Kingdom: Ranke, *PN I*, 291.14. However, the inscription naming Sithathor as mother of Maheshotep has not been published. The filiation is only mentioned by van Siclen, in Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses*, 192, who has ac-

of Maheshotep (*mɜj-ḥs(ɜ)-ḥtp*),[55] Mut (*mw.t*),[56] the mother of Khakaure-Seneb, and Nefret (*nfr.t*),[57] the daughter of Antef and probably the mother of another governor whose name is lost.[58] A last name is that of Kheret-ib (*ḫr.t-jb*),[59] who was the wife, mother or daughter of an official, judging by the base of the statue where her name is mentioned. Except for the last, who bears the usual title of women of the elite *nb.t-pr* – "lady of the house", no other titles of these women have been preserved.



The titles and title strings of the male individuals are highly interesting, for they shed some light on the otherwise relatively unknown structures of provincial administration in the Delta in the Middle Kingdom.

The title *jrj-pᶜ.t* is not a function, but a ranking title and well attested throughout Egyptian history. As the *jrj-pᶜ.t* could act as a deputy for the king on various ceremonial and other occasions, it is the highest ranking title. The only person bearing that title is Khakaure-Seneb, whose dating to the time of Sesostris III has been discussed above. In title strings of high officials, *jrj-pᶜ.t* is usually followed by *ḥɜtj-ᶜ*. In Bubastis, it appears many times without further additions directly in front of the personal name and is therefore understood as a function title, best translated as "governor" or "mayor".[60]

The title (*j*)*m*(*y*)-*r*(*ɜ*) *ḫm.w-nṯr* "overseer of the priests", probably of Bastet (as it is attested for Khakaure-Seneb) reflects the typical phenomenon of the Middle Kingdom, that provincial governors combined offices of secular and religious power, presiding not only over the administration of the city but also over the organisation of the local main temple, in this case the temple of Bastet.[61] At least five of the attested governors of Bubastis bear this title. It it is very possible that some or all of the others also held the same position but the limited available space for inscriptions on the monuments known to us permitted the inclusion of only one title, the most important being *ḥɜtj-ᶜ*.

Title	Individual
jrj-pᶜ.t	Khakaure-Seneb
ḥɜtj-ᶜ	User Meket Ma'atiu Antef Tjebu Antef-Akhu Khety Khakaure-Seneb Maheshotep
(*j*)*m*(*y*)-*r*(*ɜ*) *ḫm.w-nṯr*	Antef Tjebu Antef-Akhu Khety Meket
(*j*)*m*(*y*)-*r*(*ɜ*) *ḫm.w-nṯr n*(*y*) *bɜst.t*	Khakaure-Seneb
(*j*)*m*(*y*)-*r*(*ɜ*)*gs-pr*	Antef Tjebu Antef-Akhu Khety Meket
ḫrj-tp nḫb m pr-wr	Khakaure-Seneb

Another function title is the (*j*)*m*(*y*)-*r*(*ɜ*) *gs-pr*, the "overseer of the production place", who was responsible for the craftsmen (troops) and products of a centre of workshops.[62] The attestation of this title for the governors of Bubastis fits very well into the general picture, that in the Middle Kingdom the (*j*)*m*(*y*)-*r*(*ɜ*) *gs-pr* is especially connected with the title *ḥɜtj-ᶜ* of the governors of the provincial towns, defining their directing of local production centres.[63] Grajetzki observed that many

cess to the unpublished field notes of Farid.

[55] Ranke, *PN I*, 144.13.

[56] Ranke, *PN I*, 147.3.

[57] A very frequent name as well: Ranke, *PN I*, 201.10. As has been said above for Sithathor; also the inscriptions concerning Nefret have been only mentioned by van Siclen (in Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses*, 190), but never been published.

[58] van Siclen, in Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses*, 190.

[59] Ranke, *PN I*, 273.17.

[60] Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung*, 221, 223.

[61] Ward, *Index*, 35.259. Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 110. For Middle Egypt, see Selve, *CRIPEL* 15, 73-81.

[62] Fischer, *ZÄS* 93, 66-7; Grajetzki, in Moreno García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 254; Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung*, 201-2; Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches*, 107, 386, 509; Ward, *Index*, 52.411.

[63] See also the governor of Avaris Ankh-Hor in the early Twelfth Dynasty: Adams, *ASAE* 56, 213.

provincial officials holding the title (*j*)*m*(*y*)-*r*(*ꜣ*) *gs-pr* were appointed to the status of a governor in their next career-step.[64] A Thirteenth Dynasty stela of Mentuhotep, an *jmy-rꜣ gs-pr* from Gebelein, emphasises in particular his activities concerning the granaries and storehouses, which obviously formed part of the administrative unit of the *gs-pr* in his time.[65]

The above-mentioned title (*j*)*m*(*y*)-*r*(*ꜣ*) *ḥm.w-nṯr*, "overseer of the priests," and (*j*)*m*(*y*)-*r*(*ꜣ*) *ḥm.w-nṯr n*(*y*) *bꜣst.t*, "overseer of the priests of Bastet", can be seen in connection with the *gs-pr,* as the temple of Bastet had certainly been equipped with its own workshops and magazines, forming an important part of the *gs-pr* of the city, where especially luxury goods would have been stored. Another obvious place for the *gs-pr* would be the palace.

According to Farid, in his tomb, governor Ma'atiu bears the title *rḫ nsw.t*, "acquaintance of the king", a ranking title which, from the time of Amenemhet II, appears no longer in combination with other, especially high ranking titles as such *ḥꜣtj-ʿ*.[66] Farid does not mention the presence of any other titles in the tomb inscriptions of Ma'atiu, but it is quite certain that as Ma'atiu owned a tomb in cemetery E he was a governor and therefore also bore the title *ḥꜣtj-ʿ*. Thus we may assume that he dates to an earlier phase of the Middle Kingdom. His role as an early member of the governors' dynasty at Bubastis is suggested by offering table B 1511 as well. The governors of Bubastis attested by the monuments discussed above may therefore date from the time of Amenemhet II (Ma'atiu) into the reign of Sesostris III/ Amenemhet III (Khakaure-Seneb). The discovery of a decorated limestone lintel and door jambs showing Amenemhet III in a *sed*-festival chapel in the palace to the west of cemetery E indicates[67] that the palace was the centre of the administration, where the governor of the city conducted his office, and flourished into the late Twelfth Dynasty (see below).

The existence of the governors demonstrates clearly the urban function of Bubastis as a major focal point of power and one controlling a certain region in economic, administrative, religious and jurisdictional terms. Bubastis was the place where products and taxes of the region would have been collected, stored, processed and sent to other centres around the country, especially to the capital and the royal court. Still, it is difficult to define the details, processes, dynamics and limits of the underlying system.[68]

Although forming a major city of the Delta, Bubastis was not the capital of a nome in the Middle Kingdom. The city belonged to the nome of Heliopolis (the Thirteenth nome of Lower Egypt), probably situated close to the border with the vast 'east' nome (Fourteenth nome of Lower Egypt).[69] The capital of the 13th nome is not Heliopolis, but an otherwise unknown city *sw*, as the list of nomes on the White Chapel of Sesostris I at Karnak shows,[70] but the depiction and mention of Bastet beside Isis as one of the main deities of the nome points to the great prominence of Bubastis, as Bastet is the main local deity of Bubastis at least since the Sixth Dynasty.[71] In general, the territorial reorganisation of the Nile Delta in the Middle Kingdom favoured the creation of smaller units, focusing on cities rather than nomes.[72] That would explain the presence of Bastet (and therefore Bubastis) on the nome list of the chapel of Senusret I as well as the existence of a huge palace and an elite cemetery of the Middle Kingdom in the city itself, all of which underlines its role as a regional government authority.

Coming back now to the governors' cemetery at Bubastis, one last issue has to be addressed. Operating under the premise that all the individuals named Antef refer to the same person, the analysis of the inscribed objects identified at least nine governors. If we are dealing with more than one person called Antef, the number would increase to ten or eleven. The cemetery on the other hand does not seem to provide enough space for this many individuals, assuming that each would have required an appropriately grand tomb equipped with a limestone burial chamber, at least one entrance shaft and lesser burial vaults for family members or colleagues. Only six tombs were equipped with a limestone burial chamber of which one seems to have been owned by the "lady" Nefret (tomb 2), which reduces the number of proper tombs down to five (Fig. 2).[73]

Consequently, two other possibilities have to be considered. Firstly, the present state of the cemetery shows only the latest stage with the latest tombs and older

[64] Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung*, 201, nos. 2-3.

[65] Kubisch, Franke, in Fischer-Elfert, Parkinson (eds.), *Studies on the Middle Kingdom in memory of Detlef Franke*, 152, 157.

[66] Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung*, 226. Ward, *Index*, 104.857a.

[67] van Siclen, in Bietak (ed.), *Haus und Palast*, 245, fig. 11.

[68] See in general Willems, in Moreno García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 341-92.

[69] Helck, *Die ägyptischen Gaue*, 183, 195-6.

[70] Lacau, Chevrier, *Une Chapelle de Sésostris Ier a Karnak*, 235, pls. 26, 42.

[71] Lange, *ZÄS* 133, 122-3.

[72] Bietak, *Tell el-Dab'a II*, 163-4.

[73] Even taking into account the possibility of the partial destruction of tombs, especially the removal of limestone slabs of burial chambers, to suggest that more tombs appropriate for a governor's burial existed, the space is still too limited. Besides, no signs of such a heavy destruction are mentioned by Farid.

building phase lying beneath those structures. Secondly, another cemetery of governors existed elsewhere at the site. Interestingly, directly west of the Old Kingdom cemetery A is another complex of burials with tombs made of mud-brick and burial chambers of limestone. At present, no information about this cemetery (Fig. 1, cemetery D) is available; a Middle Kingdom date for it, however, cannot be excluded. Only future archaeological work in this area will clarify this point.

Not only is the internal structure and organisation of the cemetery of governors of great interest for further studies, the investigation of its location within the urban structure of Bubastis in the Middle Kingdom is very promising as well, although hindered by the lack of comprehensive data.

Yet, it is possible to draw some general conclusions. As I have shown elsewhere, the temple of Bastet was in all likelihood located at more or less the same site as the (later) remains that can be seen today.[74] The cemetery of governors and the palace are located to the north of the temple. While the orientation of the cemetery and its main entrance face north, the entrance to the palace is situated on the south-eastern part of the southern façade. This unusual feature (palace entrances are in general on the north)[75] could be explained by the presence of the temple of Bastet to the south. Both palace and temple may have been connected by a processional road.[76]

The settlement of the Middle Kingdom is still not uncovered. It must have been substantial due to the importance of the city and probably lies to the south of the palace as well. Once again, only intensive future archaeological investigation can provide us with more information.

The wider context

As stated in the introduction to this paper, the governors' cemetery at Bubastis is unique insofar as we have no close parallels. Apart from a few sites such as Tell Dab'a for example,[77] the archaeology of the Delta in the Middle Kingdom is still poorly studied. Cemeteries are known for several sites in the Western Delta at el-Qatta, Abu Ghalib, Kom Abu Billo, Kom el-Hisn, Kom Firin and Barugi. For the eastern Delta, burial places at Tell el-Yahudia, Tell Samad, and Mendes are noteworthy.

As most of those places are only published in short preliminary reports, a comparative study is not possible at the moment. Still, a survey of the available data may prove useful here. Simple burials of the Middle Kingdom have been found at Kom Abu Billo, but almost no information about them has been published.[78] The site of Kom Firin contained on the main mound the decorated tomb of Hesu (*ḥsw*) of which only the limestone burial vault was preserved.[79] Hesu bore the title "overseer of the temple" and "overseer of the singers", but not the title *ḫ3tj-ʿ*.[80] It is uncertain, whether he dates to the Middle Kingdom or the First Intermediate Period.[81] Other tombs of the First Intermediate Period to the Middle Kingdom at Kom el-Hisn are mentioned in excavation reports but have not been thoroughly published and their relationship to the tomb of Khesu remains unclear.[82]

The same feature of seemingly isolated and decorated tombs is located at Barnugi, where two burials have been found on the northern mound of the site.[83] Apart from their burial vaults made of limestone, no other tomb architecture has been described, but it can be assumed that they consisted of mud-brick structures as well. The burials, both of women, were found decayed, but evidently intact.[84] Remains of decoration and inscriptions were preserved in both tombs, identifying the owner of the western tomb as Sithathor (*s3.t ḥwt-ḥr*), the daughter of Shedy (*šdjj*). It is obvious that these two tombs once belonged to a cemetery of the local elite of which we have no information.

The site of Abu Ghalib contains a settlement of the Middle Kingdom. Apart from three burials within the houses, no cemetery has been discovered and the excavator suggested that the tombs of el Qatta actually belong to that settlement.[85]

The cemetery at el-Qatta comprises fourteen tombs of differing layouts, housing one or several burial chambers accessible through shafts. The tombs are built of mud-brick and vaulted over by either high pointed, barrel or flat pointed roofs.[86] The burial chambers were often made of limestone, and also wood was used for the construction.[87] Only the owner of tomb 2, the governor Neha (*ḫ3tj-ʿ nh3*) could be identified. His tomb

[74] Lange, *ZÄS* 133, 121-2.
[75] Bietak, Lange, *EA* 44, 5.
[76] I am thankful to Manfred Bietak for pointing out that possibility to me in the first place.
[77] For the numerous articles and volumes see *Egypt and the Levant* passim as well as the *Tell el-Dab'a* volumes I ff.
[78] Farid, *ASAE* 61, 22.
[79] Edgar, in Maspero (ed.), *Le Musée Égyptien*, vol. III, 54-61.
[80] Grajetzki wonders if that may be the local equivalent for the title "governor": *Court Officials*, 110.
[81] Wenke, in Bard (ed.), *Encyclopedia*, 415.
[82] The dating of the tombs at Kom el-Hisn was discussed soon after their discovery: Brunton, *ASAE* 46, 143-5; For a recent compilation of the available information see Spencer, *Kom Firin I*, 8-17. See also Seidlmayer, *Gräberfelder*, 393.
[83] Edgar, in Maspero (ed.), *Le Musée Égyptien*, vol. II, 109-18.
[84] *Op. cit.*, 111.
[85] Larsen, *MDAIK* 6, 87.
[86] Chassinat, Gauthier, Pieron, *Fouilles de Qattah*; Badawy, *A History of Egyptian Architecture*, 170-1.
[87] See Chassinat, Gauthier, Pieron, *Fouilles de Qattah*, 14-31.

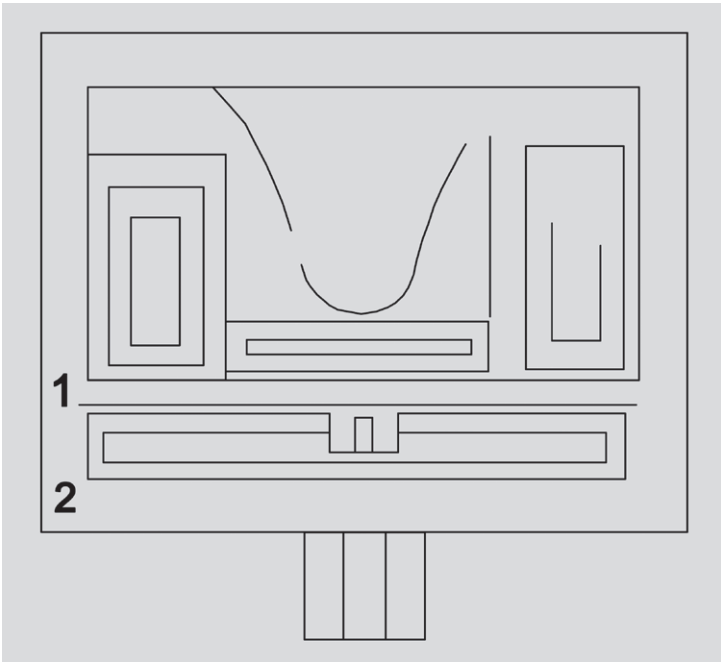
is exceptional as it is lavishly inscribed with funerary literature mostly from the corpus of the Pyramid Texts.[88] Also the construction of his tomb is exceptional. It exceeds over 40 m, with a long corridor leading to the barrel vaulted burial chamber. As described for the tomb of Maheshotep (3), tomb 7 and the tomb of Nefret (2) in Bubastis, the canopic niche was located in the centre of the south side. Also here, the floor showed beam- grooves to lift the wooden coffin from the floor.

Neha was the governor of the settlement or even the whole region to which the cemetery of el-Qatta belonged. Unfortunately, the other tomb owners and their social status are not known. Also the period of use for this burial ground is not known in detail.

Looking at the map of this region one notices that the cemetery here is different from the governors' cemetery at Bubastis. The tombs are separated from each other and there are no traces of the thorough internal spatial organisation we have seen at Bubastis. Yet, the material and layout of the tombs demonstrates clearly that this was the cemetery of the elite, maybe of a dynasty of governors as well. It remains unclear where the residence of those governors was located.

Burials of the Middle Kingdom have been reported for Mendes, but without further details,[89] although a cemetery for Middle Kingdom governors could be expected here.[90] The site of Tell el-Yahudija comprised mainly tombs of the Second Intermediate Period and no tombs with an unquestionable dating into the Middle Kingdom have been published yet.

The only structural parallel to the governors' cemetery at Tell Basta can be found at Tell el-Dab'a: a cemetery of a palatial building dating into the late Middle Kingdom (transition from the Twelfth to the Thirteenth Dynasty) in area F I.[91] Several tombs of officials lie south of the building forming a kind of a palatial necropolis. The tombs were built of mud-brick with vaulted roofs, but did not contain limestone burial chambers. Remains of the superstructures show that there existed above-ground chapels for the funerary cult. Especially interesting are the tree pits, suggesting that each tomb had been decorated with a tree.[92] The material culture of the grave goods reflects a cultural background of different traditions with Egyptian, but also strong Canaanite and



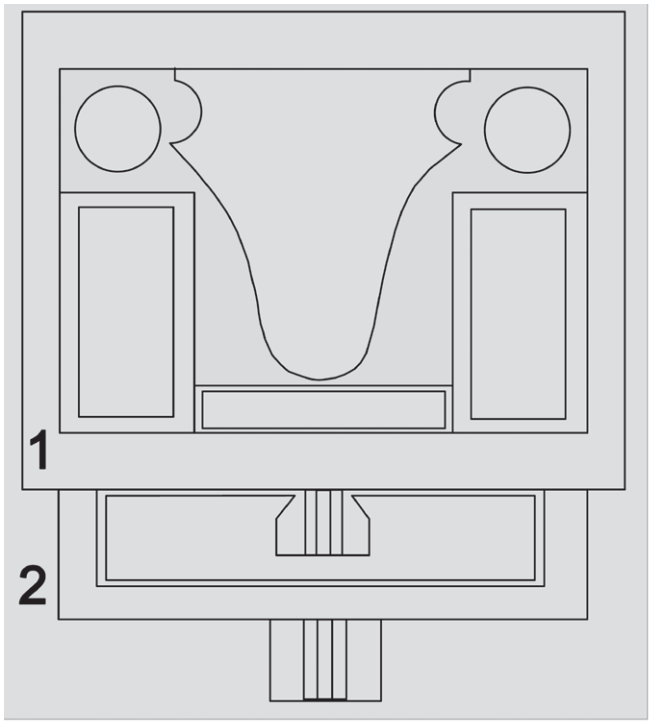


Fig. 5 - Schematic drawing of offering table B 1503 after el-Sawi, *ASAE* 63. Drawing: E. Lange © 'Tell Basta-Project'

Fig. 6 - Schematic drawing of offering table B 1511 after el-Sawi, *ASAE* 63. Drawing: E. Lange © 'Tell Basta-Project'

Levantine elements.[93]

The location of the governor's cemetery at Bubastis close to the palace is not usual for Ancient Egypt as the cemeteries are normally separated from the settlements. Also here, the palatial necropolis of Tell el-Dab'a is an interesting parallel. In the case of Tell Basta, it is difficult

[88] Chassinat, Gauthier, Pieron, *Fouilles de Qattah*, 17-22, 33-77.

[89] Hansen, *JARCE* 6, 14.

[90] Officials of the Middle Kingdom are attested at Mendes, as a part of an over-life sized statue of Kha-kau-Re Shemes-Ba and an offering table inscribed for Senebef from the burial ground attest: Soghor, *JARCE* 6, 31.

[91] Schiestl, *Tell el-Dab'a XVIII: Die Palastnekropole.*

[92] Bietak, in Bietak, Holaubek, Mukarovsky (eds.), *Zwischen den beiden Ewigkeiten*, 7-10.

[93] Schiestl, *Tell el-Dab'a XVIII: Die Palastnekropole*, 216.

to explain this distinctive feature as a result of near eastern influence as could be argued for Tell el-Dab'a. On the other hand, the "rule" of the separation between the zone of the living and the necropolis is mainly a construct observed at sites in Upper Egypt, which should not simply be transferred to the Delta where the database is much too narrow to formulate general rules in terms of funerary traditions.[94] On the contrary, we have to expect several local traditions and innovations due to the special conditions of the Delta landscape. The closeness between cemetery and settlement may well be a special funerary tradition of the Eastern Delta.

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The Archetype of Kingship
Who Senwosret I claimed to be, How and Why?

David Lorand

Abstract
The main objective of this study is to understand the mechanisms underlying the definition of the given image of Pharaoh throughout his reign, both in literature and in iconography, in the particular context of the reign of Senwosret I, when royal power is in dire need of legitimation. We will therefore investigate the ideology underlying the royal 'portrait' – a 'portrait' taken in the broadest sense of the term, encompassing all iconographic and textual means used to make known a specific conception of the pharaonic power held by the second sovereign of the Twelfth Dynasty.

Kheperkare Senwosret I was the second king of the Twelfth Dynasty. He acceded to the throne of the Two Lands after the death of his father Sehetepibre Amenemhet I, a 'new man' who did not belong to the royal family of the last ruler of the Eleventh Dynasty, Nebtawyre Mentuhotep IV. The *Prophecy of Neferti* described Amenemhet as the "son of a woman of Ta-Sety (...) the son of a man".[1] This dynastic rupture probably explains, partly at least, the dramatic circumstances of Senwosret I's accession to the throne after the assassination of his father in Year 30, 3rd month of the season *akhet*, day 7.[2]

Conspiring against the pharaoh and succeeding in murdering him in the hope of disrupting the established order of succession, explicitly or implicitly, is an exceptional thing in the history of Pharaonic Egypt. Indeed, we only know of three such occurrences, during the reigns of Teti (Sixth Dynasty), Amenemhet I (Twelfth Dynasty) and Ramses III (Twentieth Dynasty).[3] The uniqueness of such an event, right at the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty, gave rise to an important Egyptological debate about the organization of the royal succession during the Middle Kingdom, and particularly about the actual existence and definition of coregencies. The hypothesis of an association on the throne of a sovereign and his presumptive successor has been proposed since the mid-Nineteenth century by E. de Rougé[4] and C. R. Lepsius[5] on the basis of the so-called 'double dated' stelae of Hepu (south of Aswan)[6] and Wepwawet-aâ (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden Leiden).[7] For over a century, this idea of the simultaneous presence of two pharaohs at the head of the country was widely accepted. Several other documents have enriched this small corpus, and a study of primary importance in this connection had emerged from the pen of W. K. Simpson.[8] This view crystallized in 1977 in the monograph on this subject by W. J. Murnane.[9] The author established *i.a.* the coregency between Amenemhet I and his son Senwosret I as the *locus classicus* of this presumed institutional process.[10] This model was challenged in a few controversial studies by R. D. Delia,[11] later supported by Cl. Obsomer[12] who highlighted the fundamental weakness of the coregencies hypothesis, using epigraphic and philological arguments as well as a discussion about the ideology of pharaonic power.

The assassination of Amenemhet I and the reign of his successor also gave rise to questions about the legit-

[1] See the edition of Helck, *Die Prophezeiung des Nfr.tj*.
[2] Date mentioned in the *Story of Sinuhe* (R5-R8). See the edition of Koch, *Die Erzählung des Sinuhe*.
[3] Weber, in *LÄ* II, 987-91. See also volume 35 of the journal *EAO* (2004) dedicated to *Crimes et châtiments dans l'ancienne Égypte*, particularly Gabolde, *EAO* 35, 3-9.
[4] de Rougé, *RevArch* 6, 572-4.
[5] Lepsius, *AAWB* 1853, 447-8.
[6] Mention of the Year 35 of Amenemhet II and of the Year 3 of Senwosret II, de Morgan, Bouriant, Legrain, *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions*, 25 (n. 178).
[7] Inv. V 4. Mention of the Year 44 of Senwosret I and of the Year 2 of Amenemhet II, Sethe, *Aegyptische Lesestücke*, 72-3 (n. 15a).
[8] Simpson, *JNES* 15, 214-9.
[9] Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*.
[10] *Op. cit.*, 245.
[11] Delia, *BES* 1, 15-28; Delia, *BES* 4, 55-69.
[12] Obsomer, *Sésostris Ier*, notably 35-155.

imation process of the royal power. As pointed by Cl. Vandersleyen: "La grande obsession de Sésostris Ier fut de se légitimer et de légitimer sa dynastie. (…) et (il) a voulu s'affirmer comme le successeur à la fois des grands rois du passé et des fondateurs du Moyen Empire".[13] G. Posener was one of the main contributors to the analysis of the expression of power and ideology through artistic productions during the Pharaonic era, focusing in particular on the use of literature.[14] His study of the *Prophecy of Neferty*, the *Teaching of Amenemhet*, the *Story of Sinuhe* or the *Loyalist Teachings*[15] demonstrated that their origin lies not in a personal and punctual authorial desire of recognition from a scribe. It reflects more certainly the need to publicize the ideology of power and the legitimacy of those who hold it during the Twelfth Dynasty. This field of research is characterized by a very dynamic and abundant scientific production, still agitated, however, by fundamental epistemological issues, especially about the propagandistic and/or literary nature of these texts.[16] This literary evidence has been the focus of, among others, D. Franke,[17] Cl. Obsomer,[18] R. Gundlach[19] and E. Hirsch.[20]

Senwosret I therefore ascended the throne in particularly tragic circumstances, involving relatives of the young prince, at least if literary texts such as the *Teaching of Amenemhet* or the *Story of Sinuhe* are to be believed.[21] No document, unfortunately, gives us the names or status of the conspirators, and their destiny is unknown.[22] The *Story of Sinuhe* reports (R17-R22) that when news of the events that occurred at the palace reach the eldest son and presumptive heir to the throne, Senwosret, another royal child taking part in his expeditionary force to the country of Tjemehu is also warned of what was happening in the capital, probably because being involved in the attack to believe the reaction of Sinuhe:[23]

> (R22) (…) Now, one (also) sent (the message) (R23) to the royal children who were following him in this troupe. (R24) One of them was summoned, and I stood there (R25), I heard his voice as he spoke. I was in the presence of a dissent. (R26) My heart staggered, my arms spread out, trembling fell on every limb, *Story of Sinuhe*

The *Teaching of Amenemhet* seems to imply that a parallel branch of the family of Senwosret could have been responsible for the plot. The veiled terms used by the deceased pharaoh to describe the attitude of some court members[24] should, following Cl. Obsomer's opinion, be understood as an evocation of what happened at the palace, namely a plot by a woman –perhaps a secondary wife– aiming to place her own son –maybe the prince mentioned by Sinuhe (R24-R25)– on the throne of Egypt instead of Senwosret.[25]

The coronation of Senwosret I must have taken place in an atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust of those around him, all the more so if the young king has followed the advice of his late father contained in his *Teaching*:

> (IIa) Guard yourself from subordinates, of them nothing comes, (IIb) everyone puts his heart towards his fears. (IIc) Do not approach them when you are alone. (IId) Do not trust a brother, know no friend. (IIe) Do not create a confidant, it leads to nothing.
> (IIIa) (For) your sleep, keep your heart yourself, (IIIb) indeed, there is nobody for anyone on the day of woe, *Teaching of Amenemhet*

The main objective of this study is to understand the mechanisms underlying the definition of the given image of the pharaoh throughout his reign, both in literature and in iconography, in the particular context of the reign of Senwosret I, when royal power is in dire need

[13] Vandersleyen, *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil*, vol. II, 58.
[14] Posener, *Littérature et politique*.
[15] Posener, *L'enseignement loyaliste*.
[16] Simpson, in Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 435-43; Schenkel, in Blumenthal, Assmann (eds.), *Literatur und Politik*, 63-74; Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture*, notably 13-6.
[17] E.g. Franke, in der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, 275-95 ; Franke, in Gundlach, Raedler (eds.), *Selbstverständnis und Realität*, 175-209.
[18] E.g. Obsomer, *GM* 130, 57-74; Obsomer, *RdE* 44, 103-40; Obsomer, *Muséon* 112, 207-71; Obsomer, *EAO* 37, 33-64.
[19] Within an abundant production related to royal ideology and legitimation, see Gundlach, in Gundlach, Raedler (eds.), *Selbstverständnis und Realität*, 11-20; Gundlach, in Kloth, Martin, Pardey (eds.), *Festschrift für Hartwig Altenmüller*, 179-92; Gundlach, *Die Königsideologie Sesostris'I*.
[20] Hirsch, in Gundlach, Seipel (eds.) *Das frühe ägyptische Königtum*, 43-62; Hirsch, *Die Sakrale Legitimation Sesostris'I*.
[21] See the discussion –with relevant bibliography– in Lorand, *Arts et politique sous Sésostris Ier*, 11-4.
[22] This in itself is not surprising if we take into account the mechanisms of phraseology used in the judgment reports after the plot against Ramesses III: Vernus, *Affaires et scandales*, 153-6; Vernus, *EAO* 35, 12-3. See also the veiled terms used by Sinuhe as underlined by Obsomer, *Muséon* 112, 257.
[23] See the in-depth analysis proposed by Obsomer, *Muséon* 112, 207-71. See the 'an-historical' analysis made by Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture*, 151-6. The divergent points of view are basically due to the reading of *iw.i m 'rw wȝ* "(R25) (…) I was in the presence of a dissent (*i.a.* Koch's edition - Obsomer's translation) / I was in a near distance (*i.a.* Gardiner's edition – Parkinson's translation)", if one follows the emendation suggested by Vivian Davies (as Obsomer does) or not (as Parkinson). See Davies, *JEA* 61, 45. See Gardiner, *Notes on the story of Sinuhe*, 13.
[24] "(IXa) Have women ever raised mercenaries? (IXb) Had rebels been nurtured within the palace?", *Teaching of Amenemhet*. See the edition by Adrom, *Die Lehre des Amenemhet*.
[25] Obsomer, *Muséon* 112, 39, n. 17.

of legitimation. We will therefore investigate the ideology underlying the royal 'portrait' – a 'portrait' taken in the broadest sense of the term, encompassing all iconographic and textual means used to make known a specific conception of the pharaonic power held by the second sovereign of the Twelfth Dynasty.

1 – The titulary as representation of the individual and of his relationship with the world and the gods: a portrait in 'words'

The first identity of the sovereign –that defines him both in his essence and in his function– is undoubtedly his royal titulary, the *nḫbt*, consisting of five names, of which the first four entities represent the 'true name' (*rn mȝʿ*). The last item or *nomen* (in this case *S-n-wsrt*) is the name given at the child's birth and is independent of his future function despite the recurrence of the concept of sovereign predestination in post-accession texts.[26] The titulary of the king may entirely replace the effigy of the pharaoh, as is probably the case in the stelae of Deduantef set in Buhen in Year 5 of Senwosret I.[27] The royal name is conceived as consubstantially identical to the individual named, as is illustrated by the famous anthroponymic 'rebus' of Ramesses II as a child protected by the falcon god Horun (Egyptian Museum Cairo JE 46735).[28] The importance of this protocol also requires large scale organized diffusion, to both international and local administrative entities. Its careful design highlights and makes public "le cadre idéologique à l'action royale et annonce les grandes orientations que Pharaon entend donner à son règne", as L. Postel emphasized.[29] However, one should not evaluate the king's deeds in terms of the titulary only, because it is set at the start of the reign and has essentially a programmatic value, without knowing *a priori* the actual sovereign's achievements.[30]

In the case of the titulary of Senwosret I, most of his names deal with the creative vitality that the king embodies, while his birth name, Senwosret (*S-n-wsrt*, literally "He of the Powerful one"), probably comes from his paternal grandfather and manifests his Theban ancestry. New Horus on the throne of his father, Senwosret I established his full titulary[31] as an extension of that of Amenemhet I:

The Horus Ankh-mesut, the Two Ladies Ankh-mesut, the Golden Horus Ankh-mesut, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheperkare, the Son of Re Senwosret

The triple mention of the name of Ankh-mesut is reminiscent of the iteration of the name Wehem-mesut in the new name Senwosret's father chose during his own reign. The titulary shift of Amenemhet I is commonly understood as a sign of his desire to distance himself from the rulers of the Eleventh Dynasty:[32] the term Wehem-mesut indeed literally means "Renewal of the Creation".[33] On the contrary, when his son adopted the name Ankh-mesut –or "Living by the Creation"– he stressed the continuation and durability of the work of his predecessor. This translation of the name Ankh-mesut reads the expression as 'adjectif + accusatif de relation', 'mesut' expressing the Twelfth Dynasty foundation act by Amenemhet I and 'ankh' manifesting Senwosret I as being alive within this Creation. The sovereign is living in, through and because of the Wehem-mesut creation of his father.[34] He is "Living by the Creation", that is to say, he lives because he *is* the Creation, but also that the "Creation is alive".[35] He is thus the embodiment of the new *First Time* initiated by his predecessor and evidenced by the erection of a

[26] On the royal titulary, see the old but still fundamental contribution of Gardiner, *Grammar*, 71-6. See more recently von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*. See also for names of the various components of the royal titulary Bonhème, *BIFAO* 78, 347-87.

[27] London BM EA 1177, Hall, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae*, part IV, pls. 2-3. The second stela is known thanks to the manuscript of W. J. Bankes only, published by Macadam, *JEA* 32, 60-1, pl. 9.

[28] For these questions dealing with the substitution and the consubstantiation of the king's name and image, see Bonhème, *Ramage* 3, 117-27.

[29] Postel, *Protocole des souverains égyptiens*, 2. See also Hornung, *Saeculum* 22, 48-52.

[30] Warning reported in Cabrol, *Amenhotep III*, 181.

[31] For a combinatory study of the elements of the titulary of Senwosret I, see Gundlach, *Die Königsideologie Sesostris' I.*

[32] Before Year 7 of his reign. See the inscription at Ayn Sukhna dated Year 7, 1st month of the season *shemu*, day 6 of the reign of Amenemhet I, Abd el-Raziq, Castel, Tallet, *Les inscriptions d'Ayn Soukhna*, 42-3, 105-7.

[33] For such an understanding of the royal titulary, see Berman, *Amenemhet I*, 3-4, and on the meaning of Wehem-mesut in general, Niwinski, *BSFE* 136, 5-26.

[34] In his paper, R. Leprohon understands *ankh* as a " Prospective *sḏm.f* (…), the young king (…) proclaiming '(Long) Live the (Re)birth', *i.e.* '(Long) Live (my father's) Renaissance'", Leprohon, *JARCE* 33, 167.

[35] The 'adjectif A + accusatif de relation B' may be understood as the description of an essential or perceived quality that links A and B. As for example the way native Americans described themselves as 'red-skins', "red is about the skin", "red by the skin", meaning that "the skin is red" (so speaking 'A is about B', thus 'B is A'). In Ankh-mesut, it means "ankh is about/by mesut", so "mesut is ankh", "the Life is about/by the Creation" and "the Creation is alive". See Goddard, *ERNAS* 19/2, 1-20.

new royal Residence called Amenemhet-Itj-Tawy, new home of the restoration of Ma'at.[36] This bridge between the two reigns is fundamental in the political context of the accession to the throne of Senwosret I. Claiming to be the one who lives in the dynasty initiated by his father, he installs his family firmly on the throne of Egypt and puts an end –programmatically– to the contesting of his legitimacy. In addition, the concept of Ankh-mesut gives a name, from the throne accession of Senwosret I onwards, to the gigantic work of restoration of the divine temples of Egypt, to the assertion of his royal power both in Egypt and abroad, and to the intense exploitation of gems and minerals hoarded in the mountainous body of the gods.

Nevertheless, it is a human protocol reflecting the institutional policy of the sovereign, even if its impact affects the entire pharaonic world and first of all the gods: their cult is reaffirmed and their temples rebuilt. These human activities ensuring the creation and the Ma'at are echoed in the divine sphere by writing the *prenomen* – or coronation name– of Senwosret I as Kheperkare. The traditional translation of *Ḫpr-kȝ-R'* is usually rendered as follows: "The *ka* of Re happens/comes to life". This first translation may refer to the fact that Senwosret I is perceived as the royal living embodiment of the god Re accessing the throne of Egypt. He *is* the *ka* of Re that comes to life when he seizes the Two Lands (and even before due to the king's predestination as we will see below). But, as noted by R. Gundlach, this usual translation does not take into account a parallel: *Mȝ't-kȝ-R'* (Hatshepsut) understood as "Ma'at is the *ka* of Re".[37] Therefore one should probably favour a translation that approximates "Coming to life/becoming is the *ka* of Re". It would underline the fundamental characteristics of the divine referent presented as one that appears daily in the sky, as primordial god that materialized (to) himself (*ḫpr ḏs.f*) before the existence of the universe, and as the demiurge of the *First Time* ensuring the perpetuation of the Creation.[38] This manifestation (*ḫpr*) in the world is reported as an ontological imperative since it relates to the very nature of the god, being his *ka*, his vital force.

An alternative understanding of the name Kheperkare rests, just as the name of Ankh-mesut, on a construction with an 'accusatif de relation' in the form of "Becoming (is) about the *ka* of Re", "Becoming by/because of the *ka* of Re". And it would obviously emphasize, not the ontological imperative mentioned above, but the fact that the appearance of Senwosret I (on the throne) is the *ka* of Re. The name would then verbalize the demiurge's will to see the sovereign govern Egypt – something like an anthroponymic predestination.[39] This translation is slightly different from the traditional one in that it features the divine origin of the appearance of Senwosret I, an origin that cannot be restrained because it is the god's own will. On the contrary, the traditional translation appears to be more 'factual': "it happens that the *ka* of Re comes to life" and says nothing about the role played by the god. This ambiguity is probably deliberate and relevant for ancient Egyptians, the semantic multiplicity characterizing the name of the king. By his name, Senwosret I becomes the one that represents the original, irrepressible and continuous creative power of the Heliopolitan demiurge, and embodies the political desire of the primeval sun god.

The full titulary of the pharaoh therefore places the individual at the crossroads of two complementary dynamics. The first is divine and driven by an ontological imperative to create and maintain the creation thanks to its predestination. The second is human and reflects the political perception of pharaonic power by the sovereign as successor to the creative work of his father.

The legitimate accession to the throne of Senwosret I is also presented through a double logic: he is the son of his royal father and he is chosen by the gods. It is partly due to the fact that the sovereign was created while his own father, Amenemhet I, was himself king, something that specifically distinguishes Senwosret I from his predecessor:[40]

> (XVa) Behold, I have made what precedes, I ordered for you what comes. (XVb) I gathered for you the things that were in my heart. (XVc) You are wearing the White Crown of the divine offspring. (XVd) The seal is in its place, as I ordained for you. (XVe) I have entered into the barque of Re, (XVf) Your kingship rose, becoming (as) before, (XVg) as the one I fathered in it (?).[41] (XVh) Erect your monu-

[36] For the symbolic value of creating a new city conceived as the new primeval hill hosting the Creation, see Niwinski, *BSFE* 136, 16-7.

[37] Gundlach, in Kloth, Martin, Pardey (eds.), *Festschrift für Hartwig Altenmüller*, 182.

[38] Barta, in *LÄ* V, 156-80 (notably B1-6, 158-63).

[39] Gundlach suggests quite similarly a comprehension of Senwosret I's name as "The kingship (of Senwosret I) is the *ka*/vitality of Re", Gundlach, in Kloth, Martin, Pardey (eds.), *Festschrift für Hartwig Altenmüller*, 183; Gundlach, in Gundlach, Taylor (eds.), *Egyptian Royal Residences*, 53.

[40] "(XIIIa) There is a king who will come from the south, his name (being) Ameny, true of voice. (XIIIb) He is the son of a woman of Ta-Sety, he is a child of the Residence of Nekhen. (…) (XIVa) The people of his time (will) rejoice, the son of a man will establish his name (XIVb) for ever and eternity", *Prophecy of Neferti*.

[41] On the expression *m jr(w) n.i m-qȝb jry* in line XVg: see Obsomer, *Muséon* 112, 263, n. 226; Obsomer, *EAO* 37, 37, n. 31. Following Obsomer, it is precisely because Senwosret is the son of a king (contrary to his father) that he is legitimate in acceding to the throne after him, as required by the tradition restored during the Eleventh Dynasty.

ments, build your tomb. (XVi) Beware of the *Rekhyt* (?), of the one who did not desire to be beside (?) of Your Majesty LPH, *Teaching of Amenemhet*

He is also the one the gods raised and placed on the throne of Horus, as shown on various building inscriptions:[42]

(I.8) (…) I am a king in essence, a sovereign LPH to whom one did not give (the kingship). I seized it when I was an infant (*ṯz*),[43] being (already) very noble (I.9) in the egg, I was a leader as a prince (*inpw*).[44] He promoted me to Lord of the Two Parts when I was a child (*nḫn*) (I.10) who has not (yet) lost his foreskin. He appointed me Lord of the *Rekhyt*, being (his) creation (I.11) in the sight of the population. He designated me as resident of the palace when I was a young boy (*wḏḥ*) (although) I had not come (yet) out from the thighs (of my mother), had (already) been given (to me) (I.12) its length and its width, having been raised as his conqueror in essence. The land was given to me, I am (its) Lord, and my *bau* reach for me (I.13) the height of the sky, *Berlin Leather Roll*[45]

(13) (…) they praise you, because he is excellent, the protector of his father. They raised you when you were only that child on […], *Building inscription of the temple of Mentu at Tod*[46]

The stela of the Museo Egizio Florence[47] dated Year 18, 1st month of the season *peret*, day 8 of the reign of Senwosret I and dedicated in Buhen by the general Mentuhotep also bears a royal panegyric reporting the divine election of the future pharaoh:

(6) […] him] as the one who is in the palace during his childhood, before he lost the foreskin, […], the son of Atum, (7) […] his name, great of *bau* because of what comes for him, who appears on earth as Lord of […], the perfect god, the Lord of the Two Lands, [the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheperkare], given Life, Health and Power like Re, forever, *Stela of general Mentuhotep from Buhen*

(6) (…) He who seizes the Two Lands as being justified, the Lord of sweetness and One of lasting love, (7) the Son of Re who prepared him for kingship, who ordered him to seize (it) in the egg, (8) the perfect god, Senwosret, beloved of Satet, Mistress of Elephantine, given Life, Health and Power forever, *Stele TR 19/4/22/1 of Elephantine*[48]

This predestination[49] for power surfacing in the official texts certainly explains the focus on the theme of universal mastery of Senwosret I in these same sources. Texts mention symbolically an unequal guardianship of the Universe guaranteed by the gods:

(col. 7) […] that is the sky, that is the earth, [that is the water?][…], that is Re who shines every day, that is Shu (col. 8) who lifts up Nut, [that is] Ha[py who… that is Ptah-Tat]enen, the Great of the Mountain, who generates the gods, who makes the beings come to life (col. 9) from his members, that is the flame [that…] and his heart that is wise, which is great, watching over the (col. 10) breath of life […], *Building inscription of the temple of Satet at Elephantine*[50]

(1) [The Horus Ankh-mesut, the Two Ladies Ankh-mesut (?)] (?), the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheperkare, the Son of Re Senwosret, living forever, the falcon who seizes thanks to [his] strength (2) […] both eyes, the lone star that illuminates the Two Lands, the white bull who tramples the *Iunu*, *Stela of general Mentuhotep from Buhen*

Guardianship is sometimes coupled with the subjugation of the enemies of Egypt, wherever they reside, the king endlessly extending the limits of his power:

(30) (…) The thieves of this temple, I made fishes out of them, without releasing either the men or the women, (or) the valleys nor the streams, (or) the mountains nor the marshes, (or) the enemies who are in the coastal mountains, (those) who are in the furnace. They are as a torch for him, I lit it for that. That is a fire (31) that seizes them and consumes them in their heart of hearts. That is in the heart of the god that I achieve his projects

[42] The predestination of Senwosret I is also mentioned in the *Story of Sinuhe*: "(B68) (…) He seized (the kingship) in the egg, (B69) his face being set (to it) since birth".
[43] About the words describing the childhood in this excerpt, see the comments of Forgeau, *Horus-fils-d'Isis*, 336.
[44] About the child *ỉnpw*, see Vandersleyen, in Luft (ed.), *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt*, 563-6.
[45] See the reference edition of the text in De Buck, *AnOr* 17, 48-57.
[46] See the edition of Barbotin, Clère, *BIFAO* 91, 1-32.
[47] Museo Egizio, Firenze inv. 2540. See the edition and comment of Breasted, *PSBA* 23, 230-5; Obsomer, *GM* 130, 57-74.
[48] PM V, 229; Habachi, *MDAIK* 31, 30-1, fig. 3; Franke, in der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, 275-95. The copy of D. Franke improves appreciably the readings suggested by L. Habachi and should be preferred.
[49] About the expression of the king's predestination, see the corpus gathered by Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum*, 35-7.
[50] About this text and the rearrangement of the blocks, see the transcription of Hirsch, *Kultpolitik und Tempelbauprogramme*, 187-9, (doc. 47a). The text is reminiscent of the *Loyalist Teachings* precisely composed during the Twelfth Dynasty. See the presentation of Obsomer, *EAO* 37, 41-4. See also the edition of Posener, *L'Enseignement loyaliste*. A discussion about this 'king portrait' is to be found in Hirsch, *Die Sakrale Legitimation Sesostris'I*, 85-90.

> […, is…] that happens, what he orders I accomplish, no one having realized the actions he loves, *Building inscription of the temple of Mentu at Tod*

Private monuments show the same conjunction between the control of enemies and the expansion of territories and resources under the dominion of the pharaoh, while reiterating the divine mentoring of these activities:

> (1) Long live the Horus Ankh-mesut, the Two Ladies Ankh-mesut, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheperkare, the Son of Re Senwosret, the perfect god who beheads the *Iunu*, (2) who slits the throats of those-in-Setjet, the sovereign who clasps the *Hau-nebu*, who reaches the limits of the Nubian (3) rebels and who destroys the chieftains of seditious tribes, who is broad of boundary, who deploys the expeditions, (4) whose perfection unites the Two Lands, the Lord of strength and fear in the mountainous regions, whose carnage brought down the rebels, (5) - (because) the slaughter of His Majesty threw the insolent to the ground after he roped his enemies. He is a great one, (6) sweet of character for the one who follows him, he gives the breath of life to the one who adores him. The land offered him what is in it, (7) Geb granted him what he conceals, the mountainous regions making offerings, the hills being generous, each area yielded its hidden place, (8) his emissaries being numerous in all the countries, the messengers accomplishing what he desired, what was in his sight consisting in the islands (?) and the deserts. (9) His are (the things) that are in what the Sun disk surrounds, the eye brings to him what is in him, Lord of the Beings that he all created, (10) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheperkare, him whom Horus of Sety loves, him whom the Mistress Who-is-at-the-head-of-the-cataract adores, given LPH, like Re forever, *Stela of Hor from Wadi el-Hudi*[51]

> (11) (…) these are his *bau* that (…?), his excellence that awakens me, his reputation that falls (12) upon the *Hau-nebu*, the inhabitants of the mountainous regions who fall (because of) his carnage. All the countries being at his service, (13) the mountainous regions gave him what is in them, following what is ordered by Mentu Who-lives-(in) (14) -Ermant and Amun Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, who is stable for eternity, *Stela of Mentuhotep from the Wadi el-Hudi*[52]

Nevertheless, the 'private' origin of these monuments can be questioned. This is especially true for the stela of Hor (Egyptian Museum Cairo JE 71901) since the use of limestone means that it has been shaped in the Valley rather than on the site of Wadi el-Hudi where it was found. The brief and unspecific report about the mining expedition (while the royal and military eulogy is for its part developed at length) seems, moreover, to confirm that this was a monument designed in some way or another by the governing body of the pharaoh, probably during the military campaign of the Year 17-18 in Upper Nubia. Should this stela be regarded as similar to that of Senwosret III unearthed at Semna and dated Year 16? This one states

> (18) Then my Majesty has caused the realization of an image[53] of (19) My Majesty on this frontier that My Majesty has set, so that you are made strong through it, so that you fight thanks to it[54]

The expedition to the amethyst mines of Wadi el-Hudi during Year 17 of the reign of Senwosret I is indeed the first of a long series during the reign of Senwosret I, in an inhospitable desert area having only recently come under Pharaonic control. The local presence of a Twelfth Dynasty fort (locus 9) clearly proves that soldiers were active on the operating site[55] and could support the hypothesis of a stela erected to galvanize workmen and soldiers by the symbolic presence of the pharaoh (although the fortress itself can not predate the middle of the Twelfth Dynasty).[56]

The most comprehensive literary portrait of Senwosret I comes from the various copies of the *Story of Sinuhe*. Although it does obviously not constitute an objective document in the sense of a faithful recording of facts, it forms a comment –probably produced in the royal entourage– almost contemporary with the events of the early reign of the second king of the Twelfth Dynasty. It should therefore be studied as a document reflecting the literary image knowingly given by the Egyptian sources.[57] The views expressed by the text are, however, clearly rhetorically oriented by the character of Sinuhe and the narrative focuses mainly on the military omnipotence of the pharaoh and on the inhabitants of the north-eastern part of Egypt and the Syro-Palestinian corridor where Amunenshi, Sinuhe's benefactor, lives:

[51] Egyptian Museum Cairo JE 71901, probably datable of Year 17, Rowe, *ASAE* 39, 187-91, pl. 25; Sadek, *The Amethyst Mining Inscriptions of Wadi el-Hudi*, 84-8, pl. 23, n. 143.

[52] Aswan Museum Elephantine inv. 1478, dated Year 20 with an adjunction in Year 24, Sadek, *The Amethyst Mining Inscriptions of Wadi el-Hudi*, 33-5, pl. 7, n. 14.

[53] About the term *twt* with the meaning 'example' instead of 'statue', see Obsomer, *Les campagnes de Sésostris dans Hérodote*, 67, n. 251. It seems to me that the crucial point is that the sovereign ordered the realization of a monument (a stela or a statue) which substitutes itself for his person, and which, by its aura, supports the members of the Semna garrison.

[54] Stela of Year 16 held at the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Berlin, inv. ÄM 1157. See the bibliography in Obsomer, *Les campagnes de Sésostris dans Hérodote*, 181, fig. 24, pl. 2.

[55] See Shaw, Jameson, *JEA* 79, 81-97; Shaw, *Hatnub*, 131-2.

[56] See, in general, the reflections of Galán, *SAK* 21, 65-79.

[57] See above, the introduction and nn. 16, 21.

(B47) (…) He is indeed a god whose equal does not exist, (B48) no one exists before him. He is a Lord of knowledge, excellent (B49) of thoughts, effective of command, coming and going follow (B50) his decrees. He subdued foreign countries: his father was in his palace (B51) while he reported to him the accomplishment of what he ordained. He is indeed a victorious man (B52) through his strong arm, a man of action, his like does not exist,
He has been seen (B53) as he descends to fight, joining against opponents (B54),
He is the only one who strikes with the horn when hands become weak, his enemies (B55) cannot keep their combative spirit,
He is one insightful, who splits the foreheads, one cannot stand (B56) during his descent,
He is one who strides ahead to take down the fugitives, (B57) there is no respite for the one who shows (him) his back,
He is one stout-hearted in the moment of the attack, (B58)
He is one who turns back without having turned his back,
He is one broad-hearted (B59) when he sees the multitude, who does not place rest behind his heart, (B60)
He is one who moves first when he descends to the Easterners,
It is his pleasure (B61) descending in the battle. He takes his shield, he tramples, (B62) he does not renew his shot for the kill, his arrow does not give up the fight, his (B63) bow does not draw. Barbarians flee before him as (B64) (in front) of the *bau* of Weret. He fights after he preconceived the result, he (B65) does not take notice, without event.
He is a Lord of mercy, great of sweetness, (B66) he seized (the country) through love, his citizens love him more than they love themselves, they rejoice over him (B67) more than (over) their god, men and women outdo (one another) (B68) in cheering him, now he is king. He seized (the kingship) in the egg, (B69) his face being set (to it) since birth,
It is to multiply births (that being) with him, (B70)
He is the only one to be the gift of god, (how) happy is the country since he came to rule. (B71)
He is one who extends boundaries. He will seize southern lands (B72), he is not concerned by northern countries. He was created to smite the *Setetyu* (B73), to trample the sandfarers. Send him (a message), let him know (B74) your name. Do not plot anything against His Majesty. He will not stop acting (for this) beautiful (B75) place of the hill-land if it remains loyal, *Story of Sinuhe*

2 – The architectural program as representation of the role of the King and his divine mission: a portrait in 'acts'

According to the inscriptions left by members of mining contingents on stelae or rock walls near the quarries, the king –through its administration– is the sole sponsor of the collection of raw material and the only beneficiary of this collecting. Thus, in Year 9, it is "for the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheperkare" that Deduef passes Ayn Sokhna, probably while heading towards the turquoise mines of Serabit el-Khadim.[58] Similarly, a royal mission (*wpwt nswt*) is behind the expedition led by Heqaib to Wadi Hammamat in Year 16,[59] and the steward Hetepu is in Wadi el-Hudi in Year 17 to extract the amethyst for the "*ka* of the august divine statues (?) of the Lord LPH".[60] The mission order given to Uni and Mentuhotep in Year 20 is not much different as the two individuals refer respectively to the vizier Intefiqer[61] and to the "Lord LPH".[62] It is again for the "King of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheperkare, the Son of Re Senwosret" –but under orders from the overseer of the sealed-things Sobekhotep– that [...]-hotep goes to the calcite quarries of Hatnub in Year 22,[63] while the chain of command is more complex for the expedition to Punt from Mersa Gawasis in Year 24.[64] In Year 31, a new mission is sent to the quarries of Hatnub to "bring calcite for the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheperkare".[65]

This is not surprising for two main reasons. On the one hand the king is loved by the tutelary gods of mountains and mining regions, who gratify Pharaoh with their own hidden wealth. He is therefore the only legitimate owner –by divine delegation– of the materials extracted by his expeditions. On the other hand, from a pragmatic point of view, the administrative complexity of such undertakings –in terms of material and food supply– imposes some kind of hierarchical supervision regularly taken upon itself by the royal treasury.[66] It would be

[58] Abd el-Raziq, Castel, Tallet, *Les inscriptions d'Ayn Soukhna*, 57-8, fig. 28, ph. 71, n. 22.
[59] Goyon, *Wadi Hammamat*, 86-8, pl. 21, n. 64.
[60] Sadek, *The Amethyst Mining Inscriptions of Wadi el-Hudi*, 16-9, pl. 3, n. 6.
[61] *Op. cit.*, 22-4, pl. 4, n. 8. Currently held at the Nubia Museum, Aswan, inv. 1473.
[62] *Op. cit.*, 33-5, pl. 7, n. 14. Currently held at the Nubia Museum, Aswan, inv. 1478.
[63] Posener, *JEA* 54, 67-70, pls. 8-9.
[64] Monument of the steward Ameny, overseer of the navigation to Punt: "(2) (…) His Majesty ordered to the hereditary prince, the noble, […] the mayor […ⁿ(3) …], the vizier […], the overseer of the Six Great Courts Intefiqer (to) build these ships (4) on the dockyards of Koptos (to) send (them) to the 'Mine of Punt', in order to reach (it) in peace and to return in peace, (5) (to) fill in all its work, for the love of its perfection, (its) strength exceeding anything produced in this country before. (…) (6) (…) Lo, the steward (7) Ameny, son of Mentuhotep, was on the shore of *Wadj-Wer* building these ships (…)". Drawing of the text in Sayed, *RdE* 29, 170-1.
[65] Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, 76-8, pl. 31 (gr. 49).
[66] See Desplancques, *CRIPEL* 23, 23-4; Desplancques, *L'institution du Trésor en Égypte*, 323-4.

misleading, for example, to believe that food rations could have been provided without any control or supervision to some 18,742 people during the expedition to the Wadi Hammamat quarries in Year 38 of the reign of Senwosret I. The inscription left by the steward Ameny indicates tellingly that many specialized craftsmen (such as bakers, brewers and millers) were present and so concludes the list of foods distributed:

> (19) (about the bread loaves and the beer jars) from the granaries of the Lord LPH; (20) choice cuts as being meat, as being poultry from the magazines of the Lord LPH; the goatskin jugs, buckets, sandals anointed with myrrh, everything (necessary) for the work of carriage (21) of de King's Estate from the Double House of Silver of the Lord LPH[67]

However, often it remains[68] difficult to know the duration of mining activities, the size of the contingents, the amount of material brought back to Egypt[69] and both the intended use and destination of the said raw material.[70] The repetition of these expeditions is proof of the existence of a real economic power whose administrative apparatus serves the pharaoh. These missions guarantee the sovereign a steady supply of materials – precious or not. This allows him on the one hand to honour the gods and the people,[71] and on the other hand to implement his policy of renewing divine sanctuaries and dedicating his own statues in temples.

Senwosret I was primarily motivated by the fame and the eternity he could gain thanks to his architectural activities, at least following the *Berlin Leather Roll*, the building inscription of the Satet temple at Elephantine, or the architraves of the *Chapelle Blanche* at Karnak:

> (l.16) (…) My excellence will be remembered (l.17) in his house, his temple will be my renown, his canal will be my monument. Producing a useful thing is Eternity, he (l.18) does not die the king who uses his wealth, (but) he is not known who abandoned his work. Thanks to this, his name stays (l.19) in the mouth, it is not forgotten the deed of Eternity. It is what is done that exists, it is seeking (l.20) a useful thing, an excellent name is a meal, it is ensuring matters of Eternity, *Berlin Leather Roll*

> (col. 5) (…) so [remains] my oath, continues [my name] in [the mouth of the people], *Building inscription of the temple of Satet at Elephantine*[72]

> (2) (…) His Majesty did (that) in the desire that his name exists lastingly, forever (…), *Architrave B1 of the* Chapelle Blanche[73]

Creating spaces retaining the nominal and/or plastic identity of the ruler is fundamental in the ideological construction of pharaonic power. Architecture plays a leading role in arranging formal systems for the literary, two or three-dimensional 'appearance' of the sovereign in front of wide or narrow audiences.[74] Resuming embellishment works in multiple shrines –and sometimes completely replacing earlier buildings as in Tod or Karnak– is systematically an opportunity to magnify Senwosret I's power and person. It is also an opportunity to establish its legitimacy on the throne by multiple references to the theme of divine predestination. The most striking element –and it was probably the desired effect when planning architectural changes– is the unprecedented increase in the size of the main temples. Karnak is probably the most obvious example of this trend: it went from occupying one hundred square meters at the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty (sandstone platform: 10.825 m x [min.] 9.98 m)[75] to more than 1500 square meters with Senwosret I's project (limestone podium: 40.70 m x 37.67 m),[76] thus multiplying its size by fifteen.

The descriptions of these monuments, both in foundation texts and in private stelae of individuals who worked on the reconstruction of the divine temples, emphasize the splendour of their architecture and the magnificence

[67] Drawing of the text in Farout, *BIFAO* 94, 170, pl. 2.
[68] Excluding of the detailed account of the Year 38 expedition to Wadi Hammamat recorded in various rock inscriptions.
[69] See the frequent topical assertion, as in the case of Hor in Wadi el-Hudi: "(14) By bringing it back in very great amount, it is like I collected it up to the mouth of the double granary, (the amethyst) being dragged away on *wenesh*-sledge, loaded on *setjat*-sledge". Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE 71901. Rowe, *ASAE* 39, 187-91, pl. 25; Sadek, *The Amethyst Mining Inscriptions of Wadi el-Hudi*, 84-8, pl. 23, n. 143.
[70] It may seem surprising that such ambitious undertakings have led to only limited discoveries of necklaces and amethyst statuettes, taphonomical problems aside, which would be the only remains of the use and transformation of the raw material extracted in the Wadi el-Hudi. See the necklace inv. 29-66-813 from the Dendara necropolis held at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology of Philadelphia, and the lion MMA 26.7.1341 belonging to the former MacGregor collection, Silverman, *Searching for Ancient Egypt*, 192-3, cat. 55; Newberry, *PSBA* 27, 104, n. 63e.
[71] See Shaw, in Knapp, Pigott, Herbert (eds.), *Social approaches to an industrial past*, 242-58.
[72] Text in Schenkel, *MDAIK* 31, 109-25; Helck, *MDAIK* 34, 69-78; Schenkel, in Blumenthal, Assmann (eds.), *Literatur und Politik*, 68-74; Hirsch, *Kultpolitik und Tempelbauprogramme*, 187-9, (doc. 47a); Hirsch, *Die Sakrale Legitimation Sesostris' I.* 233-5 (Text 3).
[73] Text in Lacau, Chevrier, *Une chapelle de Sésostris Ier*, 43, §67, pl. 10.
[74] Kemp, *Anatomy of a Civilization*, 99-110.
[75] Dimensions given by Carlotti *et al.*, *KARNAK* 13, 114.
[76] Carlotti, *KARNAK* 10, 75, pl. 6.

of their worship equipment, as it the case on the stelae of the deputy Mery and of the royal seal-bearer Mentuhotep at Abydos:

> (5) My Lord sent me on a mission because of my obedience in order to supervise for him (the construction) of a place of eternity, whose name is greater than Ro-Setau, whose preeminence surpasses (6) any place, which is the excellent sector of the gods. Its walls pierced the sky, the dug lake equalled (*literally* reached) the river, the doors scraped (7) the firmament, made of the white stone from Tura, *Stela of Mery*[77]

> I made (8) sure that [...] an offering table in lapis-lazuli, amethyst, electrum, silver, (...?) limitless, in bronze (?) limitless, *usekh*-collars, fresh turquoise, (9) bracelets in [...] as something chosen among all, *Stela of Mentuhotep*[78]

These descriptions constitute a counterpoint to the alleged previous state of preservation of these sanctuaries as they were found by the current sovereign:

> (col. 4) […] the *Per-Wer* as a mound of earth. Nobody knew its decoration except what was said about it […] (col. 5) […] the august chamber, hosting the god and built with a width of two cubits, the debris heaped in front of it reached 20 cubits […] (col. 6) […popula]tion watching it as (something) visible. There was no room in it for the *wab*-priest, there was no room in it for the divine father […] (col. 7) […] there was no door, there were no door leaves to seal […], *Second building inscription of the temple of Satet at Elephantine*[79]

> (26) (…) The Majesty of Horus said: 'I was contemplating this place, this temple which was in front (of me), the cult chapel of the god, Lord (27) of the gods, had become a flooded arena, all its rooms were filled with debris, mounds of earth were in its secret chambers because of the destruction of what was (previously) erected there, collapsed (things) (?) covering them. His ponds were filled as well as its well, a swamp (?) (28) had formed at the mouth of the canal and had reached its centre and its banks. This divine temple, plants were left to grow in it, its sacred chamber, nobody knew its location any more. It was a disorder what I saw, all its doors being in a fire of flames […] its *wab*-priests neglecting (29) the cult; scavengers[80] ready to seize it for the prisoners who roamed the country, rejoicing in internal troubles; these paupers, who had nothing, every single one was seizing it (the temple) for himself, setting fire, devastating (30) the divine temple', *Building inscription of the temple of Mentu at Tod*

The pathos of these descriptions highlights the magnitude of the task of the sovereign and his complete devotion to the establishment of a monument worthy of praise for divine worship. Whatever the actual state of preservation of the temple of Tod, rebuilt just half a century before by Seankhkare Mentuhotep III –and regardless of any work carried out by his own father Amenemhet I– Senwosret I knowingly develops here the topical literary image of *Königsnovelle*. The exaggeration of the real state of preservation of these monuments seems to be a given here, and it is difficult to recognize detailed and accurate reports in descriptions so similar in their phraseology to, for example, the foundation text of the Satet temple at Elephantine (mounds of debris, ignorance of worship, undue attendance to the divine temple...).

Yet the pharaoh would not dare to pretend to be the sole beneficiary of the merits and honours granted by these building activities. The materials, used both for the building itself and for the worship furniture, are subject to the whims of the gods, as I already mentioned. Indeed, if Senwosret I actually initiates the impulse for the renewal of sanctuaries, and obviously bases some fame on it, his primary inspiration is depicted as being closely associated to his divine predestination. In order to illustrate this ambivalence, let us first look at reports about the convening of the court members, which is clearly depicted as an initiative of the sovereign by the foundation text of the temple of Amun-Re at Karnak and by the *Berlin Leather Roll*:

> (1) [Year] after the ninth, 4th month of the season *peret*, day 24. It happened that [the king] sat [in the audience hall of the Western Palace (?), and that one convened the nobles of the court and the members of the palace to inquire about a project] of His Majesty, given Life forever. Now then, (2) […], *Building inscription of the temple of Amun-Re at Karnak*[81]

> (I.4) (…) Behold, My Majesty decides on works and thinks about a project that is a useful thing for (I.5) the future. I will make a monument and establish lasting decrees for Harakhty. […] (I.15) I am going to carry out works in the

[77] Musée du Louvre C3, Vernus, *RdE* 25, 217-34.

[78] Numbering of the lines after Obsomer, *Les campagnes de Sésostris dans Hérodote*, 520-31. Stela Egyptian Museum Cairo CG 20539: Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs*, vol. II, 150-8; vol. IV, pls. 41-2.

[79] Block SoNr2, Hirsch, *Kultpolitik und Tempelbauprogramme*, 192 (dok. 47k).

[80] The word *bsk* (the *ib* is a usual determinative and should not be read) is an *hapax* if it is determined by the sign of the kneeled, naked and beheaded enemy. Understanding the word as 'raptor', as R. Hannig suggested, is interesting since it renders the idea of a predator gutting his preys. The word chosen here makes this reading more obvious. See Hannig, *Lexica* 4, 823 (10109).

[81] See the edition of Gabolde, *Le 'Grand château d'Amon' de Sésostris I^er^*, 40-3, §58-9, pls. 4-5.

> *Great Temple* of (my) father Atum since he gave me its extent when he caused me to seize (the kingship?). (I.16) I will supply his altar on earth, I will build my temple in its vicinity. My excellence will be remembered (I.17) in his house, his temple will be my renown, his canal will be my monument, *Berlin Leather Roll*

But at the same time, his projects serve other purposes related to the will of the gods:

> (I.5) (…) I will make a monument and establish lasting decrees for Harakhty because he gave me birth (I.6) to do what he has done, to bring into being what he ordered to do. He appointed me as shepherd of this land, because he knew who would gather it for him. (I.7) He gave me that which he guards, that which the Eye illuminates and that which is in him, to act as he wishes, in order that I accomplish what (I.8) he determined knowingly, *Berlin Leather Roll*

The courtiers gathered before Senwosret I probably tell the same story when they compare the monarch to Hu and Sia (I.1-2). It exposes the intelligence (Hu) and good preconception (Sia) of his architectural intentions, while making perceptible its divine origin transcending a mere human decision. The foundation text of the temple of Mentu at Tod says nothing else ultimately:

> (31) (...) It is in the heart of the god that I achieve his projects, [... is ...] which occurs, what he ordains to me I achieve, no one had realized the actions he loves

3 – The statuary as representation of power in space and time: a portrait in 'images'

As W. K.Simpson pointed out, ancient Egyptian statuary production is neither a free creation nor serves an aesthetical or decorative artistic ideal. It is primarily designed as functional and useful to the individual represented. It makes visible, following various methods which have evolved over time, the qualities of an individual, both physical, moral or social.[82] The involvement of the dedicant in defining his own image is approached through the characteristics of the 'self-thematization' defined by J. Assmann, around two complementary and mutually exclusive poles: 'self-preservation' –meaning an emphasis on the somatic appearance of the individual as a marker of identity– and 'self-presentation', focused on the semiotic elements of the visual identity.[83] In the royal statuary, the shift between 'self-preservation' and 'self-presentation' clearly occurs during the reign of Khephren, with an interest not so much for the physical characteristics of the sovereign but for the appearance of a royal quality, the body wearing regalia that enhance the image implementation of institutional power. This move occurs concomitantly –without allowing us to determine with certainty the direction of the link of cause-and-effect– with the setting of works in much more accessible architectural spaces than the *serdab* and other funerary shafts previously were.[84]

However, Assmann insisted on the fact that, in a binary opposition, 'nothing' is as meaningful as 'something'.[85] So, the perfection of pharaoh's body may be an iconographic 'degree zero' by its lack of physiognomic anomaly, but it also indirectly denotes the social status of an individual who is part of an elite with resources –time and/or material– allowing him to focus on the care of the physical body and to stay away from manual labour.[86] The 'visible' semiotic investment actually focuses primarily on the face of the sovereign and his treatment, what M. Müller calls 'Throngesicht',[87] and leads to explanation about the observed modelling dichotomy between the body and the face of statues from the times of Senwosret III and Amenemhet III.[88]

The statuary of Senwosret I probably echoes this double conception in modelling, combining in its entire corpus an athletic and youthful body –regardless of the dating of statuary works–[89] with a face constructed at the confluence of several models. Stylistic study shows that it contains, in the first instance, some iconographic features of his father Amenemhet I' statues. Similarly, it encompasses underlying stylistic elements coming down from Seankhkare Mentuhotep III and Nebehepetre Mentuhotep II, probably *via* his father's works. The chronological gap between the second pharaoh of the Twelfth Dynasty and the architect of the unification of

[82] Simpson, *The Face of Egypt*, 7-8.
[83] Assmann, in der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. I, 61-3.
[84] *Op. cit.*, 63-5.
[85] *Op. cit.*, 70-1.
[86] See that difference in the statuette of the potter held at the Oriental Institute Museum of Chicago (inv. 10628), whose thin body lets the bones of the rib cage show, Ziegler (ed.), *L'art égyptien au temps des pyramides*, 335, cat. 164. See also the *Satire of Trades* (Teaching of Dua-Khety). For an introduction and a recent bibliography, see Simpson (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 431-7.
[87] Müller, *IA* 1, 61.
[88] About that dissociation, see the meaningful pages of Tefnin, in Broze, Talon (eds.), *Mélanges Derchain*, 147-56.
[89] Stylistic evolution would have even a contra-natural tendency by gradually strengthening the naturalistic treatment of the body and focusing on the sculpture of the muscle in the monumental works attributed to the end of the reign of Senwosret I. About the chronology of the statues and the stylistic evolution during the reign of Senwosret I, see Lorand, *Arts et politique sous Sésostris I^er^*, 229-33. See also Lorand, in Kóthay (ed.), *Art and Society*, 47-55.

Egypt in the middle of the Eleventh Dynasty, together with a clear family break in the royal line at the end of the reign of Nebtawyre Mentuhotep IV, does not allow it to be seen as a reflection of any physical family traits passed down from generation to generation.[90] Moreover, Egyptian art is not a photographic and objective art and it would not have, in any case, conveyed these inherited physical traits.[91] This stylistic similarity between the works of the beginning of Senwosret I's reign and those of his predecessors is certainly explained by the desire to make noticeable a political and ideological connexion with prestigious ancestors beyond the establishment of a new family line and the move of the Residence from Thebes to el-Lisht. In this way the 'self-presentation' defined by Assmann puts into image no longer the physical and individual person of Pharaoh but gives a two or three dimensional receptacle to the divine institution of kingship transcending the biological body of the sovereign.[92] The statuary of Senwosret I therefore includes him in the kingship of his predecessors rather than in their actual genealogy. This conclusion finds other expressions in the dedication of monuments –such as the abydene offerings table for Seankhkare Mentuhotep III–[93] or in the *in situ* burial of architectural remains of various previous religious buildings, as at Tod.[94] Such an approach allows the king to consolidate his power in an iconographic tradition that has a programmatic value just like the definition of his anthroponomical identity.

The mobilization of ancestors is not limited to the Middle Kingdom, and the works unearthed in the funerary complex of Senwosret I at el-Lisht undoubtedly use the Old Kingdom –royal– statuary as referent. The ten limestone seated statues CG 411-20[95] reproduce a model developed under Khephren for his Valley temple in Giza. And it is probably not a coincidence that the second pharaoh of the Twelfth Dynasty, seeking to restore the image and power of kingship, reinvests the reign of one who is probably the architect of the new representations of the pharaoh as custodian of the kingly institution. According to R. Freed, emulation of the Old Kingdom has never been stronger during the Twelfth Dynasty than in the design of the statuary adorning the funerary temple of Senwosret I.[96] In general, the adoption, for the el-Lisht pyramid complex, of architectural forms designed at the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty and continuously developed until the end of the Sixth Dynasty marks a symbolic and ideological commitment to a solar monarchy in which the sovereign is no longer just a landlord but also a manifestation of the demiurge.[97] The king's pyramid is also the largest monument of its kind since the reign of Fifth Dynasty pharaoh Neferirkare-Kakai, while the cult temple is an avatar of the various complexes erected during the Sixth Dynasty.[98] Senwosret I marks both the archaeological landscape and the royal iconography by using a powerful referent, and he magnifies the aura of his own governance by building a strong relationship with the pharaohs of the past. These links are also at work in the dedication at Karnak of several statues of pharaohs, including Fifth Dynasty ones,[99] designed to form what could be a prototype of the Thutmoside *Chamber of Ancestors*.[100]

The image of the king is therefore the vehicle of a political identity based on the preservation of the structures and foundations of pharaonic power as renewed by Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II during the unification of the Two Lands. But it also extends a justification for the restoration of the Old Kingdom solar kingship since the move of the capital to *Itj-Tawy* during the reign of Amenemhet I – perhaps concomitantly with the change of titulature of the Twelfth Dynasty founder, from Sehetepibtawy Amenemhet I to Sehetepibre Amenemhet I. This plastic identity tends to change over the reign, gradually giving way to a 'naturalism',[101] which should probably be understood as a change in the perception of Egyptian kingship. It seems to attest, from the reign of Senwosret I onwards –and in any case after its beginning– to a transition between, on the one hand, a pharaonic institution dominated by the presence of the gods and their will and, on the other hand, a 'portrait' depicting the sovereign as master of his own decisions, although he should still report to his creators.[102]

[90] Müller, *IA* 1, 57.
[91] *Contra* Vandersleyen, *BSFE* 73, 5-27.
[92] Assmann, in der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. I, 63.
[93] Egyptian Museum Cairo CG 23005, Kamal, *Tables d'offrandes*, 5-6.
[94] Arnold, *MDAIK* 31, 175-86.
[95] Statues C 38-C 47 in Lorand, *Arts et politique sous Sésostris I^er^*, 114-30, pls. 26-36.
[96] Even if she admits that "Though they may demonstrate superficial mastery of the Old Kingdom style, particularly in their attempt to reproduce the ideal body, they lack the inner strength and nobility of spirit that are the hallmarks of the Pyramid Age", Freed, in Lloyd (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egypt*, vol. II , 892.
[97] Kemp, *Anatomy of a Civilization*, 108.
[98] Arnold, *The Pyramid of Senwosret I*, vol. I, 56-7, 64.
[99] Statue of Sahure held at the Egyptian Museum Cairo (CG 42004) and the headless statue of Niuserre (BM EA 870) (the latter has no known provenience, but a Karnak origin cannot be excluded). Legrain, *Statues et statuettes*, 3-4, pl. 2; Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, 36, Abb. 7.
[100] Lorand, *KARNAK* 14, 447-66.
[101] Lorand, *Arts et politique sous Sésostris I^er^*, 229-33.
[102] Wildung, in Ziegler (ed.), *Les Pharaons*, 203-4. The culmination of this process during the Middle Kingdom is accomplished in the statuary of Senwosret III and Amenemhet III, while we cannot talk about any kind of

The demonstration of this ideological filiation is mainly supported by the statues of the king, but it also resonates with some of his architectural projects based on Old Kingdom models. The dissemination of three-dimensional works of Senwosret I across the country and in sanctuaries further multiplies further the spatial anchoring of the royal power. As emphasized by D. Wildung "la sculpture royale illustre la présence ubiquitaire de Pharaon, qui est physiquement présent dans tout l'empire à travers ses statues", the works generating a tangible reality and making the absent present.[103] As far as we know, just over twenty sites of the Nile Valley, the Delta or their immediate vicinity are targeted by the activity of the sovereign, the information we have being statues, archaeological remains or literary or administrative texts.[104] Apart from the logical completion of the renewal of the temples induced by the king's predestination, and besides the good reputation from which he will benefit, the multiplication of sites also ensures Senwosret I a physical presence in the whole country (Fig. 1), a presence characterized by an increase in the size of the buildings in order to grab people's attention. Buildings embody in stone the pharaonic authority over its territory and make visible the unwavering relationship that the sovereign maintains with the gods, his fathers. The walls show in writing and in image the construction of the identity of the pharaoh, active towards the gods as the "son they love", raised by them to be the protector of the universal order and to act as their eternal and immutable priest. The statuary, in this context, acts as a support for his policy, comprising generally larger than life pieces, and sometimes gigantic works of art not seen since the reign of Shepseskaf (Fifth Dynasty).[105] Most certified and attributed statues of Senwosret I (53 items out of 65) actually reach or exceed 2 m in height (including the seated statues of the ruler).[106] Ten are more than 3 m high (including the two seated statues Berlin ÄM 7265 and Cairo CG 384/TR 8/2/21/1),[107] five are more than 4 m high (the group from the porticoed facade of the temple of Amun-Re at Karnak, Cairo JE 48851 and Luxor J 174)[108] and seven even exceed 7 m in height (Cairo CG 643-4 and JE 45085, the two colossi found in Tanis).[109] The average size of the 65 statues of the corpus is approximately 2.8 m in height, with possible variations due to various renditions of the original size of the works, and without distinguishing between seated and standing works. It is therefore an image of distinctness and domination that prevails in these works (Fig. 2).[110]

Conclusions

The reign of Senwosret I is therefore mainly characterized by the monumentalization of his statuary production, accompanied by a marked increase in the size of the sanctuaries. The sovereign presents himself as an impressive figure in the entire country and his image absorbs many prestigious historical references dating back to both the reigns immediately preceding his and those of pharaohs of the Old Kingdom. These references characterize the crucial moment of his accession to the throne and the launch of its architectural policy for at least the first decade of his reign. The 'portrait' of Senwosret I subsequently tends to be free from these models, orienting royal iconography towards its future naturalistic developments at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty. This image policy is for his own benefit as he is both ordering a finished product and the holder of the raw materials, as well as the director of the logistics and administrative resources allowing their use. The whole country participates in a project designed coherently and clearly aimed at magnifying the institution personified by the king. Works of glory built for eternity, they reveal, however, that pharaoh bases some of his legitimacy on the goodwill of the gods who allowed him to seize the country. So doing, his acts reflect unprecedented efforts to show the gods his recognition and his absolute devo-

'psychologizing' of the individual personalites of these rulers, 'naturalism' of traits meaning not the abandonment of semiotic conventions. See the already mentioned paper of Tefnin, in Broze, Talon (eds.), *Mélanges Derchain*, 147-56.

[103] Wildung, in Ziegler (ed.), *Les Pharaons*, 200.

[104] About these numbers, see Lorand, *Arts et politique sous Sésostris I^er^*, 235-7.

[105] Monumental head of Shepseskaf held at the Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE 52501, measuring 75 cm high; originally nearly 4 metres high if the ruler was seated, see Ziegler (ed.) *L'art égyptien au temps des pyramides*, 262-63, cat. 100 (with references to monumental works predating the reign of Shepseskaf). The tallest statue of one of Senwosret I's predecessors seems to be the statue of his father Amenemhet I discovered at Tanis (2.68 m) and currently held at the Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE 37470.

[106] Seventy-three is the total amount of royal statues being certainly works of Senwosret or that can be attributed to his reign. But we have to subtract the sphinx head Cairo CG 42007, the small bronze censer Cairo JE 35687 and the four canopic jars stoppers Cairo CG 40001-4, as well as the two colossi of Bubastis whose dimensions are unknown. For the complete catalogue of Senwosret I's statuary, see Lorand, *Arts et politique sous Sésostris I^er^*, 61-206.

[107] Statues C 49-C 51 in Lorand, *Arts et politique sous Sésostris I^er^*, 133-41, pls. 38-40.

[108] Statues C 5-C 7 in *op. cit.*, 73-6, pls. 4-6.

[109] Statues A 13-A 17 and A 20-A 21 in *op. cit.*, 157-61, pls. 47-8 ; 164-7, pls. 49-50.

[110] Freed who mentioned the exceptional size of Senwosret I's statues already emphasized the importance of this element, Freed, in Freed *et al*. (eds.), *The Secrets of Tomb 10A*, 73.

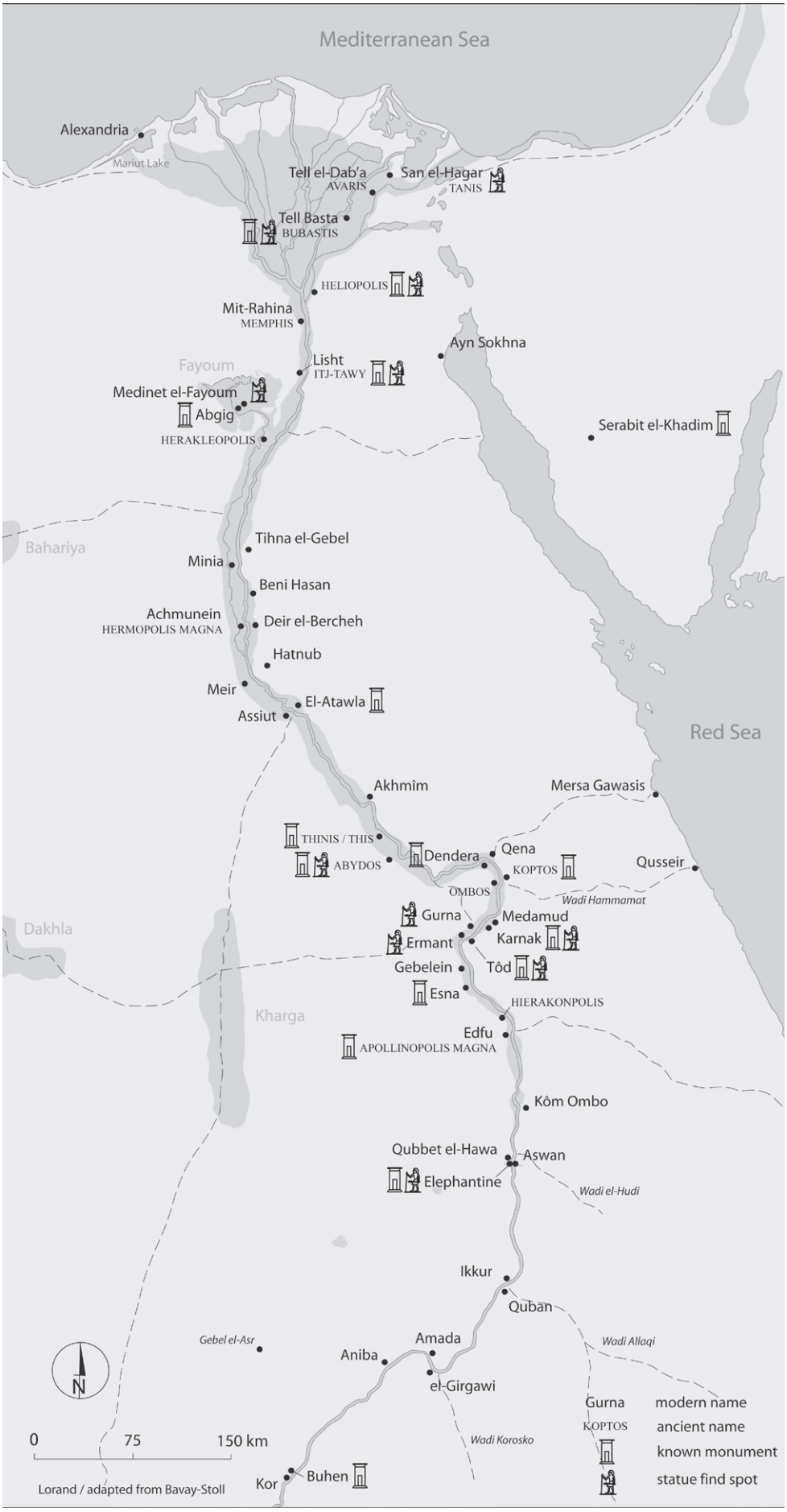

Fig. 1 - Sites related to monuments and statues of the reign of Senwosret I (map D. Lorand, adapted from L. Bavay and A. Stoll)

tion to execute the divine plan the gods entrusted him. From a programmatic perspective, his titulary anticipates his many accomplishments with the triple repetition of the name of Ankh-mesut but also immediately places the sovereign in the wake of the gods when he receives the *prenomen* of Kheperkare.

This complex picture, echoing an impressive political project backed by a strong ideology of power, covers the country through architecture, sculpture and literature used as tools meant to express power. In the absence of the mummy of Senwosret I, preventing us from linking this iconography to the biological reality of the sovereign, only the representation shaped by and for the pharaoh reached us... This was, after all, perhaps the intent of the sovereign to have his ideological and political image being the everlasting substitute for his physical body.

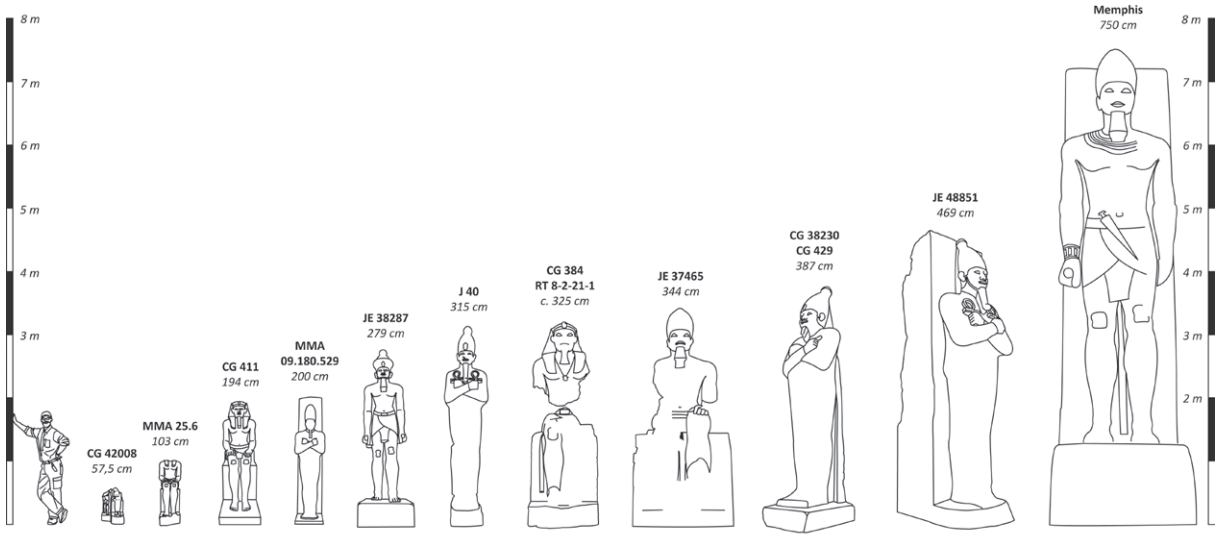

Fig. 2 - Relative heights of the main statues of Senwosret I (drawing D. Lorand)

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Tracing Middle Kingdom Pyramid Texts Traditions at Dahshur

Antonio J. Morales

Abstract

The variety of forms in the mortuary literature of the Middle Kingdom results from the combination of old and new texts and the concurrence of multiple textual traditions of diverse origin, nature, and antiquity. At a local level, theological speculation and textual scholarship ruled the expression of the diverse rituals and beliefs of the community through the textual selections for each coffin and tomb, generating different textual traditions and boosting their advancement. Additionally, the existence of various traditions in the mortuary literature of the Middle Kingdom reveals dissimilar frameworks of access to the mortuary texts. In approaching the presence of Pyramid Texts at Dahshur from a local perspective, it is evident that two major traditions coexisted in the necropolis from the reign of Amenemhat II to the early Thirteenth Dynasty. A recent tradition formulated through the combination of Old Kingdom isolated texts with Coffin Texts surfaced in the local repertoire as innovative textual programs allotted to the royal individuals buried therein. Concurrently, the exceptional texts found in the mastaba of Siese and the coffin fragments of Satipi demonstrate the consideration of –and access to– Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts during the Twelfth Dynasty, and the traditional use of particular segments of the old corpus of texts.

Introduction

The process of transmission of mortuary literature in the third and second millennia BC has proven to be more intricate and manyfold than previously suggested. The varied forms of the Pyramid Texts attested in the Middle Kingdom –in textual programs composed exclusively with these texts or in combination with Coffin Texts–[1] demonstrate the influence of sundry theological principles and ritual practices on their elaboration. In fact, detailed analysis of the programs in Middle Kingdom contexts reveals multiple avenues of transmission and intensive exercise of textual scholarship beyond mechanical reproduction (*i.e.* by priests and scribes), certainly regulated by local beliefs and practices.[2] Thus, previous interpretations of the broader aspects of transmission and differentiation of textual programs in the Middle Kingdom did not regard the impact of local practice on the reception and use of particular texts and programs,[3] and limited themselves to comment on the existence of regional traditions.

While it is certain that the Middle Kingdom textual –and iconographic– programs from each region (e.g. Oryx, Hare, Atef-Khenet nomes) display important differences in selection, style and uses in respect to other centres,[4] it is also true that further programmatic distinctions can be observed at a local scale. In looking at textual compositions from a particular necropolis, the former approach of the 'theory of regionalisms' did not acknowledge the existence of concurrent traditions and failed to explain the origins and construction of each tradition. Rather than approaching coexisting textual traditions from the perspective of regional differentiation, I prefer to examine them in the light of local scholarship, motivations, and practices. Therefore, the present essay is less interested on any theological implication from the selection of particular Pyramid Texts at Dahshur, but is more attentive to the characteristics of each local tradition, its genesis and contrast with the other mortuary compositions.

When did Pyramid Texts reach Dahshur?

In the Middle Kingdom necropolis of Dahshur[5] the attes-

[1] For the MaFS system of location and distribution of Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts listed in this work, see Leclant *et al.*, *Les textes de la pyramide de Pépi I^er^*, 27-119. For the location and distribution on coffin sides, I use the abreviations H (head), F (foot), FR (front), B (back), Bo (bottom), L (lid).

[2] Morales, *The transmission of the Pyramid Texts*, passim.

[3] A major aspect in the composition, selection and use of religious textual programs anticipated by Lesko, in Leclant (ed.), *L'Égyptologie en 1979*, vol. I, 39-43.

[4] An approach that does not undermine the importance of textual and artistic tendencies associated to regional theological and cultic particularities but only explains broad distinctions without taking into consideration the existence of various traditions within the same necropolis: see Hoffmeier, in Willems (ed.), *The World of the Coffin Texts*, 45-54; and Silverman, in Allen *et al*. (eds.), *Religion and Philosophy*, 29-53. By contrast, a recent study suggests that the ratio of texts edited with the intention of advancing particular regional theological dogmas is not high: Billson, *Two Aspects*, 25-8, tables 4-5.

[5] See PM III, 876-99, maps 73-5. For an introduction to the site,

tation of Pyramid Texts amounts to sixteen sources: ten coffins, three canopic boxes, one stela, one stone-block, and a tomb. The study of the textual programs observed in these sources contributes not only to discern the typology of the Pyramid Texts used in the Middle Kingdom local necropolis, but also to understand the process of transmission operating from the late Old Kingdom and the relationship of the site of Dahshur with Saqqara. Indubitably, the adjacency of both centres in the nome of *Ineb-Hedj* and the important role of Dahshur during the Old Kingdom motivates us to consider the possibility that the site kept mortuary literature in the form of scroll collections in local temple libraries and repositories since the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties.[6]

The coffins and tombs of the various cemeteries in Dahshur with Pyramid Texts provide a *terminus ante quem* for the reception and appropriation of these collections at the site. Therefore, the main question is whether collections of mortuary literature existed in institutional repositories and libraries outside Saqqara since the Fifth/Sixth Dynasties, or the Memphite institutions imposed a restrictive access to the collections and their dissemination. If the emergence and manipulation of ritual mortuary papyri –as part of the process known as entextualization– materialized not only in Saqqara but in other centres around the capital or certain dissemination occurred, then these mortuary compendia might have reached particular institutions strongly associated with mortuary practices and official necropolis jurisdiction. Such cultural and historical process would depend on administrative and social conditions that favoured the practice of archives transmission and record-keeping:[7] in other words, it would be contingent on the concept and function of the temple library in the Old Kingdom, on the one hand, and the need to distribute collections of texts that by the end of the Fifth Dynasty would become exclusive privilege of the royal sphere, on the other.[8] Perhaps these texts reached Dahshur only during the First Intermediate Period or the early Middle Kingdom, just when some religious constraints for the expression of afterlife concerns would have changed.

The significance of the chronology of the Dahshur Pyramid Texts in the general process of transmission derives from the alternative roles that the site might have played early in the history of the transmission. They might have depended upon early Old Kingdom copies of the Pyramid Texts or they would have stemmed from later First Intermediate Period collections that spread to many centers. A recent analysis of a particular group of Pyramid Texts attested in several Middle Kingdom necropoles, including Dahshur, and their genetic relationship with archetypes from the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period has revealed that the Pyramid Texts of these Dahshur sources (Da1C, Da2-4X) relied on Middle Kingdom Saqqara witnesses and not on the Old Kingdom Saqqara archetypes (see Fig. 1).[9] At least

see Stadelmann, in Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia,* vol. I, 354-6. The site and the sources with Pyramid and Coffin Texts found there were not included in the examination of the mortuary compositions in Willems, *Chests of life* (note, however, that the author included the evidence from this site in his list of sources in 22-3). For the latest work conducted in Dahshur, see Alexanian, Seidlmayer, *Sokar* 8, 23; Alexanian, Seidlmayer, *Sokar* 13, 30-2; Arnold, *EA* 21, 38-40; Arnold, *Antike Welt* 33/6, 621-9; Alexanian, Seidlmayer in Bárta, Krejčí (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara*, 283-304; and Stadelmann, Alexanian, *MDAIK* 54, 293-317. For further details on the First Lower Egyptian nome, *inb-ḥḏ*, and the center of Dahshur, see Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens*, 5-66, esp. 49-54.

[6] Perhaps even in earlier times (*i.e.* Fourth Dynasty): see Morales, in Hilgert (ed.), *Materiale Textkulturen*.

[7] This activity clearly existed in regard to administrative functions as the Abusir papyri and the Balat tablet collections evidence. See the recent Eyre, *The use of documents*, 255-6; Vymazalová, in Bárta (ed.), *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, 357-61; Posener-Kriéger, in Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses*, 167-76; and Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakaï*. For the use of administrative archives in later times, see Allam, in Piacentini, Orsenigo (eds.), *Egyptian Archives*, 61-70.

[8] This hypothesis does not discard the idea that old anthologies or handbooks might have existed in other places than the temples of Saqqara in the form of modest collections kept in repositories and libraries as significant materials for the rituals and ceremonies involved in the daily temple and mortuary cults. From these libraries particular materials would have been gathered for the construction of a repertoire of mortuary texts from which specific series would be taken for each royal pyramid. Such materials would have constituted the components collected and validated by Memphite priests in their centralized archives. In other words, these texts would be the authentic forerunners of their reorganized and edited counterparts with similar theme and function, no longer belonging to their original setting and having lost their *Sitz im Leben*: "the meaning of a group of texts must be seen in the context of the group's position in life *before* it was introduced to the tomb, because that meaning was the primary one" (in Hays, *BIFAO* 109, 195-200, 218; and Hays, *The Typological Structure of the Pyramid Texts*, 19-24, and 309-11, on the idea of repertoire); See also the comments on the lack of evidence to associate the Pyramid Texts with the oral tradition in Eyre, *The Cannibal Hymn*, 17-9. Here we are only concerned with the official compositions of the Old Kingdom and whether they reached places like Dahshur at the time of their composition for the kings and queens of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties or they only reached there once they have spread over other places after the Old Kingdom. *Cf.* discussion in Baines, in Bickel, Mathieu (eds.), *D'un monde à l'autre*, 15-41, esp. 30-1, n. 80.

[9] See Morales, *The transmission of the Pyramid Texts*, 717-84, esp. 773-5, fig. 226 (lineages o and π rooted in branch η_1-η).

for the Pyramid Texts of Nut considered here, their position in the process of transmission evidences the dependency of Dahshur materials on Middle Kingdom texts from Saqqara, although such a circumstance could be inconsistent with other groups of texts at Dahshur that might have depended on Old Kingdom library copies.[10]

one at that time (*i.e.* in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties) the cultic installations for the North or Red Pyramid of Snefru.[12] Comparative analysis of the space, capacity and functions of the different sections of this installation indicates that the valley temple might represent the most suitable building to house and store a collection of papyri.[13] If, however, priests transferred the collection

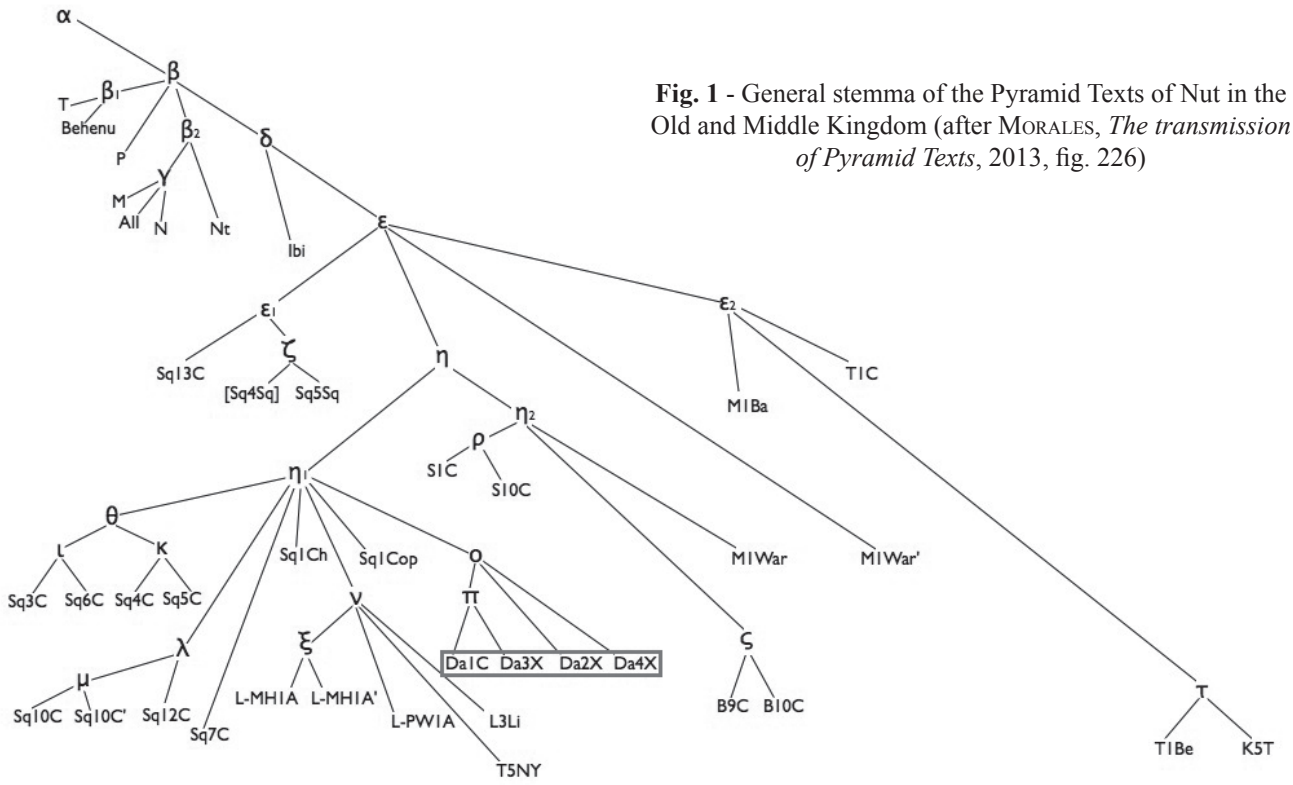

Fig. 1 - General stemma of the Pyramid Texts of Nut in the Old and Middle Kingdom (after Morales, *The transmission of Pyramid Texts*, 2013, fig. 226)

The same question relates to the issue of the institutional implication. If Pyramid Texts collections known from Saqqara reached the site of Dahshur early in the Old Kingdom, what institutions would have been in charge of their storage and administration? A mortuary complex devoted to the preservation of the royal cult in the area seems the best choice,[11] being the most prestigious

of texts attested in the area of Dahshur from Saqqara during the Twelfth Dynasty, then the center of reception might have been not the mortuary complex of an Old

[10] Further phylogenetic analysis of the other groups of Pyramid Texts in Dahshur and their archetypes would be necessary to explain if the whole repertoire from Dahshur depended on Middle Kingdom Saqqara texts.

[11] Another possible locus for the preservation of this type of documents would have been the administrative royal installations for records keeping situated in the pyramid-town of Snefru, a settlement located to the southeast of the complex of Senwosret III, or any other pyramid-town of the Middle Kingdom. I thank Stephen Quirke for discussing with me the nature of the archives and temple libraries in the Old and Middle Kingdoms (personal communication). His opinion that mortuary material would not be necessarily stored on site is a possible answer to the lack of findings of mortuary papyri in the excavation of mortuary complexes –the exception being Pap. MafS T2147– but he agreed that the existence of archives at the site would have been the best way to administer ritual practice at a low-desert or desert-edge temple.

[12] For the monument, see Verner, *The Pyramids*, 183-9, who refers to Stadelmann's views that "the ground plan of the temple and, especially, the fragment of a granite false door and the extensive storerooms testify to the intensity of the cult practiced there"; Tietze, *Die Pyramide: Geschichte*, 32-5; and Stadelmann, *Die ägyptischen Pyramiden*, 99-105.

[13] Ludwig Borchardt discovered the Dahshur decree of Pepi I (Berlin 17500) precisely at the valley temple of the Red Pyramid, which might be taken as an indication of the focus in the area in the Sixth Dynasty and the importance of this location as a possible building for the archives within the whole complex (see Borchardt, *ZÄS* 42, 1-11, esp. 1-2). Also, as it is the case in Amarna, the temple archives and the administrative office of records at the town would be relatively near to each other if placing the repositories in the valley temple of the North or Red Pyramid. See Kemp, *World Archaeology* 9, 123-39.

Kingdom ruler but a Middle Kingdom mortuary establishment (e.g. the complex of Amenemhat I at Lisht). Based on the dissemination of the Pyramid Texts of Nut, no mortuary compendium existed at the site until it was delivered from Saqqara to the southernmost necropolis of Memphis at that time for its immediate use in coffins and tombs of royal relatives and officials. According to this assumption, the collections of texts would have been brought to Dahshur only at the time when inscriptions for the burial chambers and funerary equipment were to be produced for the subsidiary cemeteries of the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty Amenemhat II, Senwosret III, and Amenemhat III. Only by means of relative textual analysis (stemmatics) of both the Dahshur and the Saqqara Old and Middle Kingdom texts could one answer this matter convincingly.[14]

Sources with Pyramid Texts at Dahshur

The following analysis of the local uses of Pyramid Texts takes into consideration the texts selected in the composition of every textual program, the location of the source within the socio-religious topography of the necropolis, and the rank of the deceased bestowed with prestigious religious texts as part of their funerary equipment.[15] These three major aspects of the burials in Dahshur determine the integration of the program of Pyramid Texts in each source to a particular tradition in the site. Furthermore, the analysis of the programs within a tradition provides more information on the influence of productive or reproductive avenues of transmission and the adoption or adaptation of the Old Kingdom forms of Pyramid Text groups in each tradition.

On the basis of the spatial distribution of the Middle Kingdom sources bearing Pyramid Texts one can distinguish two main clusters with burials of individuals who owned parts of this corpus of mortuary texts. These two distinctive groups of burials are located in the royal mortuary complexes of Amenemhat II and Amenemhat III. Only two other sources with Pyramid Texts occur elsewhere:[16] the inscriptions of mortuary texts in the burial chamber of Siese, whose mastaba was at a distance from the mortuary installation of Amenemhat II;[17] and the coffin fragments of Satipi (Da1X), found in her tomb to the north of the mortuary complex of Senwosret III.

Interestingly, the spatial distribution of the Middle Kingdom sources correlates well with the distinction of the two major types of textual programs and traditions observed at the site: a traditionalist program with a certain tendency to reproduce Old Kingdom groups of Pyramid Texts and a much more innovative program in which certain editors from Dahshur intended to modify the Old Kingdom principles of Pyramid Text organization (cohesiveness of the groups and same text-members) with the purpose of expressing new forms of ritual practice and beliefs.[18] Thus, while the sources associated with the royal complexes of Amenemhat II and III stand for the unconventionality in the selection and use of Pyramid Texts in new ways, the uncommon cases of Siese and Satipi represent the preservation of Old Kingdom forms of the corpus in Middle Kingdom contexts.

The sources originating in the tombs of princess Nebuhetepti-khered (Da2C) and her father,[19] the king of the Thirteenth Dynasty Awibre Hor (Da4C and Da4C stela), constitute the cluster associated with the mortuary complex of Amenemhat III in the south. Some reasons must have influenced the placement of their mortuary

[14] Briefly, the transmission of the Pyramid Texts of Nut from Saqqara to Dahshur indicates that the manuscripts used in the preparation of the texts stemmed from Middle Kingdom Saqqara contexts and collections, which means that no earlier transfer of texts seems to have occurred, at least for the case of the Nut texts under consideration. As mentioned above, a restricted phylogenetic analysis of Pyramid Texts from Dahshur can be found in Morales, *The transmission of the Pyramid Texts*, 717-84, esp. 773-5, fig. 226 (lineages o and π rooted in branch η_1-η), although more extensive work on the other groups at the site might release different results.

[15] In agreement with Willems, *Les Textes des Sarcophages et la démocratie*, 151-72, and n. 83, who believes that access to religious collections during the Middle Kingdom was not a privilege granted to every social group.

[16] Two further sources, Da3C (CG28105: Satsobek) and Da8X (Senebsumai), are excluded from the list mentioned here as their place of origin is not clear (see PM III, 899 for description of both items).

[17] Regarding the mastaba of Siese, his owner presumably decided to build the tomb in an unspoiled area to the south of the complex of the king whom he served as vizier. See Simpson, in Silverman, Simpson, Wegner (eds.), *Archaism and Innovation*, 295-304, esp. 302; and Simpson, in Baines, James, Leahy (eds.), *Pyramid Studies*, 57-60, esp. remarks on Siese's titulary sequences in 58, n. 6. Further details about his titulary in Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung*, 50-1 (II.9).

[18] Based on the premise that the transformation of the Egyptian mortuary practices and ideas occurring from the end of the Old Kingdom ruled the transmission of the corpus of Pyramid Texts and the composition of textual programs in the Middle Kindgom local cemeteries: see Morales, *The transmission of the Pyramid Texts*, 43-53, esp. 44, n. 98.

[19] *Cf.* Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 71-81 (Nebuhetepti-khered), and 80-1 (Hor); Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt*, 162, table 4 in 170; and Grajetzki, *SAK* 34, 205-16, esp. 214 in which the author provides a date for *nb.w-ḥtp.tj-ḥrd* (Da2C) and *ȝw-jb-rᶜ ḥr* (Da4C), and highlights the presence of canopic jars as a characteristic element of the late Thirteenth Dynasty.

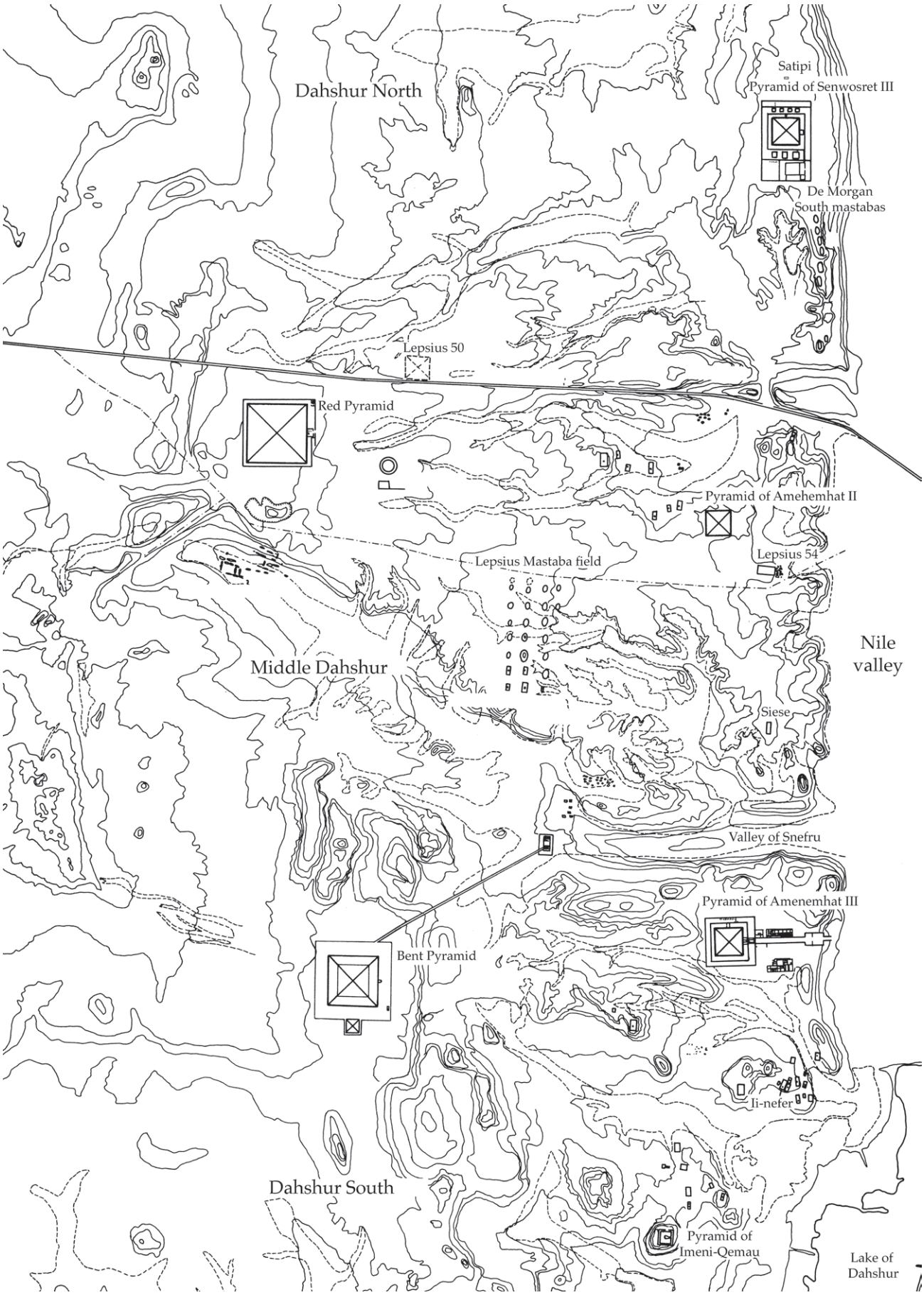

Fig. 2 - Map of Dahshur 1:20,000 (modified after Alexanian, *Dahschur II*, fig. 1)

monuments within the temenos wall of the complex,[20] to the north of the pyramid of this particular late Twelfth Dynasty king. Conceivably, they reused shafts that were left empty or were looted.[21] With respect to the burials with Pyramid Texts found in the mortuary establishment of Amenemhat II, the western sector of the complex was deliberately reserved for relatives of the king and a high official of his court.[22] Accordingly, his son Amenemhat,[23] his three daughters Ita (Da2X), Khenmet(nefer-hedjet)[24] (Da3X, Da3X can. box), and Itaweret (Da4X, Da4X can. box), and the lady Sathathormerit (Da1C, Da1C can. box) were buried therein.[25] In addition, two other intrusive burials –probably dating to the Thirteenth Dynasty– are located in this area: the queen Keminebu (Da5X) and the treasurer ("overseer of the sealed things") Amenhotep[26] (Da6X).

The overall impression at looking to the Pyramid Texts attested in the sources from Dahshur is that these groupings seem to be at variance with respect to the Saqqara tradition of both Old and Middle Kingdom. Differences in the selection of favored Pyramid Text groups that recur very noticeably in the surfaces that exhibit such texts bring forward questions about the impact of a local tradition. This tradition would result from the implementation of alternative editing strategies away from the former Old Kingdom traditional programs. Thus, devia-

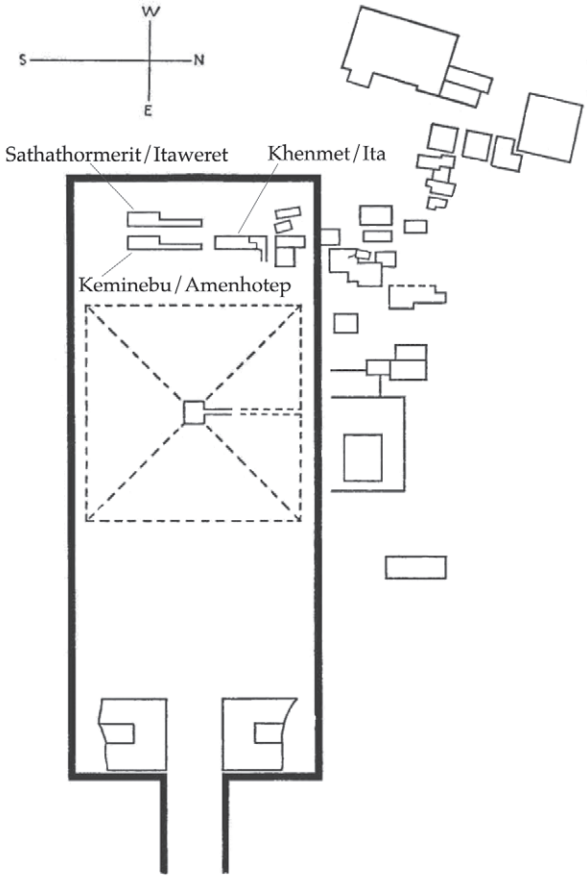

Fig. 3 - Pyramid complex of Amenemhat II with subsidiary burials of royal women

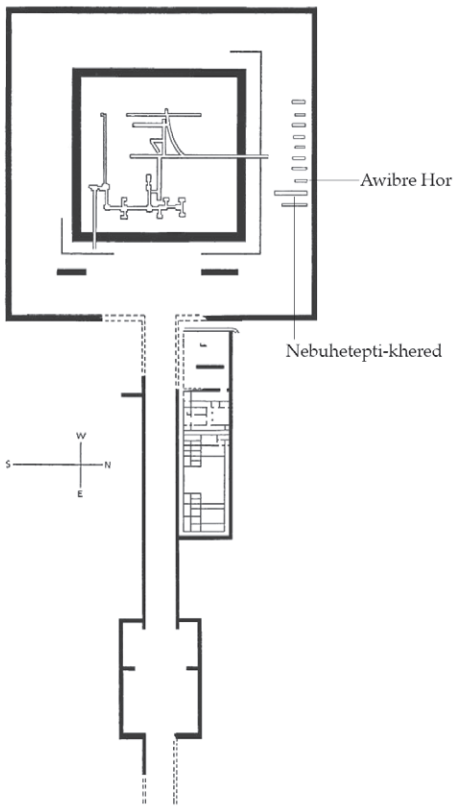

Fig. 4 - Pyramid complex of Amenemhat III with subsidiary burials of Hor and Nebuhetepti-khered (Figs. 3-4, after De Morgan, *Fouilles a Dahchour: 1894-1895*, pls. 2, 16)

[20] For the placement of private tombs within the temenos of the royal complexes, see Silverman, in Bárta, Krejčí (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara*, 259-82.

[21] See Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 48, 80-1.

[22] For the position of these tombs and their spatial relationship, see Jánosi, in Bietak, Holaubek, Mukarovsky (eds.), *Festschrift Gertrud Thausing*, 94-101, esp. fig. 1.

[23] Only some fragments are known. For this royal son, see Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt,* 162.

[24] On the name of this king's daughter, perhaps a royal wife as well, see Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 60, n. 170.

[25] Based on the type of pottery and a seal found in these tombs, the burials have been re-dated to the reign of Amenemhat III: see Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 49 and 59.

[26] The titles provided in one of the horizontal bands decorating his coffin are: *ḫtm.tj-bj.tj smr wˁ.tj jmj-rꜣ ḫtm.t*, see Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 64, figs. 28-9. For the title of *jmj-rꜣ ḫtm.t*, see Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung*, 60 (II.24); Franke, *Personendaten*, dossier 87A; and Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt*, 83, n. 260. Note the disagreement at de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour: 1894-1895*, 39-40, 70, and pl. 2, at p. 70 Jacques de Morgan regards Amenhotep as "chancelier, ami unique, prépose au sceau", while in 39-40 and pl. 2 he refers to him as "prince". For the chronological relationship of Keminebu (Da5X) and Amenhotep (Da6X), see n. 44 below.

tions in the materials found in Dahshur would respond to local notions that do not find any parallel in Saqqara, a group of norms that compeled the editors to re-consider the groups, contents and even the surfaces for the location of the Pyramid Texts.

In the scope of this study, modifications of affiliation to groups or displacement in surfaces are first examined, hence achieving a sort of understanding of the negotiation between tradition and deviation beyond the evaluation of the verbatim or emended nature of the text. The Dahshur materials are a good example of the type of *puissance* that local speculation exercised upon the reception of mortuary compositions (see n. 18 above), resulting in a complex system of canonical texts –once governed by religious orthodoxy and royal dogma– contrasted with social and religious beliefs of the community, mainly concerned with particular notions of the afterlife. The friction resulted from this (re-)formulation of the meaning of the written rites in a new setting of beliefs and customs was indeed the business of ancient editors, priests and scribes.

In the first place, one of the most usual groups of Pyramid Texts in Old and Middle Kingdom Saqqara is not present at all in Dahshur: the group of offering texts.[27] Obviously, the absence of offering texts does not encompass the discontinuation of this type of rites in mortuary cult ceremonies, funerals and other services, but certainly indicates that either some specific changes in the observance of deeds for the benefaction and provision of the deceased have occurred in Dahshur or they were traditionally carried out in a different fashion there. I shall only hint at the cases of PT204-205 in Da4C stela[28] ls. 1-14 (table 1), and PT210-211 in Da8X frag. ls. 1-6 (table 2), a couple of instances of personal texts[29] that refer to offerings and provisioning.[30] Da4C stela corresponds to the text inscribed on a rectangular alabaster stela that was surely associated with the mortuary cult of its owner, the king of the Thirteenth Dynasty, Awibre Hor.[31] The fact that this stela dates to the late Middle Kingdom must lead us to consider carefully the aspect of the Dahshur local tradition that might represent, since different social and religious conditions might have ruled the mortuary culture of the necropolis at that time. The other group of provisioning texts mentioned above was inscribed on a exterior side of a coffin fragment, Da8X, which unfortunately cannot offer further information.

Table 1: Distribution of texts in Da4C stela

Da4C stela UNKNOWN SIDE **- cols.**	
1-5	PT204
5-14	PT205

Table 2: Distribution of texts in block fragment Da8X[32]

Da8X block fragment UNKNOWN POSITION **– lines**	
1-6	PT210[a]
6	PT211

[a] See my comments on the function of PT210 in Da1C as part of a group of provisioning and offering texts, whose tone seems more justified if one takes into consideration the titles of associated texts, such as PT204 in S1Ba B, col. 112 and in the stela C20520, cols. 16-9.

Another remarkable occurrence in the Pyramid Texts collections from Dahshur alludes to the group of Nut texts and their disposition on the surfaces of coffins, mainly. The Old Kingdom attestations of this group, which evolved during the Sixth Dynasty to become a quite different unit in the Middle Kingdom, already displayed regularity in the order of its constituent texts since the group's very first attestation in the sarcophagus chamber of Pepi I (P/Sarc/Wmed + P/Sarc/Winf A-B).[33] As successors of this tradi-

[27] See Hays, *The Organization of the Pyramid Texts*, 676-8; and Hays, *JEOL* 41, 47-94, esp. 51-4 (charts A.1-6).

[28] [Cairo Museum, no number; own. *ȝw-jb-rᶜ ḥr*]: As there was no separate siglum for this item in the previous literature, the stela is labeled 'D4C stele' first in Hays, *The Typological Structure of the Pyramid Texts,* 396 (*s.v.* Subsequence 66); and later in Morales, *The transmission of the Pyramid Texts*, xviii, 244. For the stela, see de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, 94 (3), fig. 217. I owe my gratitude to Wolfram Grajetzki who informed me of the current location of the stela at the Cairo Museum.

[29] See the group as represented in the Old Kingdom sources in Hays*, JEOL* 41, 86 (chart Group H).

[30] Note that the title of PT204 in S1Ba B, col. 112 appears on the B side referring to the texts PT204-210: *sw³ḏ wdḥ.w n=s jm ḫr.t-nṯr rdt sḫm=f m pr.t-ḫrw,* "Making a man's altar flourish in the necropolis and making him have power over mortuary offerings"; see Lapp, *SAK* 13, 135-47: "Westseite", col. 112 (in red color ink, hence line drawing in B&W image). *Cf*. the same text in stela C20520, cols. 16-9, where it reads: *r³ n sw³ḏ wdḥ.w,* "Recitation for making flourish the provisions's altar".

[31] von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte*, 234-5.

[32] [No number; own. *snb-sw-m-ᶜ-j*]: PM III, 899. The coffin fragments of Senebsumai –who was *jrj-pᶜ.t ḫtm.tj-bj.tj, smr-wᶜ. tj* and *jmj-r³ ḫtm.t*– were found to the south of the complex of Amenemhat II, in the area of the tomb of Siese, Mariette, *Les mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, 583. The texts are not included in Lesko, *Index of the Spells*. For the titles of Senebsumai, see Grajetzki*, Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung*, 57-9 (II.22); and Franke, *Personendaten,* dossier 667 (dating him to the Thirteenth Dynasty: reigns of Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV).

[33] [P/Sarc/Wmed cols. 59-64]: PT367-368 PT426-435; and [P/Sarc/Winf A-B, cols. 100-128]: PT443-446 PT448 PT447-453

tion, the Middle Kingdom attestations of the Nut series in Saqqara show certain dependence upon the position and location of the group in the older assemblages. In other words, the attestations of the Nut series in Saqqara reveal a continuation of the traditional forms after the Old Kingdom and the stagnation of its model in the early Middle Kingdom.

However, the Dahshur sources did not comply with the scheme observed in the necropolis of Saqqara for this series of Nut. They evidence some local susceptibility to adhere to the norms of expression followed in the northern cemeteries (*i.e.* decorum strategies, dissimilar practices, local style). As a consequence, the local observations introduced particular re-arrangements of the series, specially concerning the disposition of its texts on the coffins. Thereby, both the traditional position of the Nut series on the W wall of the sarcophagus chambers in the Old Kingdom[34] and its later emergence on the lids of coffins in the Middle Kingdom cemeteries of Saqqara do not find equivalents in the Dahshur material, where the series spread over the four sides of the coffins and their lids.

Thus, the usual pattern of distribution found in the sources from Dahshur exhibits a rigorous layout –in the majority of sources from the site– with PT443 on the H, PT444 on the F, PT433-434 on the B, and PT429-432 as well as the sporadic presence of PT368 found on the FR of the coffin of Sathathormerit[35] (see Da1C, table 3). Interestingly, PT588 remains anchored to the L, but in some cases the text is surprisingly substituted by the group PT429-432 and PT368,[36] such as in the cases of the inner coffins of Ita[37] (Da2X), Khenmet[38] (Da3X), and Itaweret[39] (Da4X) (see Tables 4-6 below). The substitution appears to be exceptional if one considers that it occurs only in coffins whose FR side already present the same group of texts.

Table 3: Distribution of texts in coffin Da1C

HEAD cols.		FOOT cols.		BACK cols.		FRONT cols.		LID cols.	
1	unidentified	6	unidentified	11	CTtemp 331	13	*Cf.* CTtemp 331	15	CTtemp 252
2-3	PT443	7-8	PT444	12	PT433	14	PT429	15	CTtemp 328
4-5	CTtemp 361[a]	8	unidentified	12	PT434	14	PT430	16	PT429
		9-10	CT788[b]			14	PT588	16	PT430
						14	PT431beg	16	PT588
						14	PT432	16	CTtemp 323

[a] For the label 'CTtemp spell number', see Allen, *Occurrences of Pyramid Texts*, 122, n. 4; Lesko, *Index of the Spells*, passim; and Gestermann, *Überlieferung ausgewählter Texte*, 9, n. 26. [b] In ECT VII 1, CT788 is wrongly located in Da1C lines 4-5. See comments on CT788 in Lohwasser, *Die Formel*, 55, pls. 1-2.

PT356 PT454 PT425 PT455. See Leclant *et al.*, *Les textes de la pyramide de Pépi I^er^*, 29-30, 32-4, fig. 7.

[34] For the location of the Old Kingdom attestations, see Morales, *The transmission of the Pyramid Texts*, 719 (fig. 218), and 724-7; and Hays, *JEOL* 41, 82, chart Group E.

[35] [CG28101; own. *s3.t-ḥw.t-ḥr-mr*(*jt*)]: PM III, 886. *Cf.* texts in Lesko, *Index of the Spells*, 54. See also Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*, vol. II, 77-80; de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour: 1894-1895*, 75-6, figs. 118-9; Grajetzki, *The coffin of Zemathor*, 24; and Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 49-50, fig. 40.

[36] The fact that PT368 and PT588 seem to be strongly associated does not make the presence of that text extremely unexpected inasmuch as they become really variants of each other. In this case, the presence of PT368 on the lid of coffins might be taken as a logical alternative for the customary presence of PT588. For the meaning of these two variants, see Quirke, in Grallert, Grajetzki (eds.), *Life and Afterlife in Ancient Egypt*, 100-22: 105-6 (2.1.5); and Willems, in van Dijk (ed.), *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde*, 343-72.

[37] [No number; own. *it*]: PM III, 886. See the texts in Lesko, *Index of the Spells*, 55. For comments on the discovery of this tomb and its materials, see de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour: 1894-1895*, 45-55, figs. 105, 109; Grajetzki, *The coffin of Zemathor*, 24; and Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 49-54. The canopic box of the princess *it* was not inscribed (see *idem*, 52). Further information on the group of *it* and *ḫnm.t* in relation to other tombs of Dahshur (mainly, the tombs of *3w-jb-r^c^ ḥr* and *nb.w-ḥtp.tj-ḫrd*) and the tomb of Senebtisi, at Williams, *Serapis* 3, 41-57, fig. 3b (with additional comments by Lilyquist, *Serapis* 5, 27-8). Note that de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour: 1894-1895*, 50, n. 2, indicates that only one coffin from the findings in the princesses area of the necropolis to the west of the pyramid was delivered intact to the Cairo Museum.

[38] [No number; own. *ḫnm.t*]: PM III, 886. See the texts in Lesko, *Index of the Spells*, 55. Further details in de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour: 1894-1895,* 55-8; Grajetzki, *The coffin of Zemathor*, 24; and Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 54-60, esp. fig. 45. Further information on the group of *ḫnm.t* and *it* in relation to other tombs of Dahshur (mainly, the tombs of *3w-jb-r^c^ ḥr* and *nb.w-ḥtp.tj-ḫrd*) and the tomb of Senebtisi, at Williams, *Serapis* 3, 41-57, fig. 1 (additional comments in Lilyquist, *Serapis* 5, 27-8).

[39] [No number; own. *it-wr.t*]: PM III, 886. Texts in Lesko, *Index of the Spells*, 55. Further details in de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour: 1894-1895*, 71-4, figs. 118-9; Grajetzki, *The coffin of Zemathor*, 24; and Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 60-1.

Table 4: Distribution of texts in coffin Da2X

HEAD cols.		FOOT cols.		BACK cols.		FRONT cols.		LID cols.	
1	unidentified	5-6	unidentified	9	CTtemp 331	11	*Cf.* CTtemp 331	13	CTtemp 252
2-3	PT443	7	PT444beg	10	PT433	12	PT429	13	CTtemp 328
4	CTtemp 361	8	CT788[a]	10	PT434	12	PT430	14	PT429
						12	PT588	14	PT430
						12	PT431beg	14	PT588
						12	PT432	14	CTtemp 323

[a] See comments on this text in Lohwasser, *Die Formel*, 52, pls. 1-2.

Table 5: Distribution of texts in coffin Da3X

HEAD cols.		FOOT cols.		BACK cols.		FRONT cols.		LID cols.	
1	unidentified	6	unidentified	11	CTtemp 331	13	*Cf.* CTtemp 331	15	CTtemp 252
2-3	PT443	7	PT444beg	12	PT433	14	PT429	15	CTtemp 328
4-5	CTtemp 361	8	unidentified	12	PT434	14	PT430	16	PT429
		9-10	CT788[a]			14	PT588	16	PT430
						14	PT431beg	16	PT588
						14	PT432	16	CTtemp 323

[a] See comments on CT788 in Lohwasser, *Die Formel*, 53, pls. 1-2.

Table 6: Distribution of texts in coffin Da4X

HEAD col.		FOOT col.		BACK col.		LID col.	
1	unidentified	4	unidentified	7	CTtemp 331	9	CTtemp 252
2	PT443	5	PT444beg	8	PT433	9	CTtemp 328
3	CTtemp 361	5	unidentified	8	PT434	10	PT429
		6	CT788[a]			10	PT430
						10	PT588
						10	CTtemp 323

[a] See comments on CT788 in Lohwasser, *Die Formel,* 54, pls. 1-2.

Also, there are some differences attested in the sources from Dahshur in relation to the programs from Saqqara in two more aspects: i) the presence of text PT443 variant –a text of magic provision offered by Nut to the deceased– on the sides of the canopic boxes of Sathathormerit (Da1C-can.box),[40] Khenmet (Da3X can.box)[41] and Itaweret (Da4X can.box)[42] (see Tables 7-9), as well as on the coffin fragments[43] of Keminebu (Da5X)[44] and the coffin of Amen-

[40] [No number; own. *s3.t-ḥw.t-ḥr-mr*]: PM III, 886. See de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour: 1894-1895*, 76 (copy by G. Jéquier).

[41] [No number; own. *ḫnm.t*]: PM III, 886. Texts are not included in Lesko, *Index of the Spells*. See de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour: 1894-1895,* 68.

[42] [No number; own. *it-wr.t*]: PM III, 886. Texts are not included in Lesko, *Index of the Spells*. See de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour: 1894-1895,* 74.

[43] Based on de Morgan's description, it is not clear whether the wooden fragments mentioned in his *Fouilles à Dahchour: 1894-1895*, 70 belonged to the coffin of the princess *kmj-nb.w* or to her wooden canopic box ("coffret") once placed inside the sandstone canopic chest: "Sa caisse à canopes de grès, encore dans le serdâb, mais retournée, contenait encore quelques planches du coffret qu'elle renfermait jadis. Ces divers fragments de bois nous fournissent les seuls documents que nous possédions touchant cette reine". The presence of PT443 var. on the interior of the board might point to a canopic box if one takes the other three examples (Da1C can. box, Da3X can. box and D4X can. box) as a rule. As for Da6X, it consists of three fragments that might come from one or more boards, and as a consequence it does not constitute a rejective argument to the hypothesis presented here.

[44] [No number; own. *kmj-nb.w*]: PM III, 886. This source is not included in Lesko, *Index of the Spells*. Further details in de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour: 1894-1895*, 68-71, figs. 112

hotep (Da6X)[45] (Tables 10-11); and ii) the emergence of CT788[46] on the F side, accompanying PT443 var. and PT444 in coffins such as those of Nebuhetepti-khered[47] (Da2C: ext F, line A), Satsobek[48] (Da3C: ext F, line A), and Awibre Hor[49] (Da4C: ext F, line A) (*cf*. Tables 12-14).

Table 7: Distribution of texts in Da1C can.box

INTERIOR lines	
1	CT788[a]
2	CT788
3-4	PT443 var.

Table 8: Distribution of texts in Da3X can.box

INTERIOR lines	
1-2	PT443 var.
3	CT788[b]
4	CT788

Table 9: Distribution of texts in Da4X can.box

INTERIOR lines	
1	PT443beg var.
2	CT788[c]
3	PT443end var.
4-5	PT443 var.

Table 10: Distribution of texts in coffin fragments Da5X (exterior)

FRONT(?)[d] lines	
1-2	PT443 var.
3	CT788
4	CT788

Table 11: Distribution of texts in coffin Da6X

FRONT(?)[e] lines	
1+3-5	PT443 var.
2	CT788[f]

and 116-7; as well as Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 48-9; Grajetzki, *The coffin of Zemathor*, 27-8, figs. 22-3; and Lüscher, *Spruch 151*, 52-3, fig. 20, n. 186. In addition, Lapp, *Typologie der Särge und Sargkammern*, 281, indicates that the fragment is inscribed with BD30b [Nb: Based on Jacques de Morgan's description, the wooden fragments mentioned in his *Fouilles à Dahchour: 1894-1895*, 70 might originate from the wooden canopic box of *kmj-nb.w* (see n. 43)]. Also, regarding the date of this 'coffin/box', Grajetzki, *The coffin of Zemathor*, 28, indicates that the incomplete hieroglyphs and the burial of this queen in the same tomb than Amenhotep's coffin (Da6X) might indicate a late Twelfth or even Thirteenth Dynasty date (similarly, Lüscher, *Spruch 151*, 52, n. 185; and for the incomplete hieroglyphs, see Miniaci, *RdE* 61, 113-34; and Lüscher, *Untersuchungen zu ägyptischen Kanopenkästen*, 64-5). *Cf*. Jánosi, in Bietak, Holaubek, Mukarovsky (eds.), *Festschrift Gertrud Thausing*, 97-8, n. 22, where he offers some examples for mutilated hieroglyphs in the pyramid of Amenemhat III at Hawara.

[45] [No number; own. *imn-ḥtp*]: PM III, 886. The texts are not included in Lesko, *Index of the Spells*. See de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour: 1894-1895*, 68-71, fig. 112-5. See also a reproduction of the coffin fragments in Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 64, fig. 28; as well as further details on the decoration and texts in Grajetzki, *The coffin of Zemathor*, 26-7, fig. 21, who believes that the use of incomplete writing for the hieroglyphs and the red crown instead of the bee for the title ("royal sealer") point out to a late Twelfth or Thirteenth Dynasty.

[46] The meaning and position of CT788 will be discussed below in the section dealing with the associated Lisht sources, where some interesting remarks can be shown in detail, with parallels such as these attestations here in Dahshur and some variants (modification for PT249 in the position of CT788) in the Theban sources.

[47] [CG28104; own. *nb.w-ḥtp.tj-ḫrd*]: PM III, 889. *Cf*. texts in Lesko, *Index of the Spells*, 54. See Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*, vol. II, 81-2; and De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, 110-1, fig. 263, pl. 36 (top) [*cf*. 264]. Further information on the group of the queen *nb.w-ḥtp.tj-ḫrd* and king *ȝw-jb-rᶜ ḥr,* in relation to other tombs of Dahshur and the tomb of Senebtisi, at Williams, *Serapis* 3, 41-57, fig. 3c; and Lilyquist, *Serapis* 5, 27-8. For the reconstruction and analysis of the decoration and texts on this coffin, see also Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 71-81; Grajetzki, *The coffin of Zemathor*, 26; and Grajetzki, *BEM* 2, 71-8, esp. 78, fig. 3.

[48] [CG28105; own. *sȝ.t-sbk*]: PM III, 899. See texts in Lesko, *Index of the Spells*, 54, who indicates three horizontal fragments: Pyr. 269 + x (PT251beg-x). More details in Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*, vol. II, 83. It is not clear if Jacques de Morgan recorded the information about the coffin in his publication: presumably, de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour: 1894-1895,* 102-3, fig. 151. See also comments on this coffin in Grajetzki, *The coffin of Zemathor*, 26; and Grajetzki, *BEM* 2, 73, n. 8.

[49] [CG28100 / CG28106; own. *ȝw-jb-rᶜ ḥr*]: PM III, 888. See texts in Lesko, *Index of the Spells*, 54. Further details also in de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour,* 101-2, figs. 241 and 241bis (frgs. A1 and A2 are the two fragments in fig. 241bis in p. 102; fragment B is located at the bottom right of fig. 241), pl. 36 (bottom); Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*, vol. II, 77 (CG28100), 84-5 (CG28106), and pl. 19c (*wadjet*-eyes in FR side); Grajetzki, *The coffin of Zemathor*, 25, fig. 20; and Grajetzki, *BEM* 2, 77, fig. 2 (the right column on the front of the reconstruction should be reversed). Further information on the group of *ȝw-jb-rᶜ ḥr* and his queen *nb.w-ḥtp.tj-ḫrd* at Williams, *Serapis* 3, fig. 3a.

Table 12: Distribution of texts in coffin gold overlay Da2C (exterior)

HEAD (FRAGS. D1-2)		FOOT (FRAGS. E1-6)		BACK (FRAGS. C1-6)		FRONT (FRAGS. B1-6)		LID (FRAGS. A1-4)	
line		line		line		line		line	
A	CTtemp 335	A	CT788[g]	A	CTtemp 189	A	CTtemp 189	A-B	PT588

Table 13: Distribution of texts in coffin gold overlay Da3C (exterior)

FOOT (FRAGMENT A)		BACK (FRAGMENT B)		LID (FRAGMENT C)	
line		lines		col.	
A	CT788[h]	A-C	PT251	1	PT588

Table 14: Distribution of texts in coffin gold overlay Da4C (exterior)

FOOT (FRAGS. A1-2)		LID (FRAG B)	
line		line	
A	CT788[i]	A	PT588

[a] No reference to these attestations of CT788 is mentioned in Lohwasser, *Die Formel*.
[b] No reference to these attestations of CT788 is mentioned in *op. cit.*
[c] No reference to this attestation of CT788 is mentioned in *op. cit.*
[d] Based on the parallel materials from the coffin of Amenhotep (Da6X) and other sources, we determine that this panel must correspond to the FR side of the coffin or canopic box of Keminebu or Itaweret (*cf.* Tables 9-10).
[e] See Grajetzki, *The coffin of Zemathor*, 26, fig. 21: the two vertical columns allude to Duamutef and the *ỉḫ.t-nfr.t*, which are two themes in texts of the ext FR side (see e.g. T7C ext FR, col. 7 (only *ỉḫ.t-nfr.t* text); T5NY ext FR, cols. 7-8; T6NY ext FR, cols. 7-8; T7NY ext FR, cols. 7-8; T8NY ext FR, cols. 8-9; X1L ext FR, cols. 7-8), typical of the mid-late Middle Kingdom textual program with CT788 first (see Da5X) and later PT249 (Pyr. §§266a-b) that substituted -at least in the Upper Egyptian region- the former Coffin Text. Based on this evidence, the fragment of the coffin panel of Keminebu (Da5X), which presents similar texts to the coffin of Amenhotep and was found in the same tomb, might correspond to the same side (ext FR side).
[f] Not included in Lohwasser, *Die Formel*.
[g] See comments on CT788 in Lohwasser, *Die Formel*, 62, pls. 1-2; further details on this text on the comments about the ext B-side of T5NY and and X1L in Morales, *The transmission of the Pyramid Texts*, 587, 625.
[h] See comments on CT788 in Lohwasser, *Die Formel*, 63, pls. 1-2.
[i] See comments on CT788 in *op. cit.*, 64, pls. 1-2.

Two additional sources of the repertoire from Dahshur require some comments at this point in the light of the exceptional sequence recurring in them. The two sources are the texts on the coffin fragments grouped under Da1X, belonging to Satipi (*s3.t-jpj*),[50] and the inscriptions on the walls of the mastaba of Siese (*s3-js.t*).[51] They do not come from the main clusters of the necropolis previously discussed, that is the mortuary complexes of Amenemhat II and Amenemhat III. The fact that both sources present a very exceptional sequence of texts not attested in the rest of the Dahshur evidence and the two

[50] [No number; own. *s3.t-jpj*]: PM III, 897. The texts are not included in Lesko, *Index of the Spells*. See de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, 35-6, fig. 73 (texts copied by G. Daressy); and Allen, in Berger, Clerc, Grimal (eds.), *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, vol. I, 5-28, 11, n. 12. Recently the coffin has been re-examined by Gestermann, in Knuf, Leitz, von Recklinghausen (eds.), *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, 49-56; as well as by Grajetzki, *The coffin of Zemathor*, 24, pl. 7. *Cf.* the recent comments in Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 98-9.
[51] [Steinpyramide No. LV of Lepsius (= Willems's Da7X); own. *s3-js.t*]: PM III, 898. Texts are not included in Lesko, *Index of the Spells*. See de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour: 1894-1895*, 78-85; and Allen, in Berger, Clerc, Grimal (eds.), *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, vol. I, 11, n. 12. See the recent examinations of the tomb in Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 99; and El-Husseiny, Khafagy, *EA* 36, 21-4; and the latest examination of coffin Da1X and its series of texts, compared to Siese's group, in Gestermann, in Knuf, Leitz, von Recklinghausen (eds.), *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, 50. For the role of Siese as a treasurer (*jmj-r3 ḫtm.t*) and the possibility that he did not act as a real vizier in charge, see Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 30, 56-7. *Cf.* also the position of the texts of Siese in the transmission of mortuary compositions in von Falck, *Textgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Götterreden*, 813.

of them did not appear in the royal establishments from which all the other come might be coincidental; otherwise, it may be a chronological attribute connected to a tendency in the decoration and inscription of the burial equipment occurred in a particular reign, since Da1X is precisely the only source found in the nearby area of the complex of Senwosret III.

Da1X fragments were found in a mastaba (no. 22) in the Middle Kingdom cemetery field to the north of the mortuary complex of Senwosret III, while the tomb of Siese is situated to the south of the complex of Amenemhat II. The reasons for the choice of such a virgin area for the construction of Siese's mastaba are not known,[52] but the fact that one of his titles in the tomb promotes him to vizier (*jmj-rꜣ njw.t tꜣy.ty zꜣb ṯꜣ.ty*)[53] and his crypt is enhanced with the inscription of Pyramid Texts therein point out to a high rank official whose prestige in the locality and formal privileges[54] must have been outstanding. Such a position in the central administration and in the local superintendence facilitated him the access to temple archives and records offices in which Pyramid Texts could have been kept.

In fact, the tomb of Siese (Table 15) contains one of the most striking features of the Middle Kingdom textual materials from Dahshur: an exact copy of one of the Pyramid Texts sequences composed for Unas at the end of the Fifth Dynasty,[55] which recurred again in the Middle Kingdom tomb of Senwosretankh at Lisht.[56] Thus, the only examples[57] of the sequence of texts PT247-258 PT260-263 PT267-272 (+ PT273)[58] appear in Old Kingdom Saqqara and then in the tombs of two high officials of the Twelfth Dynasty, Siese and Senwosretankh. Interestingly, in the antechamber of Unas the sequence spread from the W to the S walls; in Senwosretankh from the S wall (col. 44) to the E wall (col. 25); and in the case of Siese, it runs in a clear sequence E-S-W-N, which indicates to a limited degree the transitional nature of the constituent texts.

Table 15: Distribution of texts in the burial chamber of Siese

EAST WALL cols.		SOUTH WALL cols.		WEST WALL cols.		NORTH WALL cols.	
1-11	PT247[a]	1-13	-PT254	1-5	-PT258	1-13	PT271
11-15	PT248	13-19	CT255	5-13	PT260	14-21	PT272

[52] Note that "la fantaisie, le goût de l'époque, les nécessités du terrain guidaient les architectes dans leur choix" according to de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour: 1894-1895*, 40.

[53] See Simpson, in Baines, James, Leahy (eds.), *Pyramid Studies*, 58 (and n. 6 in which the author clarifies that the panels with the full vizieral titulary are Cairo TR 24/5/28/1 and 4). Note, however, that the recent lists of holders of the vizierate do not include Siese as vizier: Grajetzki, *Court officials*, 17-8, 30 (here considered a treasure and doubtly a vizier in charge); Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung*, 9 and 41 (*cf.* Siese's further titles in p. 51); Franke, *Personendaten*, 18-9; and Valloggia, *BIFAO* 74, 123-34: esp. 130-1.

[54] A salient element of his titulary is the reference to the pyramid-town title in one of the bas-relief panels that situates him in the area of Dahshur as responsible for the king's pyramid establishment. The nature of his status would grant him access to the mortuary collections kept in the site. For his full titulary, see Simpson, in Baines, James, Leahy (eds.), *Pyramid Studies*, 58. Further details on the role of the vizier as "overseer of the pyramid-town" in the late Old Kingdom and in the Middle Kingdom, in Grajetzki, *Court officials*, 19.

[55] For an examination of the *Derivationszenarios*, particularly the tomb of Siese, see Gundacker, *Genese und innerer chronologischer Schichtung der Pyramidentexte*, 556, and 563-8. *Cf.* with Köthen-Welpot, *Theogonie und Genealogie*, 359-60.

[56] For the parallel attestation of the same sequence of Pyramid Texts in Senwosretankh's tomb at Lisht, see Morales, *The transmission of the Pyramid Texts*, 270, fig. 58: [Sen/Sarc/S 44-91 + Sen/Sarc/E cols. 1-15: PT247-258 PT260-263 PT267-273]. *Cf.* Russo, in Bickel, Loprieno (eds.), *Basel Egyptology Prize*, 361-9, esp. 364, 369, and fig. 1.

[57] Incomplete sections of the series are attested, however, in the tomb chamber of Imhotep L-JMH1 (PT254-258 in W wall, cols. 20-55) and the burial chamber of Neha at El-Qatta (PT247-248 in S-E walls, cols. 1-15). Note that Gestermann, in Knuf, Leitz, von Recklinghausen (eds.), *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, 50-1, and n. 11, refers to the "Sarg eines *imn.w-m-ḥ3.t* aus al-Lišt" and fails to acknowledge that Allen's designation L-JMH1 does not refer to such a coffin but refers to the Pyramid Texts inscribed on the walls of the tomb chamber of Imhotep, as the author states in his list of sources (see Allen, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts VIII*, ix, and for PT254-258 in L-JMH1 W wall, see *idem*, 271-6). See also Gestermann, *Überlieferung ausgewählter Texte*, vol. I, 12-4, and fig. 1, in which the author points out the presence of PT247 in the Middle Kingdom sources of Senwosretankh, Siese, Q1Q and Amenemhatseneb (stela Leiden 24, AP. 35), but omits the attestation of PT247 in L-JMH1.

[58] See Group J (transition texts) at Hays, *JEOL* 41, 87; Sequence 48 (ascension texts) in Hays, *The Typological Structure of the Pyramid Texts,* 284-9 (with remarks on the sacerdotal typology of PT247, *idem*, 286-7); and Sequence F (F1 and F2 beginning) in Allen, in Berger, Clerc, Grimal (eds.), *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, vol. I, 8-9, 11-2 (note that PT267-269 must be added in Allen's Sequence F1 in p. 12), and 19. In the case of Unas, the sequence spread from W/A/W to W/A/S; the possibility of inclusion of PT273 at the end of this group, although it is mirrored in the cases of Sen E-wall cols. 14-25 and Siese N-wall cols. 23-5, has been disregarded for Unas since text PT273 appears on a different surface: W/A/E sup (*i.e.* gable) (see Hays, *JEOL* 41, 88, Group K.2.b). In the two Middle Kingdom attestations, PT273 follows the sequence but constitutes part of a different series with different themes and function (*i.e.* apotropaic).

15-19	PT249	19-22	CT256	13-16	PT261	23-25	PT273
19-23	PT250	22-26	CT257	16-24	PT262		
23-30	PT251	27	PT258-	24-29	PT263		
30-36	PT252			29-33	PT267		
36-39	PT253			33-38	PT268		
39-45	PT254-			38-43	PT269		
				43-48	PT270		
				48-49	PT271-		

[a] PT247 deals with transition/ascension ('the emerging from the Duat') but does not conform to the personal type of Pyramid Texts that characterizes the group that initiates. It alludes to the activities of a priest in the role of Horus and refers to further rites to be performed by a priest for the deceased. See Hays, *The Typological Structure of the Pyramid Texts*, 285-7. In the New Kingdom tomb of Min-Nakht (TT87), PT247 presents the title *r3 n(j) rdj(.t) pr 3ḫ m sb3 m p.t*, "Recitation of causing that an Akh go forth from the gate of the sky". For the consideration of the meaning of the title and the general interest of this text and another one in the same tomb (PT251), see Hays, *The Organization of the Pyramid Texts*, 107, nn. 455-6.

A fragmentary copy of the same sequence is attested in the eleven fragments recovered from the coffin of Satipi, Da1X (Table 16). In this case, the series begins in PT247 and ends with PT258. The fragmentary condition of the coffin did not allow further identifications and any later proposal in relation to the parallels possibly to be found in the tombs of Senwosretankh, Siese, and ultimately Unas.[59] Recently, Louise Gestermann has examined the fragments of the coffin presented in De Morgan's *Fouilles à Dahchour Mars-Juin 1894*,[60] and has distinguished two main series in the group: PT247-253 and PT254-258, which were also "aus dem Mittleren Reich bekannt. Beiden Spruchfolgen sind in der bekannten Mastaba des *z(.i)-n(.i)-wsr.t-ᶜnḫ* in al-Lišt aus der Zeit von Sesostris I. und den ersten Jahren von Amenemhet II. zu finden".[61]

Table 16: Distribution of texts in coffin fragments Da1X[a]

fr. 2/1/8/6 cols.		**fr. 5/11 cols.**		**fr. 5/11+9-10/7/4 cols.**		**fr. 9-10/7/4 cols.**		**fr. 3 cols.**	
1-5	PT247	17-20	PT252	23-42	PT254	42-47	PT255	47-51	PT256
5-7	PT248	20-22	PT253					50-55	PT257
7-11	PT249							55-60	PT258
11-13	PT250								
13-16	PT251								

[a] See the latest reconstruction of the sixty-two columns (approx.) that would have decorated the coffin side in Gestermann, in Knuf, Leitz, von Recklinghausen (eds.), *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, 51-5, and pl. 8.

Old and new traditions at Dahshur

On the whole, it is reasonable to consider that Middle Kingdom textual programs with Pyramid Texts were mostly defined in the cultural and political arena of the First Intermediate Period. They occupied a fundamental position in the course of transmission of the mortuary literature and became a counterpart to the spreading composition of Coffin Texts. By and large, Middle Kingdom textual programs offer us a window into the intellectual and theological activities in temple libraries and archives, and contribute to define the degree of influence of local beliefs and practices in the editing of (Pyramid) texts. Furthermore, they also help to track down the Old Kingdom sources of particular segments of compositions used in the Middle Kingdom and to identify contrasting textual traditions. Therefore, the discovery of sources bearing traditional segments from the corpus of Pyramid Texts comes to designate not only the geno-texts of particular Middle Kingdom witnesses (or pheno-texts) and the manner in which they made it into a site, but also the models of non-royal access to collections of texts in temple or archival scriptoria, where old scrolls and new compositions were kept. Undoubtedly, the systematic distinction –and use– of old and new collections, and the intentional scholarly and theological engagement in the reproductive and productive processes of transmission reveal awareness and understanding of the antiquity of these collections and the sort of work to undertake with them in these institutions. As a matter of fact, it is also evidence for the presence of collections in local centres such as Dahshur since the late Old Kingdom.

A comprehensive examination of the Middle Kingdom coffins and tombs in Dahshur reveals some inter-

[59] An interesting exercise of stemma analysis might reduce the possible responses to the use of this series in the Middle Kingdom tomb of Siese and the coffin of Satipi in Dahshur, as well as in the tomb of Senwosretankh in Lisht, comparing the texts and looking for any deviations from the 'archetype' sequence in Unas (or its previous hyparchetype, if any). See a similar attempt with a different section of the textual repertoires in Unas and Senwosretankh in Kahl, *SAK* 22, 195-209.

[60] de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour: 1894-1895,* 36, fig. 73.

[61] Gestermann, in Knuf, Leitz, von Recklinghausen (eds.), *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, 50, n. 8.

esting aspects of the use of Pyramid Texts, which the local scribes already contemplated as old compositions –but prestigious and meaningful– in the Middle Kingdom.[62] First, a detailed look at the local distribution of sources with Pyramid Texts makes clear that particular textual programs with Pyramid Texts were composed for royal individuals and officials of the Tweltfh and Thirteenth Dynasties. These individuals were buried in three points in time, mainly during the reigns of Amenemhat II, Amenemhat III,[63] and the early Thirteenth Dynasty (*i.e.* reign of Awibre Hor). Second, the analysis of the Pyramid Text programs on the coffins and tombs betrays their forms of transmission and editing work: while the textual programs belonging to the funerary equipment of the royal individuals of the Twelfth Dynasty (Amenemhat II-Amenemhat III) and the early Thirteenth Dynasty (Awibre Hor and Nebuhetepti-khered) show the combination of old and new repertoires of texts in innovative ways, the texts of two officials of the same period (Siese and lady Satipi) testify to the use of particular Old Kingdom segments of the Pyramid Texts, obeying the order and membership of the selected sequences without the interference of new texts.

In addition, the homogeneity of the innovative programs used for the princesses of Amenemhat II and Amenemhat III and the early Thirteenth Dynasty royalty also denotes the centralized work of a particular crew of scribes and priests, and the existence of a local workshop in which to design, supervise, and produce these objects and their texts. The later cases of Awibre Hor and Nebuhetepti-khered manifest the continuation of this tradition in the late Middle Kingdom.[64] By contrast, the collections of texts selected for both Siese, whose mastaba was built to the south of the complex of Amenemhat II, and Satipi, buried to the north of the complex of Senwosret III, find their counterparts in the Middle Kingdom tomb of Senwosretankh at Lisht and the Fifth Dynasty pyramid of king Unas.[65] Although the composites for Siese and lady Satipi only amount to a segment of the long collections of Pyramid Texts for Senwosretankh and Unas, the relationship of the three Middle Kingdom sources with the Old Kingdom (royal) one defines alternative avenues of textual transmission to the royal compositions for the princesses of the Twelfth Dynasty, and speak for variegated forms of access to prestigious and conventional ritual texts kept in temple libraries. The micro/local analysis of Pyramid Texts applied here to programs from Dahshur, therefore, individualizes the assemblages of Siese and Satipi, relates them to the case of Senwosretankh at Lisht, and discriminates them as examples of the adoption of Pyramid Texts tradition by officials before the adaptative cases of the royalty at Dahshur and the additional local sources that incorporated consistent Coffin Text tradition.

Acknowledgment
The final version of this paper builds upon some aspects of my dissertation research on the transmission of Pyramid Texts and is also the result of my current work on the religious and scribal mechanisms of dissemination of this corpus after the Old Kingdom under the auspices of the SFB 980 *Episteme in Bewegung: Wissenstransfer von der Alten Welt bis in die Frühe Neuzeit* and the Ägyptologisches Seminar at Freie Universität Berlin. I am very grateful to Wolfram Grajetzki and Gianluca Miniaci for their invitation to contribute to this volume on Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period culture, history and archaeology.

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[62] The existence of a rich corpus of Pyramid Text ectypes in Middle Kingdom libraries and archives reflects the consideration of these old mortuary texts as forebears of the newly composed texts (*i.e.* Coffin Texts), "beyond the attitude that what was old was good" (quote in Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture*, 45; and similar ideas expressed in der Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, XXXIX-XL).

[63] The princesses associated with the complex of Amenemhat II might have been buried one or two generations later during the reign of Amenemhat III (see Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 49).

[64] For the inception of new forms of mortuary miscellanea in the early Thirteenth Dynasty, mainly at Lisht, Dahshur, and Thebes, see Morales, *The transmission of the Pyramid Texts*, 302-6 (*cf.* 'The Lisht model coffins and the pyramidia'), developing ideas on textual programs of the period already observed by Grajetzki, *BMSAES*, 1-12; and Dorman, in Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I*, vol. I, 147-9.

[65] One might add the case of Senebsumai (Da8X: PT210-211), but the segment of Pyramid Texts therein is too short to define the sort of textual program used for this individual (see n. 32 above).

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New Approaches to the Study of Households in Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period Egypt

Miriam Müller

Abstract

This paper proposes a new approach to the study of households in ancient Egypt. 'Household archaeology' as a new branch in the archaeological research has become a major focus in areas such as the Levant, heavily influenced by its development in New World studies. By investigating households and their material correlate and thus attempting to infer households' behavior, these bottom-up approaches have advanced the understanding of society, economy, religion, and identity for many regions of the Ancient World. With a traditionally strong focus on monumental and funerary remains, Egypt lags behind the developments in the archaeology of the domestic sphere as applied in the neighbouring regions. Opening up a new avenue of research in settlement studies, the side-by-side study of architecture and finds and focus on the lived experience, the study of households has recently gained attention in Egyptology. In this paper notions of status and class as visible in the archaeological record of a neighbourhood of the city of Avaris/ Tell el-Dabʿa in the later Middle Kingdom and beginning Second Intermediate Period are being explored.

The household from an archaeological point of view is a much neglected topic in Egyptology, although recent overviews on social structure and daily life in the pharaonic period stress the importance of studies of the material culture and the experience of the home. Even certain activities potentially taking place in the domestic sphere, such as eating and drinking, are outlined, however, not adequately situated within the architectural frame, the house.[1] This is perhaps understandable given the rich evidence for daily life and household activities from other contexts such as the scenes of ideal life on earth on the tomb walls or the elaborate models depicting activities from the domestic sphere, such as bread making and beer brewing. In the same way, the study of household composition, family concepts, and social hierarchy is almost exclusively based on textual evidence.[2] House architecture, especially size and particular built-in features have been considered in terms of class differentiation and potential gender specific areas.[3] Artefact classes found within the domestic sphere have been treated in their entirety for the elucidation of specific phenomena such as household cults and ancestor veneration[4] or for the establishment of a typology and periodization, as, for example, in the case of the large corpus of pottery.[5] The publication of the built environment has almost always been separated from the presentation of different object categories. These studies until quite recently did not correlate artefacts found in different parts of houses with their actual find spot. The potential of artefact assemblages for an identification of activities carried out in the domestic sphere mirroring household behavior has not been fully exploited.[6] The combination of an investigation of the built environment, artefacts, and built-in features within the architecture and inferences on activities and thus behavior with implications for various themes, such as social structure, identity, and ethnicity, is subsumed under the term 'Household Archaeology'.

Household archaeology, as it was introduced by Mesoamerican scholars,[7] has emerged as a new subdiscipline requiring its own methodology and theoretical background. In the last years, numerous monographs, excavation volumes, and conference proceedings have been published, documenting increasing interest in bottom-up approach-

[1] Frood, in Lloyd (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egypt*, 469-90.
[2] Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen*; Campagno, in Frood, Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*; Moreno García, in Frood, Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*.
[3] Ricke, *Der Grundriss des Amarna-Wohnhauses*; Tietze, *ZÄS* 112, 48-84; Tietze, *ZÄS* 113, 55-78; Meskell, *Private Life*.
[4] Demarée, *The ꜣḫ jqr n Rᶜ-Stelae. On Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt*; Stevens, *Private Religion at Amarna*: *The Material Evidence*; Keith, *Anthropoid Busts of Deir el-Medina*.
[5] E.g. Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom,* vols. I-II.
[6] Frood, in Lloyd (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egypt*, 489; however, see Kemp, Stevens, *Busy Lives at Amarna*; Spencer, *JAEI* 6/1, 42-61. For a critique see Von Pilgrim, *Untersuchungen in der Stadt des Mittleren Reiches und der Zweiten Zwischenzeit*, 205-6.
[7] Wilk, Rathje, *ABS* 25/6, 617-39; Wilk, Netting, Arnould (eds.), *Households. Comparative and Historical Studies of the Domestic Group*; Wilk, Ashmore (eds.), *Household and Community in the Mesoamerican Past*.

es to single households. Studies from regions all around the world, but particularly from New World archaeology substantiate the advances in the study of the private sphere and what can be gained from this understanding for wider social processes. With a strong focus on the architecture and artefacts found inside the dwelling, textual and scientific evidence can, however, equally be integrated. Especially from a scientific perspective, recent advances in the field have stimulated a renewed interest and added attraction to the field of household archaeology. Subsumed under the term 'Micro-Archaeology', the investigation of micro-particles, sediments, faunal and floral remains –mostly invisible to the excavator's eye– yields crucial evidence for activity areas in houses, health, diet, and migration patterns, among other insights.[8] Two recent publications on household archaeology in the Levant demonstrate the integration of this new branch in archaeology in the research agendas and excavation projects in the Near East.[9] Areas such as the Levant are at the forefront of implementing these new techniques while Egypt, with its traditionally strong focus on monumental and funerary remains, lags behind the developments in the archaeology of the domestic sphere. Household archaeology has only recently gained attention in Egyptology.[10]

The study of households in Egyptology

The study of households encompasses a variety of themes, from household composition, different family types,[11] gender,[12] and status[13] to the interaction between different household members, multiple households, the household and outsiders or visitors, and the household and subordinate or superior instances.[14] The economic background, subsistence strategies, and household production as well as consumption patterns are topics addressed within household studies.[15] Development and changes in households' behavior and composition are expressed by households' lifecycles and reproduction.[16] Domestic cults, in particular ancestor veneration, and thus the construction of identity and social memory are becoming a focus in household studies.[17] A new area of research is the perception of space, sensory experience, and the structuring and manipulation of the built environment.[18] Lehner, in applying the 'Patrimonial Household Model',[19] characterises the Egyptian state as an extended household[20] and extrapolates the information that had so far been gained on the micro-level to a perspective on ancient Egyptian society.[21] Thus, he questions the long-held view of a strongly centralized state with a large-scale redistributive system and instead stresses the household as the most important unit of production. Especially for the Middle Kingdom, the theory of a prescriptive state has been advanced with the elite ruling over a large working population, a system tightly organized by the central authority and evident in the many grid-planned settlements found in this period.[22] However, textual sources yield evidence for parts of the population that do not seem to fit well into a two-tiered system of a ruling class: pharaoh and administrative apparatus, and dependent working population.[23] Recent excavations and the study of cemetery data have added additional evidence from the archaeological context.[24] The appearance of a middle class from the late Old Kingdom onwards, described as a group without titles and thus without function in the administration, well-off, and above the dependent working population, is now commonly found in the literature.[25] Setting this middle class apart from the average working population

[8] Weiner, *Microarchaeology*.
[9] Yasur-Landau, Ebeling, Mazow (eds.), *Household Archaeology*; Parker, Foster (eds.), *New Perspectives on Household Archaeology*.
[10] Müller (ed.), *Household Studies in Complex Societies*.
[11] Moreno García, in Frood, Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology.*
[12] Meskell, *JAMT* 5, 209-43; Meskell, *Private Life*.
[13] Crocker, *JEA* 71, 52-62.
[14] Arnold, *MDAIK* 54, 1-18; Spence, in Bietak, Czerny, Forstner-Müller (eds.), *Cities and Urbanism*, 289-98.
[15] Kemp *et al.*, in Luff, Rowley-Conwy (eds.), *Whither Environmental Archaeology?*, 133-70; Samuel, *World Archaeology* 31/1, 121-44; Redding, *AERAGRAM* 8/2, 6-7.
[16] Kóthay, in Györy (ed.), *Mélanges offerts à Edith Varga*, 349-68; Kemp, *Anatomy of a Civilization*, 219, fig. 79, 221.
[17] Ritner, in Bodel, Olyan (eds.), *Household and Family Religion*, 171-96; Müller, in Rimmer Herrmann, Schloen, (eds.), *Feasting with the Dead in the Middle East*, 85-94.
[18] Shaw, *CAJ* 2/2, 147-66; Spence, *JEA* 90, 123-52; Spence, in Bietak, Czerny, Forstner-Müller (eds.), *Cities and Urbanism*; Spence, in Müller (ed.), *Household Studies in Complex Societies*, 83-9; Gräzer Ohara, in Boussac, Fournet, Redon (eds.), *Le bain collectif en Égypte*, 33-63.
[19] Schloen, *The House of the Father*.
[20] Both, pharaoh and state could be expressed by the word *pr-ꜥ* "great house" (Moreno García, in Frood, Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 1).
[21] Lehner, in Gumerman, Kohler (eds.), *Dynamics in Human and Primate Societies*, 275-353.
[22] Kemp, *Anatomy of a Civilization*, 193-244.
[23] Summarized in Franke, *GM* 167, 33-48; see also Quirke, *ZÄS* 118, 141-9 and Andrássy, in Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, 49-58.
[24] Richards, *Society and Death*; Seidlmayer, in Hawass, Richards (eds.), *The Archaeology and Art,* vol. II, 351-68; Adams, *Community and Society in Egypt*; Adams, in Hawass, Richards (eds.), *The Archaeology and Art*, vol. II, 1-23.
[25] Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt*, 149-51; Katary, in Moreno García (ed.), *Élites et pouvoir*, 263-5; Frood, in Lloyd (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egypt*, 476.

does, however, not mean that they were not dependent.[26]

Burials are often manipulated with the aim of displaying a certain image of the tomb owner, either created by the buried individual himself during lifetime or by the undertakers,[27] and texts are most often subject to an elite bias. Therefore, it is important to consider the evidence from settlements to get a better understanding of the societal structure. Unfortunately, the ancient Egyptian culture still bears the attribute of being 'a civilization without cities'.[28] Settlements are only partially preserved in areas that had been chosen for a specific function such as pyramid and temple towns constructed along the desert edge far away from the river oasis where the cities of the pharaonic time are now superimposed by modern architecture and can hardly be explored. These special purpose towns accommodated a population that had to fulfill specific tasks, often literate and with exclusive prerogatives as well as an administrative sector, and also guards.[29] These towns can, despite their extraordinary preservation of architecture, decoration, finds, and often also written accounts, not be taken as a model for a cross-section of the ancient Egyptian society. Only one example displays life in a large capital city and exposes quarters of different tiers of the population. Despite its extraordinary circumstances of foundation under the vision and ideology of a heretic ruler, Amarna, the capital of Akhenaten at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, can be considered to represent an adequate picture of a city at that time. However, it lacks a development into a more organic structure due to the limited time of occupation of only 15 to 20 years.[30] Neighbourhoods are found to the north and south of the city centre with administrative and cultic buildings.[31] They display a mixture of very large estates with villas and smaller houses surrounding the big mansions. When Tietze analysed the more than 500 houses that had been excavated until the 1980s, he differentiated fifteen types according to their layout and wall thickness.[32] Although the majority of houses are very small, contrasted by the spacious villas, it is possible to determine a middle sector of houses with sizes between 100 and 300 square meters.[33] The extraordinary level of preservation at Amarna furthermore allows the correlation of the built environment with actual inhabitants, since inscriptions on door frames indicate the names and titles of the household masters.[34] The status of house owners inhabiting dwellings of this size can be specified as belonging to the group of officers, priests, and chief craftsmen – a sector of the population that Tietze described as the "organizers/coordinators within the society".[35] Unfortunately, Amarna is the only example of an entire Egyptian city with houses of such quality of preservation and quantity. Therefore, it is particularly difficult to get an insight into the social structure of the Old and Middle Kingdom based on the preserved and excavated settlements.[36]

Case study: Tell el-Dab'a

The site of Tell el-Dab'a, ancient Avaris in the eastern Nile Delta, has not attracted much attention in recent overviews on urbanism and society apart from being an example of a typically planned settlement of the early Middle Kingdom.[37] The reason for this reluctance might be the special character of the city as home of a mixed population of Egyptian and Levantine descent. Avaris later became the capital of the Hyksos, the first foreign dynasty ruling over Egypt in the Second Intermediate Period, while remaining a major trade hub during the second millennium BC.[38] Although like Amarna,[39] Tell el-Dab'a can also be seen as an atypical settlement, both cities yield typical characteristics of ancient Egyptian towns

[26] Franke, *GM* 167, 33-48.
[27] Seidlmayer, in Czerny *et al.* (eds.), *Timelines*, 309-18.
[28] Wilson, in Kraeling, McAdams (eds.), *City Invincible*, 124-36. See now Moeller, *The Archaeology of Urbanism in Ancient Egypt*.
[29] E.g. Lahun (Kemp, *Anatomy of a Civilization*, 211-21).
[30] Summarized in Spence, in Müller (ed.), *Household Studies in Complex Societies*.
[31] Peet, Woolley, *The City of Akhenaten I*; Frankfort, Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten II*; Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten III*; Borchardt, Ricke, *Die Wohnhäuser in Tell el-Amarna*; Kemp, Stevens, *Busy Lives at Amarna*.
[32] Tietze, *ZÄS*, 112; Tietze, *ZÄS* 113; Tietze, in Tietze (ed.), *Amarna*, 86-109.
[33] Tietze, in Tietze (ed.), *Amarna*, 90, fig. 4, 109, figs. 32-3; *contra* Eyre, in Lloyd (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egypt*, 298.
[34] Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*.
[35] Tietze, in Tietze (ed.), *Amarna*, 107-9.
[36] Elephantine is an organic settlement of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period grown out of a fortress at the southern border of Egypt in the Old Kingdom (Ziermann, *Befestigungsanlagen und Stadtentwicklung*). The publication of the different neighbourhoods is exemplary in terms of the presentation of the architecture in combination with a large corpus of finds, the consideration of depositional processes, urban development, and the question of a functional differentiation of rooms in the different houses (Von Pilgrim, *Elephantine XVIII*). Unfortunately, no insight has, however, been given as to the social structure of the inhabitants and possible implications of status.
[37] E.g. Kemp, *Anatomy of a Civilization*; Moeller, in Wilkinson (ed.), *The Egyptian World*, 57-72; Snape, *The Complete Cities*; see however Mumford, in Lloyd (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egypt*, 326-49.
[38] Bietak, *Avaris*: *The Capital of the Hyksos*.
[39] See n. 30.

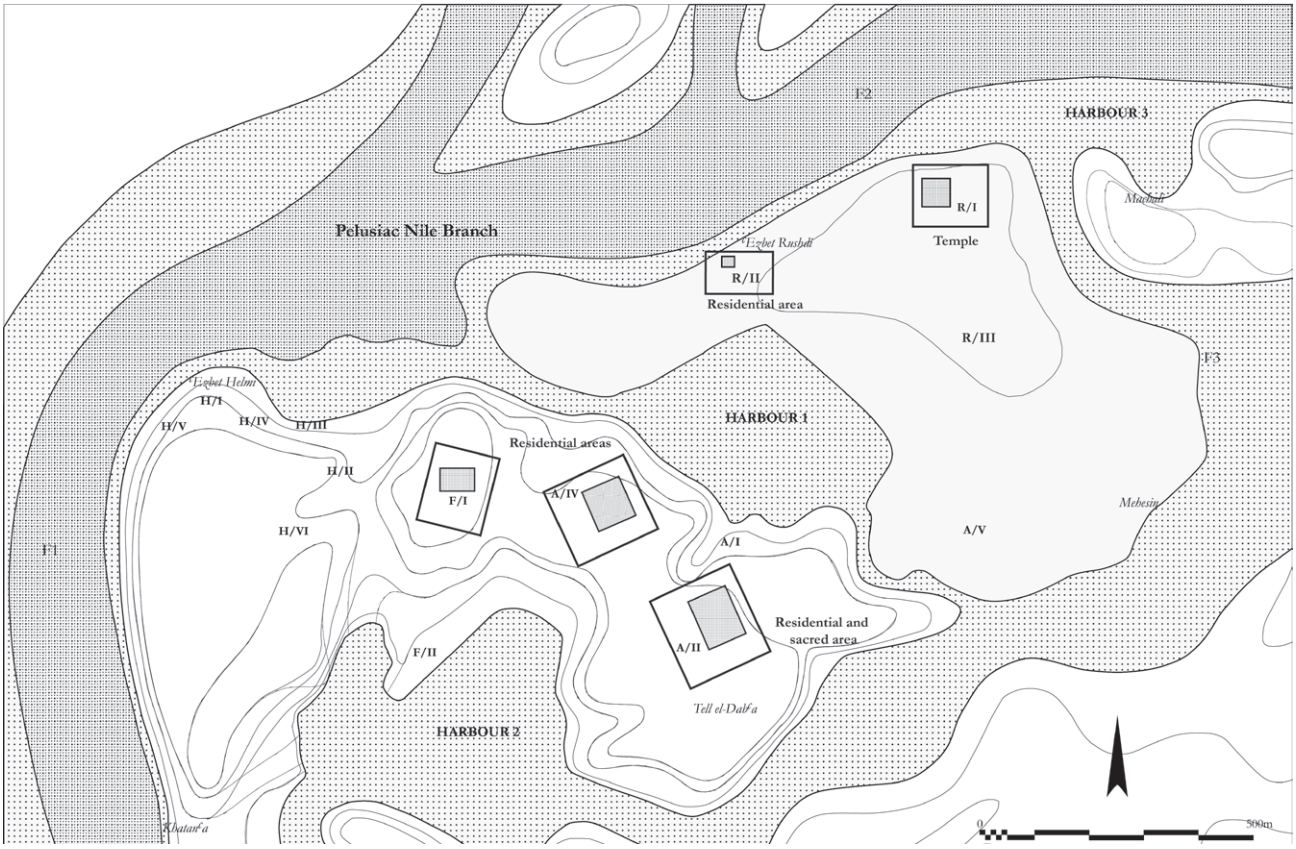


Fig. 1 - Map of Tell el-Dab'a in the late Middle Kingdom/early Second Intermediate Period (after Bietak, in Bietak, Czerny, Forstner-Müller (eds.), *Cities and Urbanism in Ancient Egypt*, 32, fig. 6)

that contribute to our knowledge of Egyptian urbanism and society.[40] A characteristic feature of Tell el-Dab'a, not found in other Egyptian cities, is the location of burials within the settlement.[41] Burials were found in courtyards, under house floors, and in aboveground tombs and are representative of populations of Near Eastern origins.[42] Different neighbourhoods of the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period have been excavated and published.[43] They display a very diverse picture of life in this town, from the city centre to the periphery, from spacious, tentatively called high-status quarters,[44] to crowded neighbourhoods.[45] It is thus fairly certain that the different neighbourhoods can provide a well-balanced insight into everyday life in Avaris and present a cross-section of the society at this site. The difficulty at Tell el-Dab'a is the fact that not all the neighbourhoods were occupied at the same time and the different excavation areas are not topographically connected. Although this fragmentary picture cannot be compared with the situation of Amarna, it is nevertheless possible to get an idea of the city layout in the late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period (Figs. 1-2). The topography of Tell el-Dab'a is heavily influenced by its location on the Pelusiac Nile branch and the typical geography in the Delta with small mounds, so-called *geziras*,[46] that rise above the flood plain and are therefore particularly suitable for the settlement. From a nucleus in the mid

[40] For example in the arrangement of the living quarters (Müller, in Müller (ed.), *Household Studies in Complex Societies,* 339-70; Spencer, in Welsby, Anderson (eds.), *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond*, 457-86).

[41] Although infant burials are commonly found in Egyptian settlements (E.g. Zillhardt, *Kinderbestattungen*).

[42] Van den Brink, *Tombs*.

[43] Bietak, *Tell el-Dab'a V: Ein Friedhofsbezirk*; Bietak, in Bietak (ed.), *Haus und Palast*, 23-43; Bietak, in Bietak, Czerny, Forstner-Müller (eds.), *Cities and Urbanism,* 11-68; Hein, in Leclant (ed.), *Sesto Congresso internazionale di egittologia*, 249-53; Jánosi, in Bietak (ed.), *Haus und Palast*, 85-92; Czerny, *Tell el-Dab'a IX: Eine Plansiedlung*; Hein, Jánosi, *Tell el-Dab'a XI*: *Areal A/V*; Forstner-Müller, in Bietak, Czerny, Forstner-Müller (eds.), *Cities and Urbanism*, 103-23; Bader, in Mynářová (ed.), *Egypt and the Near East – the Crossroads*, 41-72; Müller, in Horn *et al.* (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2010*, 105-15; Müller, in Müller (ed.), *Household Studies in Complex Societies*.

[44] Müller, in Horn *et al.* (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2010*.

[45] Bader, in Mynářová (ed.), *Egypt and the Near East – the Crossroads*; Hein, Jánosi, *Tell el-Dab'a XI*: *Areal A/V*.

[46] These *geziras* that are sometimes also called turtlebacks are Pleistocene sedimentation relics that were formed by the later Nile system and rose up to six meters above the floodplain (Bietak, in Weeks (ed.), *Egyptology and the Social Sciences*, 97-144).

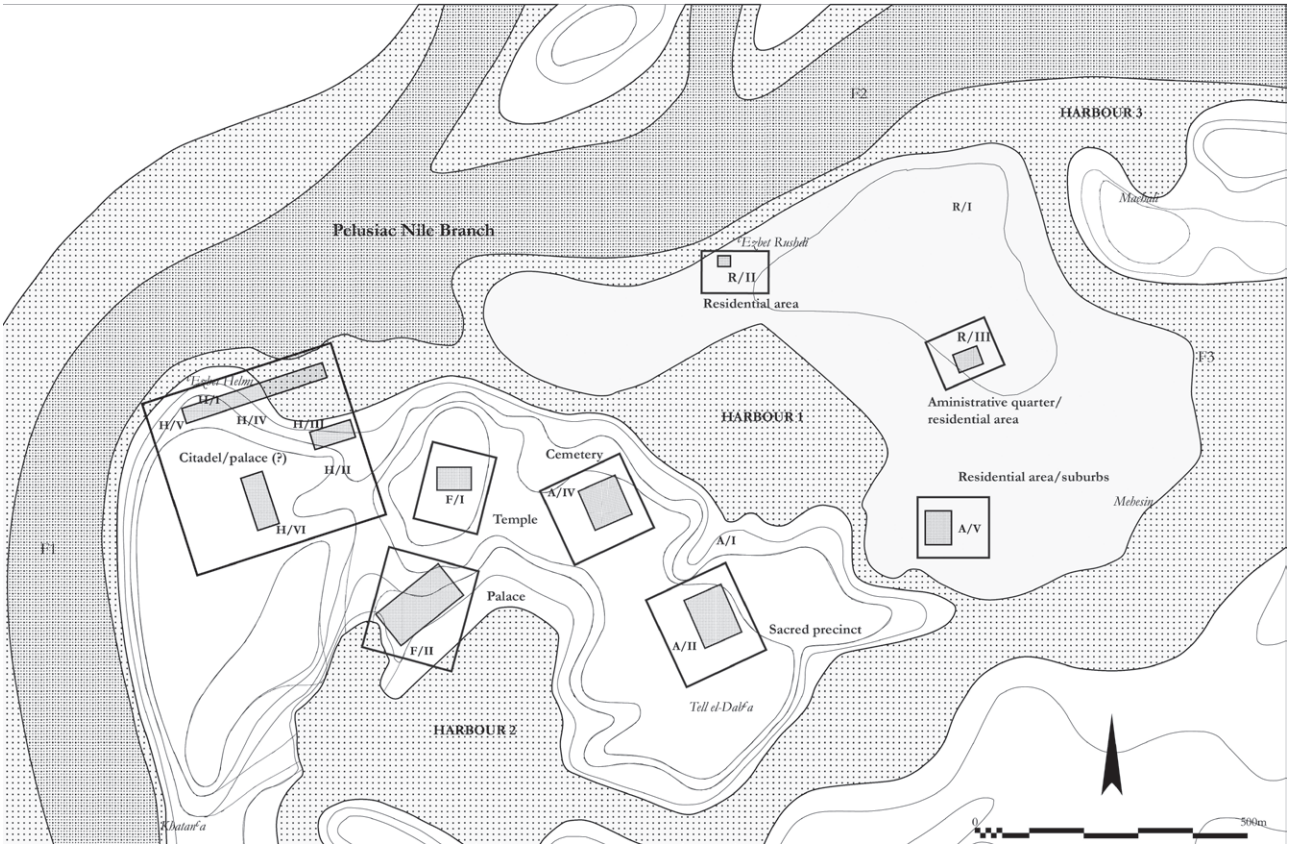


Fig. 2 - Map of Tell el-Dab'a in the Hyksos Period (after Bietak Bietak, in Bietak, Czerny, Forstner-Müller (eds.), *Cities and Urbanism in Ancient Egypt*, 32, fig. 6)

to late Middle Kingdom located on the northern *gezira* of the modern village 'Ezbet Rushdi with a temple for Amenemhet I and very scanty settlement remains (R/I-II),[47] the centre shifted to the *gezira* of the modern village Tell el-Dab'a, south of 'Ezbet Rushdi.[48] Here, three different areas account for settlement activity in the late Middle Kingdom and early Second Intermediate Period (A/II, A/IV, F/I). Major developments at the beginning of the Hyksos Period (1640-1530 BC) and the coming into power of a new dynasty with their capital at Tell el-Dab'a indicate the influx of population into the city (H, A/V) and the transformation of city centre areas into administrative and cultic districts (F/I-II).[49] Of the four areas with a large enough sample of houses, two (A/II and A/V) with settlement layers from the Hyksos Period have so far been published in an exemplary fashion.[50] Their publication comprises the presentation of architecture and finds, including bioarchaeological and archaeobotanical data, especially in the latter case presented as a concerted effort with contributions by many specialists presenting various artefact classes. Since so many different aspects of the material culture of these neighbourhoods could be made accessible, the above mentioned studies provide a substantial basis for an examination of household activities. This approach has been exemplified by the detailed investigation of another neighbourhood of Tell el-Dab'a, area F/I.[51] Bringing together architecture, finds, and faunal and floral remains, according to their depositional history, allows for an hypothesis on the

[47] Adam, *ASAE* 56, 207-26; Czerny, in Bietak, Czerny, Forstner-Müller (eds.), *Cities and Urbanism*, 69-80; Müller, *Ä&L* 22-23, 109-29.

[48] Bietak, in Bietak, Czerny, Forstner-Müller (eds.), *Cities and Urbanism*, 34, figs. 9a-b.

[49] Bietak, in Bietak, Czerny, Forstner-Müller (eds.), *Cities and Urbanism*, 35, figs. 9c-d. The new excavations in area R/III revealed settlement activity in the Hyksos Period on the northern *gezira* of 'Ezbet Rushdi. To date, evidence for an administrative and secular occupation has been discovered (Forstner-Müller, in Matthews, Curtis (eds.), *Proceedings of the 7th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East,* vol. I, 681-93; Forstner-Müller, Rose, in Forstner-Müller, Rose (eds.), *Nubian Pottery*, 181-212; Forstner-Müller, Rose, *Ä&L* 22-23, 55-66). Future excavations will hopefully shed more light on the connection of this part of the town to the city centre in the south.

[50] Bietak, *Tell el-Dab'a V: Ein Friedhofsbezirk*; Hein, Jánosi, *Tell el-Dab'a XI*: *Areal A/V*.

[51] Müller, in Horn *et al.* (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2010*; Müller, *Das Stadtviertel F/I*; Müller, in Müller (ed.), *Household Studies in Complex Societies*. A similar approach has been chosen by Bader in her work on the material from the late Middle Kingdom in area A/II (Bader, in Mynářová (ed.), *Egypt and the Near East – the Crossroads*).

social structure of the quarter's inhabitants.

riod (Fig. 3).[53] The houses discovered in that neighbourhood had been termed 'villas' for their similarity with the spacious dwellings at Amarna.[54] Similarly, I myself have called the neighbourhood an 'elite quarter', when

Str.e Planned village/late 11th-early 12th dyn.
Str.d/2 Settlement/late 12th-early 13th dyn.
Str.d/1 Mansion/early 13th dyn.
Str.c Initial stage of the residential area/13th dyn.
Str.b/2 Upscale neighborhood/14th dyn.
Str.a/2 Temple/15th dyn.

Fig. 3 - Development of area F/I (Str.e from Czerny, *Tell el-Dab'a IX: Eine Plansiedlung*, 18, Abb. 2; Str.d/2-1 and b/2 from Bietak, *Avaris: The Capital of the Hyksos*, 11, 23 and 47, figs. 7, 8, 40; Str.c; Bietak, in Bietak, Czerny, Forstner-Müller (eds.), *Cities and Urbanism,* 30, fig. 13; Str.a/2 from Müller, *Tell el-Dab'a XVII: Opferdeponierungen*, vol. I, 281, fig. 191)

A residential area of the elite?

When area F/I was excavated in the 1970s and 80s, it yielded not only the earliest evidence for a material culture with distinct, Asiatic, character and impressive architecture that was regarded as a provincial palace,[52] but also a residential area that spanned the period from the late Middle Kingdom to the beginning of the Hyksos pe-

I published my first preliminary report on this area.[55] A full analysis of the different households in this neighbourhood has since been conducted.[56] The results gained from this in-depth insight challenge the previous interpretation as an elite quarter with spacious villas.[57] In the

[52] Bietak, *Avaris: The Capital of the Hyksos*, 10-31; Eigner, *JÖAI* 56, 19-25; Eigner, in Bietak (ed.), *Haus und Palast*, 73-80. The large building with a typical Egyptian layout from phase d/1 can still be found in overviews on Egyptian provinces and palaces (Mumford, in Lloyd (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egypt*, 333). However, it resembles more closely the large mansions excavated in the planned settlements of the Middle Kingdom in Lahun and Abydos that belonged to high officials of the town administration (e.g. Wegner, *JARCE* 35, 23, fig. 12).

[53] Bietak, *AÖAW* 121, 312-49; Bietak, *JÖAI* 55, 1-9; Bietak, *Avaris: The Capital of the Hyksos*, 31-6, 49; Müller, in Horn *et al.* (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2010*.

[54] Bietak, *AÖAW* 121, 320, 341.

[55] Müller, in Horn *et al.* (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2010*. See also Bietak, in Bietak, Czerny, Forstner-Müller (eds.), *Cities and Urbanism*, 18.

[56] The detailed household study of the residential area F/I from the late Middle Kingdom to the beginning of the Hyksos period (phases c-b/1) was undertaken from 2008 to 2012 at the University of Vienna by the present author (Müller, *Das Stadtviertel F/I*).

[57] Müller, in Müller (ed.), *Household Studies in Complex Societies*.

following, I would like to highlight a few characteristics of the area exploring the nature and composition of the different households, subsistence strategies and interactions at the community level.[58]

The neighbourhood F/I shows an occupation of about 120 years and represents, in that sense, a fortuitous archaeological case study. Its development can be traced from the resettlement of the area with small houses built of mudbricks within the ruins of the former large mansion to a well-off neighbourhood with ample estates (Fig. 3). Four succeeding layers (phases c-b/1) are equated with four building generations, each of about 30 years.[59] In this neighbourhood, it is possible to see changes from one generation to the other that express personal choice and individual behavior. Following the initial resettlement of the area with a distribution of different plots and partial enclosure with thin walls, the clearance of the area of the ruins, and arrangement for traffic arteries (phase c), it becomes apparent that each property remained in the hands of the respective household over the subsequent time period (phases b/3-1).[60] Once the layout of the estates had been set out, new features were added to the different compounds from generation to generation. The houses are remodelled and enlarged, storage facilities are added, and additional smaller buildings are adjoined (Figs. 4-5). The layout of the different plots resembles the Amarna estates, which comprise a spacious enclosed courtyard with a central house and storage silos as well as subsidiary buildings for food processing ('kitchens') and the accommodation of servants and dependants. With the enlargement of the houses and the multiplication of storage capacity, the area seems to display an increase in wealth and would thus account for social mobility of the different households.[61]

Not only the layout of houses and estates could be investigated, and implications on the use of different areas in the dwellings and the courtyards could be inferred, but also information from burials can be used to clarify household concepts.[62] Unfortunately, no written sources have been preserved in the area, but texts from the same period found at other sites can be used to support the archaeological evidence gained from this neighbourhood.[63] The excavated area of roughly 3600 square meters provides a glimpse into the structure of a residential area in the city centre. Former large-scale architecture and the proximity to a sacred area and later palaces of the Hyksos period confirm the importance of the place.[64] Five different estates are interspersed by a wide street running north-south; further smaller east-west alleys provide access to each single plot. The architecture is oriented towards the local north which corresponds to the course of the Pelusiac Nile branch, slightly bending towards the northeast at this point. The houses show a characteristic layout also known from other Middle and New Kingdom towns such as Lahun[65] and Amara West.[66] The tripartite

[58] A detailed analysis of a single estate can be found in Müller, in Müller (ed.), *Household Studies in Complex Societies*. The publication of the entire neighbourhood is in preparation (see Müller, *Das Stadtviertel F/I*).

[59] Since no king names or objects that can be securely dated to such a short period are preserved, the equation of 30 years with one phase is only a point of reference. However, since a clear development in the architecture and material culture, in particular the pottery, can be observed, it is possible to subdivide different phases. In correlation with similar developments and the occurrence of specific phenomena in topographically scattered areas at Tell el-Dab'a, a good sense of the chronological phasing can be gained (Bietak, in Åström (ed.), *High, Middle, or Low?*, 93; Bietak, *BASOR* 281, 49; Bietak, in Bietak (ed.), *The Middle Bronze Age in the Levant*, 29-31, Bietak, in Bietak, Czerny, Forstner-Müller (eds.), *Cities and Urbanism*, 15-6; see also Von Pilgrim, *Elephantine XVIII,* 189).

[60] Bietak, *in* Weeks (ed.), *Egyptology and the Social Sciences,* 119.

[61] Müller, in Müller (ed.), *Household Studies in Complex Societies*.

[62] Kopetzky has been working on the burials of area F/I. The material is so far published in her magistral thesis that can be consulted at the University of Vienna (Kopetzky, *Datierung der Gräber*).

[63] Allen, *The Heqanakht Papyri*; Müller, in Müller (ed.), *Household Studies in Complex Societies*, and see n. 83.

[64] Eigner, *JÖAI* 56; Eigner, in Bietak (ed.), *Haus und Palast*; Bietak, *Avaris: The Capital of the Hyksos*, 36-48; Bietak, *Ä&L* 13, 13-38; Bietak, Forstner-Müller, *Ä&L* 16, 63-81; Bietak, Forstner-Müller, Herbich, in Hawass, Richards (eds.), *The Archaeology and Art*, vol. II, 119-25; Bietak, Forstner- Müller, *Ä&L* 19, 91-119; Bietak *et al.*, *Ä&L* 22-23, 17-53.

[65] Bietak, in Bietak (ed.), *Haus und Palast.* At Lahun and its counterpart Wah-Sut at Abydos (Wegner, *JARCE* 35; Wegner, *MDAIK* 58, 281-308; Picardo, *Expedition* 48/2, 37-40; Picardo, in Müller (ed.), *Household Studies in Complex Societies*, 243-87) the tripartite layout is incorporated and several times repeated in the large mansions with additional courtyards, magazines, and corridors.

[66] Spencer, *S&N* 13, 47-61; Spencer, in Welsby, Anderson (eds.), *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond*; Spencer, in Müller (ed.), *Household Studies in Complex Societies,* 169-210. The villa E12.10 outside the fortification wall at Amara West resembles the houses at Tell el-Dab'a in the arrangement of rooms and the tripartite core with a central room and flanking secondary chambers, one of them a bedroom. A staircase in a room adjacent to the broad vestibule points to a second storey (Spencer, *S&N* 13, 52-4, fig. 4, room 4; see Spence, *JEA* 90, 123-52 for multi-storied houses at Amarna). An upper storey for the houses in neighbourhood F/I is, however, not assumed due to the limited roof space taking into account the clerestory for the central room in order to provide sufficient lighting and the wind hood above the bedroom (Endruweit, *Städtischer Wohnbau*, 61, 89-90; Spence, pers. comm.).

Fig. 4 - Stratum b/3 (© Austrian Archaeological Institute/ © Bietak, Eigner)

core is divided into a central hall (the so-called 'Mittelsaal' or 'Mittelhalle') flanked by smaller secondary chambers, one of them, mostly the western chamber designated as a bedroom by the appearance of a niche also commonly found at other sites.[67] Whereas this typical ground plan is only known in its final completion at other sites, it is possible to trace the moulding of this standard house layout in area F/I (Fig. 6). Starting with the core rooms in the previous generation (phase b/3, Figs. 4 and 6, Type III), the houses are enlarged with an elaborate entrance suite and further rooms to all sides of the core (phase b/2, Figs. 5-6, Types IV-V). The entrance suite includes a small projecting entrance room and a broad vestibule spanning the entire length of the core rooms. The outcome of this arrangement of rooms is a complex way of entering the house and reaching the central hall by taking a number of ninety degree turns (Fig. 7). This concept with the implication of disorienting visitors has been described by Spence on the basis of the houses at Amarna.[68] The same notion of privacy and screening of guests comes into effect at Tell el-Dab'a. Elements that add to the idea of structural encounters between the head of the household and visitors, but also other household members, such as a divan as master's seat in the central room, commonly found in the houses at Amarna,[69] are unfortunately missing in area F/I.[70] Both, the central room and the adjoining bedroom to the west, are, however, distinguished by a mudbrick pavement and limestone thresholds whereas the other rooms have earthen floors, sometimes sealed by a layer of white wash. Installations such as ovens and fireplaces as well as occasional sherd pavements and small sheds and pedestals for large storage jars provide an idea about the function of different areas in the houses (Fig. 8). Enhanced by specific finds such as rubbing stones, mortars, and storage jars, some rooms can be designated as storage magazines or food processing areas in addition to the central hall and bedroom (Fig. 9). However, the use of finds in order to draw conclusions on function is problematic and can only be achieved if the exact find position is known and the depositional history of the object can be reconstructed.[71] The availability of a large enough sample that enables the recognition of patterns in artefact assemblages, as well as the correlation with fixed installations and the arrange-

[67] Peet, Woolley, *The City of Akhenaten I*, 54; Frankfort, Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten II*, 8, pl. XVIII.2; Bietak, in Bietak (ed.), *Haus und Palast;* Wegner, *JARCE* 35, 13; Spencer, *S&N* 13, 52-5, figs. 4, 16.

[68] Spence, in Bietak, Czerny, Forstner-Müller (eds.), *Cities and Urbanism*.

[69] See Spence, in Müller (ed.), *Household Studies in Complex Societies*, for an examination of the complex web of encounters in profane dwellings and implications for the perception of domestic architecture in Egypt.

[70] The offsetting of the door in the rear wall of the central room might be indicative of the central position of a wooden chair for the household master that he would have been able to face the guests entering the central room from the vestibule (Müller, in Müller (ed.), *Household Studies in Complex Societies*, 352).

[71] Pfälzner, in Müller (ed.), *Household Studies in Complex Societies*, 29-60.

ment of the different rooms can furthermore clarify the use of a specific area. It is most often only in larger dwellings possible to see specific room functions. The need for multifunctional rooms is evident in smaller houses.[72]

The courtyard areas are enclosed by a thin wall that was probably high enough to prevent outsiders from having a direct view into the compound (Figs. 10-11).[73] Typical elements of the courtyards are storage facilities, often round silos but also rectangular storage pits, and subsidiary buildings, mostly consisting of one or two rooms. In a number of cases, three to four silos are grouped together into storage yards enclosed by an additional wall or otherwise spread over the entire courtyard. Many parts of the courtyards yielded very rich ashy soil filled with waste products such as pottery fragments and bones. Apart from natural waste disposal activity,[74] these areas also point to working surfaces for the production and processing of food, as well as handicrafts.[75] Over the course of modifications and remodelling of the quarter's houses, an outsourcing of food production activities, is discernible. In particular, cooking and baking activities are moved to separate areas, mostly to a single room structure in the courtyards.[76] This development may represent the wish for a cleaner and more comfortable environment in the house.[77] Apart from their evident use as 'kitchens' as demonstrated by the presence of ovens and fireplaces, other subsidiary buildings yielded evidence for typical household activities, such as food processing, cooking, storage, and even the care for deceased household mem-

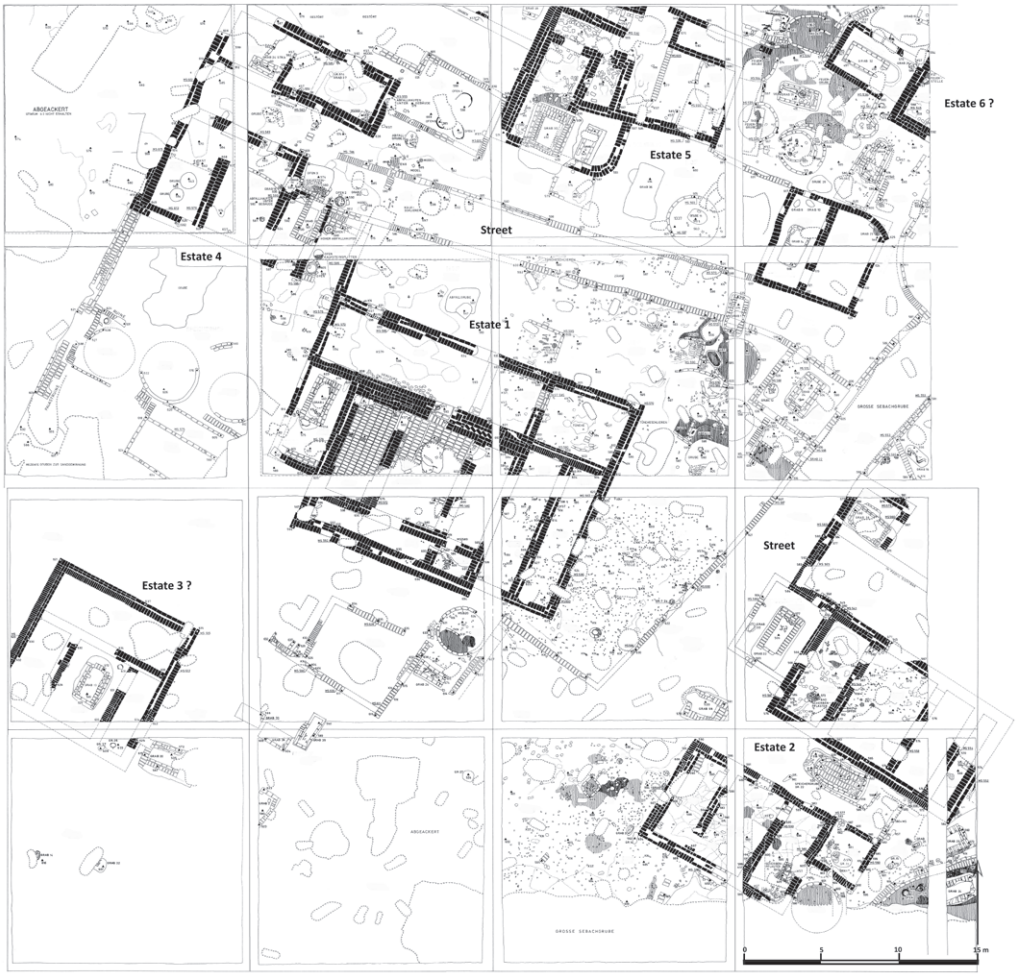


Fig. 5 - Stratum b/2 (© Austrian Archaeological Institute/ © Bietak, Eigner)

[72] Spence, in Müller (ed.), *Household Studies in Complex Societies*.

[73] The architecture at Tell el-Dab'a is almost always only preserved in its foundations and the lowest four or five brick courses. See Janssen, *BiOr* 40, 280 for an estimate of the height of the enclosure walls of the estates at Amarna.

[74] From one generation to the other an accumulation of debris from settlement activity of about fifty centimeters can be discerned. The entrance suite of the house of the central estate is built on a higher level and the difference of half a meter had to be levelled by a few steps from the vestibule to the core rooms that had been built in the previous generation (Müller, *Tell el-Dab'a XVII*: *Opferdeponierungen*, vol. II, 404).

[75] A distinct craft could be proven by the discovery of multiple moulds, crucibles, tuyeres, and bronze/copper tools mostly from phase c, the initial resettlement of the area. Ovens that yield evidence for the manufacture of metal work were, however, also found in the subsequent phases. It can safely be assumed that metal working was one of the handicrafts undertaken by the inhabitants of this neighbourhood (Bietak, *AÖAW* 121, 337-40; Bietak, *JÖAI* 55, 6-8; Philip, *Tell el-Dab'a XV*: *Metalwork and Metalworking*).

[76] Compare the same phenomenon for Elephantine (Arnold, in Müller (ed.), *Household Studies in Complex Societies,* 151-68). 'Kitchens' are most often found in the courtyards of the Amarna estates (Borchardt, Ricke, *Die Wohnhäuser in Tell el-Amarna*, 25, 29, pls. 2, 3, 23A) and also in the case of the villa at Amara West (Spencer, *S&N* 13, 50, pl. 5, 52, fig. 4, 53-4, pl. 11).

[77] The desire for a clean an hygienic environment and effort to model the houses to achieve that goal, when the circumstances of a large enough space and the individuals means were given, is also underlined by the orientation of the houses towards the local north in order to catch the cool, northern winds and the increase in wall thickness for a better isolation of the inside (see Endruweit, *Städtischer Wohnbau*, 42-3, fig. 6, 107-8, 168-70, 189, n. 296).

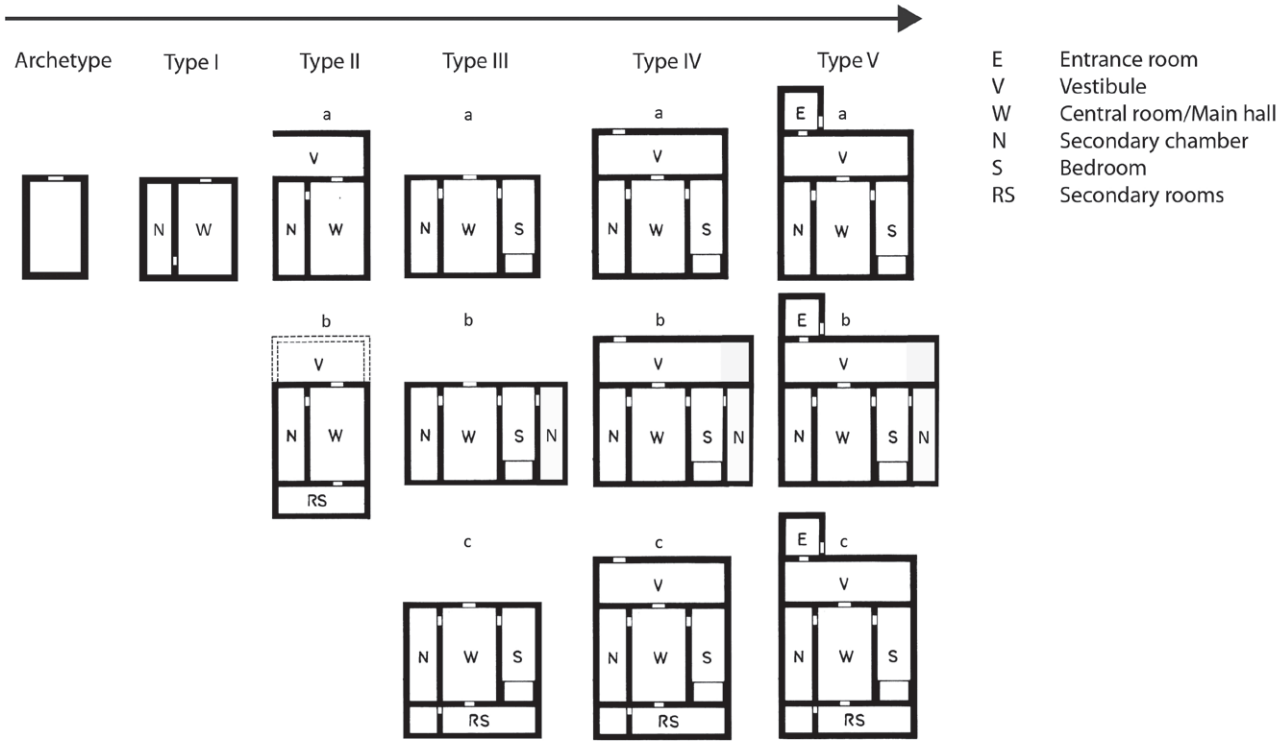


Fig. 6 - Formation of the Tell el-Dab'a house (after Bietak, in Bietak (ed.), *Haus und Palast*, 24, fig. 1)

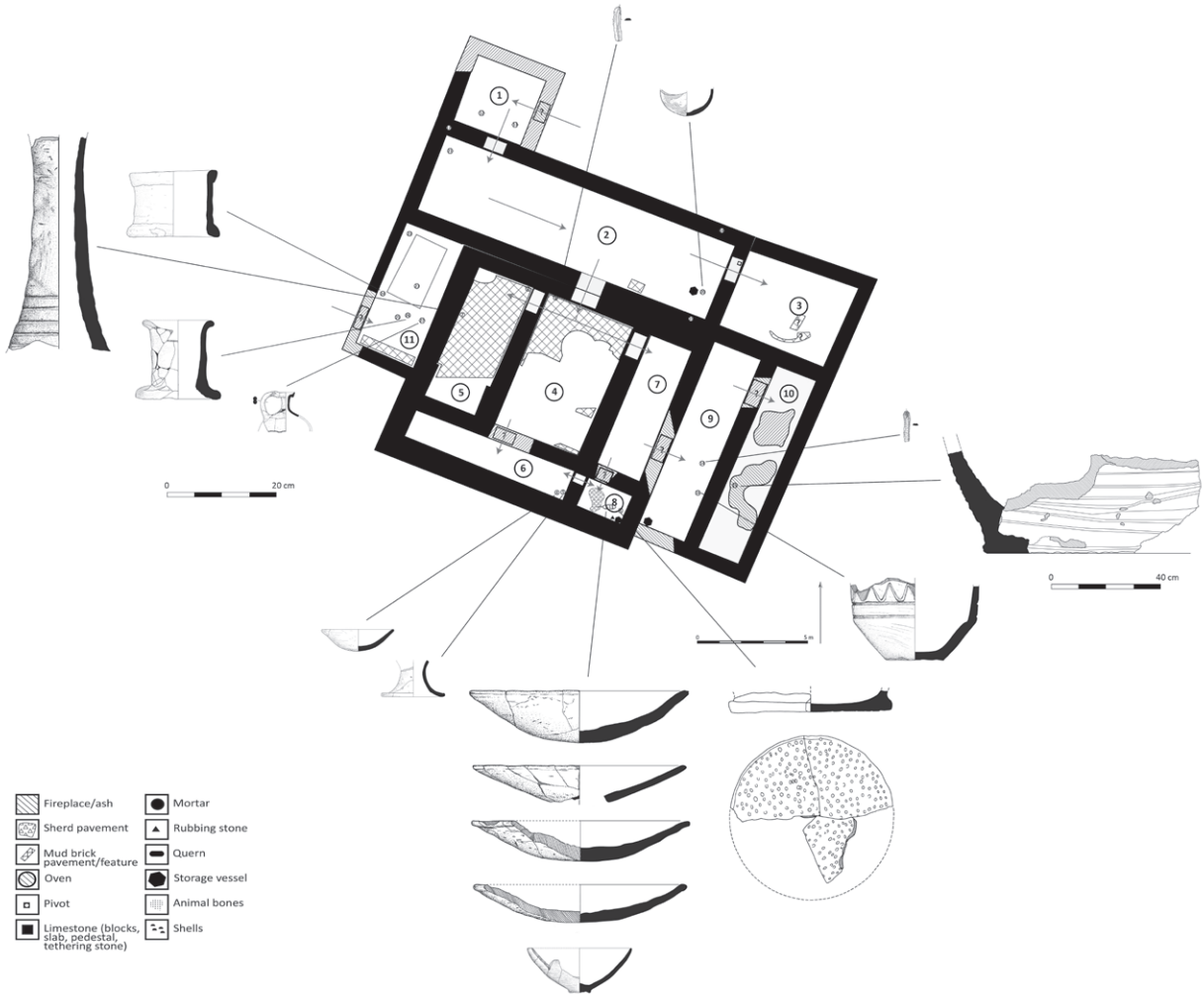
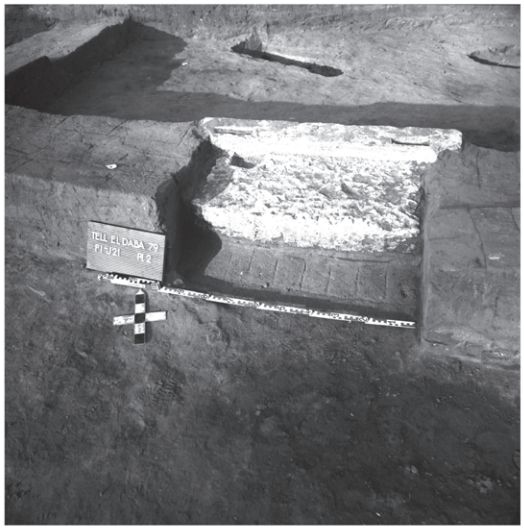
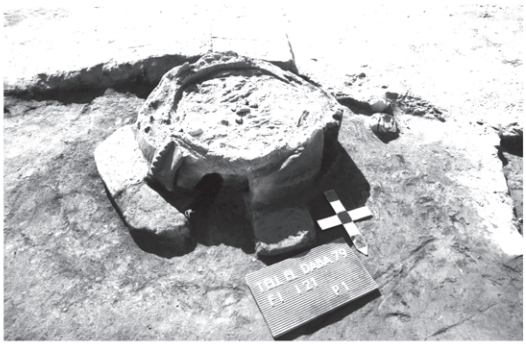


Fig. 7 - Household analysis of the house of estate 1, stratum b/2



a) Limestone threshold



b) Oven

c) Big storage jar sunk into the floor

d) Mudbrick pavement

e) Storage jar with sherd pavement

f) Quern and grinder

Fig. 8 - Built-in installations of the houses in area F/I (© Austrian Archaeological Institute)

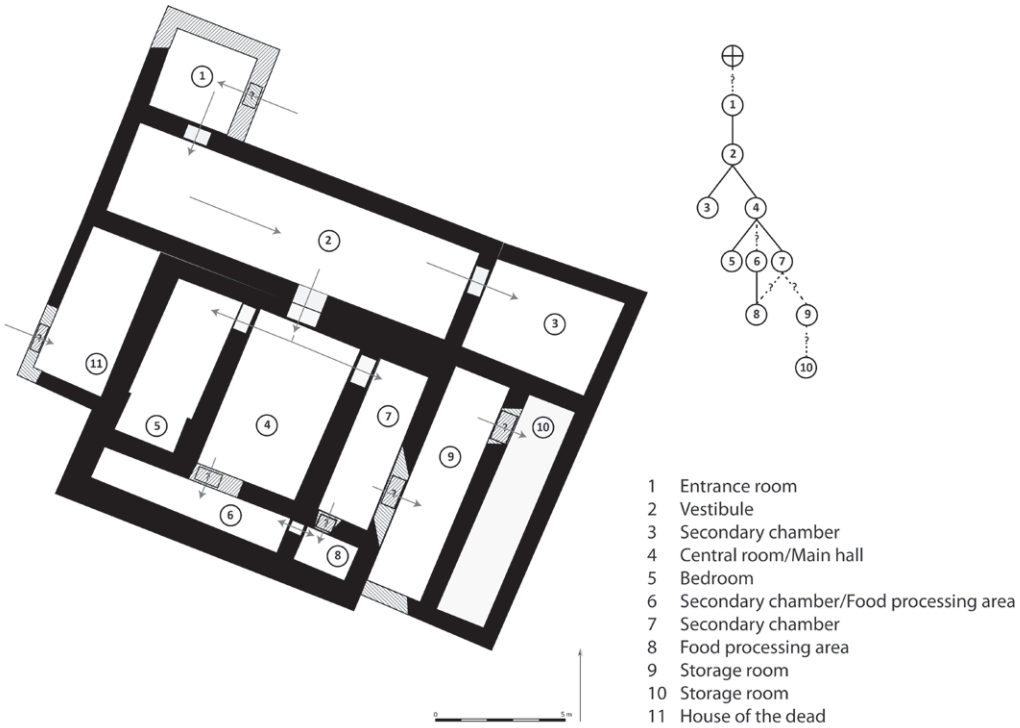


Fig. 9 - House of estate 1, stratum b/2 with tentative designation of rooms

bers, evidenced by burials of infants and sometimes also adults under the buildings' floors and adjacent to them. An interpretation of these buildings as dwellings for dependants and serfs can safely be assumed.[78]

Additional evidence for the composition of a household in this neighbourhood comes from burials in the area. Burials were often made under house floors. The larger houses had, however, elaborate vaults attached to the dwellings with a main tomb in the centre, and further burials along the sides. Additional burials were found in various parts of the courtyard (Fig. 10). The proximity and, in particular, the element of vaults, or so-called 'houses of the dead' safely link the tombs to the houses as burial ground of the deceased members of the different households. In a number of cases, the osteological data presents a remarkable concordance in the composition of the buried individuals.[79] For all five estates the burials in one respective phase are composed of an adult male and one female between the age of nineteen and forty-nine and two to six children, infants and newborns.[80] In two cases, another individual between the age of thirteen and twenty-nine completes the assemblage. One or two additional burials were disturbed and no information could be gained about the gender and age of the owners.[81] This data in conjunction with the fact that the estates remained in the hands of the respective household implicates an interpretation as families of a nuclear or extended character as the underlying household concept.[82] The large number of silos per each estate had a capacity that exceeded the needs of a single family of up to eight members. Amarna shows estates comprising multiple smaller dwellings, apart from the large mansion, and even additional houses outside the estates' enclosures that were clearly grouped in close proximity to the large compounds. A similar situation can be reconstructed for the properties of neighbourhood F/I. The one or two subsidiary buildings accommodated dependants and serfs that were provisioned by the master of the estate.[83] Since the Tell el-Dab'a estates disposed of

[78] Bietak, *AÖAW* 121, 341; Bietak, *Avaris: The Capital of the Hyksos*, 49; Bietak, in Bietak, Czerny, Forstner-Müller (eds.), *Cities and Urbanism*, 18.

[79] The osteological remains were investigated by Winkler and Großschmidt and have so far only been reported in Kopetzky, *Datierung der Gräber*.

[80] The data confirms the high infant mortality at Tell el-Dab'a/Avaris. See for the corresponding material the analyses of the tell population (Winkler, Wilfing, *Tell el-Dab'a VI*: *Anthropologische Untersuchungen*, 129-30, 132). On the tell site, another residential area (A/II) that overlaps with the neighbourhood F/I in the initial phase of resettlement, but then develops into a necropolis, shows the same characteristics in the composition of tomb owners (Bader, pers. comm; Forstner-Müller, *Tell el-Dab'a XVI: Die Gräber des Areals A/II*, 129-33).

[81] The preservation of bones at Tell el-Dab'a is in general insufficient to conduct DNA analyses and potentially detect kin relations (see Bader, in Mynářová (ed.), *Egypt and the Near East – the Crossroads*, 65-6).

[82] According to Laslett's definition, a nuclear family comprises the conjugal couple and their children with an average number of five people. An extended family includes one or two relatives, a widowed mother or unmarried siblings, usually forming a number of seven or eight. A joint family consists of multiple couples and their offspring co-residing in one house, such as the families of father and son or multiple brothers (Laslett, in Laslett, Wall (eds.), *Household and Family in Past Time*, 1972), 1-90; see also Moreno García, in Frood, Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 3-4 for Egypt).

[83] Whether serfs and dependants formed separate households or need to be included in one big household, is debatable. The mortuary priest Heqanakht of whom a number of letters to his household is preserved that give a remarkable insight in

Fig. 10 - Schematic representation of estate 1, stratum b/2 (© Bietak, Eigner)

a limited territory without evidence for additional houses beyond the enclosure walls, the neighbourhood F/I can, however, not be equated in size and resources with the Amarna estates.

This raises the question of whether to consider this neighbourhood as an elite quarter or a wealthy upper middle class residential area. In two previous articles, I have advanced two opposing views – that of an elite quarter at the beginning of my research on this neighbourhood[84] and that of an upper middle class residential area in conclusion of my study.[85] These contrasting opinions advanced by the same author probably exemplify best the difficulties in tracing status and class in the archaeological record of ancient Egyptian settlements, in the absence of written sources and personal insights into the lives of individuals.[86] It is a difficult endeavor to correlate house size with status, since multiple relational levels such as inheritance, or the number of household members that needed to be accommodated, influence the dimensions of a house.[87] The quality and quantity of installations and objects found inside houses are more reliable.[88] However, the geographical and topographical characteristics of a given site can also mask these categories. The role of the city as a trade hub can be held in favor of a large number of prestigious goods found in the houses; these goods would have been imported from the entire Eastern Mediterranean and probably less difficult and cost-intensive to acquire. The lack of stone resources in the eastern Nile Delta speaks against the presence of impressive stone elements incorporated into the mudbrick architecture of the dwellings. The absence or presence of these artefacts thus tell us nothing about the status of the house owners. Only the occurrence of multiple different factors can eventually lead to a careful evaluation of the status of the house owners. An increase in wealth and, probably going along with that, in status of the house owners is given by multiple factors: the combination of an enlargement of the different houses and properties over time; the increase in wall thickness at the houses' extensions; the tentative differentiation of room functions based on the size of the dwellings allowing for areas with specific purposes; and the consistent storage capacity that was nevertheless large enough to supply a considerable number of people –family and dependants–. Compared to the rich data from Amarna it is, however, obvious that not only the average size of the Tell el-Dab'a estates does not match the elite residences of the Amarna officials, but that there is also no hint as to an administrative function and governmental

household dealings from the early Twelfth Dynasty, counts eighteen people in his household comprising his wife, children, and widowed mother, but also siblings, serfs, and other dependants (Allen, *The Heqanakht Papyri*).

[84] Müller, in Horn *et al.* (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2010*.

[85] Müller, in Müller (ed.), *Household Studies in Complex Societies*.

[86] Neunert, *Mein Grab, mein Esel, mein Platz in der Gesellschaft.*

[87] Pfälzner, *Haus und Haushalt*, 18-24 summarizes the different factors that influence the appearance and dimensions of a house.

[88] Panitz-Cohen, in Yasur-Landau, Ebeling, Mazow (eds.), *Household Archaeology in Ancient Israel*, 96-8 explains the issue for pottery.

affiliation of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood F/I that mark an elite status.[89]

Household identity

The detailed analysis of the different households of neighbourhood F/I has not only provided an insight into the societal structure and possible status of its inhabitants, but can also be consulted for an evaluation of the cultural identity and situational ethnicity of the families living in this part of the city.[90] With the lack of written evidence, only the material culture and development and changes over time can be investigated for possible indications of the inhabitants' background, the place they perceived as their home, and the socialization of a foreign population in a new territory as well as of local people in interaction with a group of alien descent. Important elements such as the vernacular that was used on a day-to-day basis will remain unclear.[91] Bader has stressed the difficulties in ascribing certain characteristics in the material culture to either the Egyptian or the Levantine sphere.[92] By using the example of burials, she is able to show the 'mixed' customs in the funerary traditions with individuals buried in extended or flexed position with or without coffin and grave goods of both cultural realms. For the domestic sphere, she cites the evidence of cooking pots of Egyptian and Levantine fabric and manufacture that are generally considered to be a more reliable marker for cultural affiliation.[93] Naturally, the domestic realm is where individual traditions persist the most, in contrast to official representations in the public arena. Furthermore, funerary customs are another important expression of individual identity and how it is perceived.

In the course of the development of neighbourhood F/I, the houses of the area display a particular feature, a single room that was attached to the standard house type and termed 'house of the dead', for its inclusion of a large chambered tomb with often further smaller burials along the sides[94] (Fig. 10). From the evidence of the buried individuals in the main tomb and secondary burials it is clear that these houses of the dead constitute family vaults with the main tomb belonging to the household master with his wife and infants who had died at a young age buried in the secondary tombs. The addition of a bench, in one case, and offering pits with the remains of a feast, in another, as well as evidence for the presentation of offerings and pottery used for libations, reinforce the impression that specific cults and ceremonies with a number of participants were held inside these vaults.[95] With the rich evidence for ancestor cults in houses, at tombs, and also in neighbourhood shrines from both cultural spheres[96] the reconstruction of offerings for and feasts with the dead is fairly certain.[97] Not only the visual appearance of a family tradition and continuity by the aboveground tomb that every visitor had been able to see, but also the creation of social memory by accompanying rites that were conducted in the houses of the dead and the adjacent dwellings are explicit expressions of the inhabitants' need for and construction of identity. This goes along with territory claims and the very right of existence in foreign lands.[98] These family vaults in close proximity to the houses of the living have a clear origin in the Near Eastern tradition; however, they are so far without a direct precursor.[99] The element of the 'houses of the dead' needs to

[89] Grajetzki, in Wendrich (ed.), *Egyptian Archaeology*, 180-99. The lack of stone elements in the houses such as door jambs that would have been the bearer of titles and affiliations makes an assessment of the status of the inhabitants considerably difficult. The fact that scarabs found in the tombs of the area do not yield any titles but are of decorative motifs, however, points to a community that was not directly involved in the administration (Müller, in Müller (ed.), *Household Studies in Complex Societies* with a critical assessment of the role of decorative motif scarabs).

[90] Emberling, *JAR* 5, 306-7.

[91] Bader, *ARC* 28/1, 273; Spencer, *JAEI* 6/1, 53-4 emphasizes the same problem for an examination of social identities in settlements at the southern border of the Egyptian empire in New Kingdom occupied Nubia where Egyptians lived side-by-side with the local Nubian population. He furthermore mentions the lack of perishable objects and material such as wooden fittings or textiles that could have displayed a strong 'foreign' influence (compare the elaborate costume depicted in representations of Asiatics, Germer, *Die Textilfärberei*, 110; Schiestl, *Tell el-Dab'a XVIII: Die Palastnekropole*, 209-10).

[92] Bader, in Mynářová (ed.), *Egypt and the Near East – the Crossroads*; Bader, *ARC* 28/1, 257-86.

[93] Bader, in Mynářová (ed.), *Egypt and the Near East – the Crossroads*, 64-5, see also Smith, *Wretched Kush*, 43-53.

[94] Bietak, *Avaris: The Capital of the Hyksos*, 49-54; Bietak, in Bietak, Czerny, Forstner-Müller (eds.), *Cities and Urbanism*, 18.

[95] Müller, *Tell el-Dab'a XVII: Opferdeponierungen*, vol. I, 303, 309-0, 352; vol. II, 253-65.

[96] For Egypt: Fitzenreiter, *GM* 143, 51-72; Harrington, *Living with the Dead*; Bomann, *The Private Chapel in Ancient Egypt*. For the Levant: Van der Toorn, *Family Religion in Babylonia, Syria and Israel*; Tsukimoto, *Untersuchungen zur Totenpflege (kispum) im alten Mesopotamien*; Lewis, *Cults of the Dead in Ancient Israel and Ugarit*. An overview on ancestor veneration and feasting with the dead in the ancient Near East can be found in Rimmer Herrmann, Schloen (eds.), *Feasting with the Dead in the Middle East*.

[97] Müller, *Das Stadtviertel F/I*; Müller, in Rimmer Herrmann, Schloen (eds.), *Feasting with the Dead in the Middle East*.

[98] Chesson, *JMA* 16/1, 82-3; Müller, *ARC* 30/1.

[99] They resemble closely the built tombs at Jericho of the Middle Bronze Age with multiple burials inside and constructed in mudbricks, however, with no clear attachment to domestic

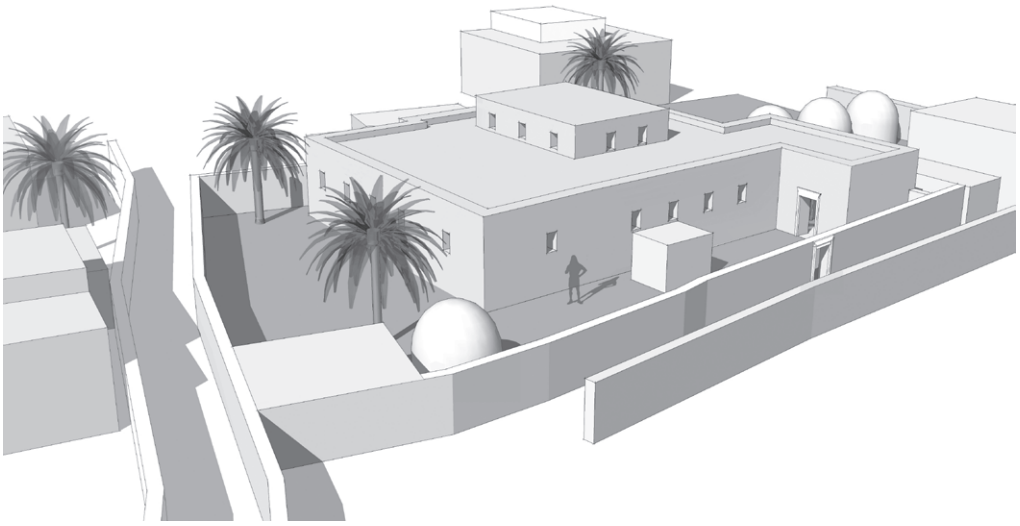


Fig. 11 - Reconstruction of estate 1, stratum b/2 (© Katinka Strzeletz&Pablo García Plazas)

be considered within the limitations of the local topography and available building material as well as individual space and resources. Nevertheless, it shows certain traits that point to a blend of Egyptian and Levantine mortuary customs and afterlife beliefs essentially forming a new expression at this specific site. By venerating the deceased family members in such a close proximity to the dwellings of the living and probably also conducting rites inside the houses, a strong focus on the importance and continuity of the family and kin is articulated.

Conclusion

The results from neighbourhood F/I at Tell el-Dab'a support the evidence for private property and an affluent social class, however, probably not independent from the administrative apparatus, but with the possibility to accumulate private wealth and engage in a private enterprise. In other words, they demonstrate a system of micro-economics at the local level where the state was not directly involved. This private enterprise might have been founded in trading activities or large-scale farming operations.[100] It underscores the notion of a less controlled and centralised economic system for everyday household affairs that seems to have functioned well.[101] The evidence from this neighbourhood corresponds to the 'Patrimonial Household Model' in the way that a household economy within the framework of larger and smaller, superior and subordinate households is depicted. In an attempt to characterise the inhabitants of this and other neighbourhoods,[102] I would like to call this part of the population a well-off middle class. As Moreno García has so lucidly pointed out, these members of the society are difficult to grasp in the archaeological and textual record, they are 'invisible elites' who were nevertheless essential for the ancient Egyptian state to operate on a daily basis.[103]

From the evidence of the osteological remains in the main tombs in the houses of the dead and the structural encounters centred on the masters of the different households, a strong focus on the male head of the family can be deduced.[104] The reconstruction of the role of ancestor cults and its new expression at this site, however, reminds us of the special circumstances of the place and maybe therefore inadequate models that are applied from an Egyptian perspective in order to characterise the societal structure displayed in this part of the town.[105] I,

architecture (Kenyon, *Digging Up Jericho*, 212-3, pl. 43A; Van den Brink, *Tombs*, 70; Nigro, in Schloen (ed.), *Exploring the Longue Durée*, 361-76). The subterranean vaults constructed in stone under the houses of Late Bronze Age Ugarit display the same concept, but are executed according to the local topography and availability of building material (Salles, in Campbell, Green (eds.), *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East*, 171-84; Marchegay, *Near Eastern Archaeology* 63/4, 208-9).

[100] Grajetzki, *Middle Kingdom*, 151 tried to characterise this part of the society in the exact same way as "well-trained craftsmen, traders or rich farmers with some servants".

[101] A redistributive system for the upper echelons of the society directly involved in the administration does not contradict the image drawn from this analysis, but can instead be viewed as coexistent (Eyre, in Menu (ed.), *La dépendance rurale*, 157-86; Eyre, in Lloyd (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egypt*).

[102] Adams, in Hawass, Richards (eds.), *The Archaeology and Art,* vol. I, 1-23.

[103] Moreno García, in Barta, Küllmer (eds.), *Diachronic Trends in Ancient Egyptian History*, 96.

[104] The finds, however, could not contribute to a detection of different genders or gender-specific areas in the houses (Müller, in Müller (ed.), *Household Studies in Complex Societies*).

[105] The phenomenon of attendant burials spotted for only one generation in this neighbourhood and the corresponding strata in area A/II is one aspect raising doubts about the conclu-

nevertheless, hope to have shown the importance of a thorough archaeological analysis being capable of revealing aspects of the ancient Egyptian society not otherwise visible and accentuated in the available texts.

Acknowledgements
I would like to thank Gianluca Miniaci and Wolfram Grajetzki for the invitation to contribute to this volume and my colleagues at the Joukowsky Institute for Archaeology and the Ancient World for very helpful comments and feedback on this article.

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The (social) House of Khnumhotep

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Abstract

Over the past few decades, Egyptology has developed and adopted a more critical approach to analyzing ancient Egyptian texts and iconography, which takes into account the sources' wider physical and social contexts. However, many individual texts and broader issues remain to be (re)evaluated. This study applies such a critical approach to the potential historical implications of the autobiography and tomb iconography of Khnumhotep II, while also looking at these sources through the lens of the 'social house,' an approach developed and adapted in anthropology also over the past few decades. The resulting view of Khnumhotep II's family indicates that Khnumhotep II and his sons continued on career paths already present in previous generations and common among other families of the Middle Kingdom, as well as other periods. This new view further suggests that the career of Khnumhotep III was not as significant in the larger picture of administrative changes as previously thought.

Introduction

Ancient Egyptian literature and autobiographies provide a window into ancient Egypt itself, but what are we able to see through this window? Past uses of these texts to glean historical data have varied from the early, wholly uncritical approach to the more recent critical approach and acknowledgement that any analysis "strongly depends on the cultural contextualization of the text in question, which may bring forth a variety of interpretations according to a given angle".[1] While the latter methodology is no longer so new, older, less critical interpretations are still often adopted into discussions of broader issues. Such has been the case for the autobiography of Khnumhotep II and its implications for his family history, as well as the political history of the Middle Kingdom. As with all modern interpretations of ancient data, our approach to this autobiography may benefit from an update in-line with our newer understandings of ancient Egyptian society and more critical methods for analyzing such texts. This article attempts such an updated analysis of the Khnumhotep II autobiography's historical implications, taking into consideration recent advances in scholarship. In addition, it applies the anthropological lens of the social house, a concept developed over decades of scholarship[2] and recently adapted by Nicholas Picardo for the analysis of a Middle Kingdom house at the town of *Wah-sut*, South Abydos.[3]

Biographical texts and their settings

Texts of an autobiographical form appear first in tomb contexts and continue to feature primarily in contexts traditionally referred to as 'funerary', particularly on tomb chapel walls and on stelae set up in and around tombs, with the later additional location of temple complexes.[4] The physical contexts of texts certainly related to and affected their purpose and content. Autobiographies are no exception. However, despite the texts' somewhat uniform physical contexts and the fact that one of the most recognizable features of this genre is its inclusion of self-laudatory statements, which sometimes appear in identical form in multiple tombs of different dates and locations, autobiographies still contain a significant level of variability and ought not be painted with a broad brush.

It is widely acknowledged that autobiographies, and in particular their self-laudatory portions, shed light on the social and cultural ideals and mores of their time.[5] Although texts never just represent historical facts,[6] might

[1] Gnirs, *LingAeg* 8, 125.

[2] See the discussion of the social house model below.

[3] Picardo, in Müller (ed.), *Household Studies in Complex Societies*. The page numbers in all subsequent citations of this work are based on a proof of this article, kindly provided by the author, and are subject to change before final publication.

[4] Gnirs, in Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 198-9.

[5] For example, see Gnirs, in Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 203-4; Hackländer-von der Way, *Biographie und Identität*, esp. 167-80; Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets*, 229-34; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies*, 5-7; Lichtheim, in *Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia*; Lichtheim, *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies*; Eyre, in Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, esp. 422.

[6] Moers, in Frood, McDonald (eds.), *Decorum and experience*, 54. See also Schlüter, *Sakrale Architektur im Fachbild*, 31-6.

the autobiographies tell us more about their subjects[7] than only their social standing (through titles and references to the king and other patrons) and the ideals with which they sought to align themselves (through self-laudatory phrases and narratives about their actions that accord with themes common within this genre)? The positive actions described in these texts certainly give us the slightest taste of what life was like in ancient Egypt, particularly by highlighting bad behaviors and unpleasant realities from which the subjects of the autobiographical texts wished to distance themselves. One common example of this situation is the frequent mention of helping the poor, particularly through protecting them and not rendering unfair judgments. The need to distinguish oneself through describing this behavior suggests that the reality was that the poor generally "[endured] arbitrary decisions and the crude exercise of power".[8] This is, of course, a very general impression that for the most part lacks specific details, though cases of injustice show up in literature, such as *The Eloquent Peasant*.[9]

In addition to these social and cultural ideals and the generalized sense of reality that they provide us, might we glean something more specific about particular individuals' lives from these texts?[10] In order to do so, we must take into consideration factors mentioned above, particularly the physical and cultural context in which the texts reside (or originally resided). In so doing, one of the most important features (or, rather, the lack thereof) to take into account is what the protagonist or author left out of the texts. By taking omissions into account, we may prevent ourselves from making assumptions about the protagonist and his family based on a particular aspect or person not appearing in the text (unless there are additional mitigating factors in favor of doing so). Thus, while the paucity of information provided through textual sources requires some level of 'reading between the lines' when examining the lives of the elite men who had these texts carved on their monuments, in doing so we must keep in mind the cultural context – including what aspects of life would have been included or excluded from such texts.

The physical context, where the texts were inscribed, and who was meant to see them must also always be at the forefront when analyzing such documents. In the case of self-presentations (or 'autobiographies'), ancient Egyptians were generally restricted to the context of monumental inscriptions,[11] which must in turn affect the content of the self-presentations. In addition, the low rate of literacy in the society and other evidence suggests a strong oral tradition (potentially including reciting written biographies aloud), which may also have influenced the content of the written version.[12] Furthermore, one should not ignore the other texts and any iconography in physical proximity to the autobiography or that relates to the same individual or his family members.

One of the main motivations for having a self-presentation inscribed on a monument was for others to see, read, or hear the text and, hopefully, both remember the individual and feel compelled to either bring offerings or recite an offering prayer for the subject of the text.[13] As part of acknowledging the idealized nature of ancient Egyptian texts, in this case autobiographies in particular, we must include awareness of "selective bias", which influenced what was included in iconography and texts.[14] While many have accepted the validity of such an approach, it has not yet been applied to the full array of autobiographical texts accessible to scholars and each text must be examined, in turn, in its own wider context. However, before moving on to apply this approach to the autobiography of Khnumhotep II, I would like to propose an additional viewpoint from which to examine the above issues: the model of the social house.

The model of the social house

'Social house' functions as a label, or anthropological concept, applied to the variety of components that make

[7] I refrain here from using the term 'author', since the main figure in an 'autobiography' very well may not have composed his text. This topic has been discussed elsewhere, but authorship of such texts will likely remain unknown. See, for example, the work of Gnirs, who suggests that in many cases these texts are more "allo-biography" than "autobiography": Gnirs, in Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 196-7. However, since 'autobiography' remains the most commonly used term in Egyptology for this genre, I will use it here as well. *Cf.* Baines, in Leahy, Tait (eds.), *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H. S. Smith*, 23-5; Morenz, *Human Affairs* 13, 181-8.

[8] Moreno García, in Moreno García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 1030.

[9] See the discussions in Gnirs, *LingAeg* 8; Moreno García, in Moreno García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 1030.

[10] For example, Chauvet, *JARCE* 49, 57-71 makes a convincing case for information on tomb building in some Old Kingdom autobiographies not being as 'fictitious' as previously thought.

[11] Gnirs, in Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 200.

[12] See, for example, the discussion by Baines, in Leahy, Tait (eds.), *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H. S. Smith*, 23-37, esp. 25, 33 and 36-7; Morenz, *Human Affairs* 13, 182; Richards, *JARCE* 39, 76; Baines, in Moers (ed.), *Definitely: Egyptian Literature*, 19-39; Chauvet, *JARCE* 49, 58-9. In addition, there may be a lost papyrus tradition: Baines, in Leahy, Tait (eds.), in *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H. S. Smith*, 33; Morenz, *Human Affairs* 13, 189.

[13] Gnirs, in Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 201.

[14] Seidlmayer, in Richards, Hawass (eds.), *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt*, 351-68, esp. 351-2, 366.

up a unit comprised of "people, property, and residential buildings"[15] that Lévi-Strauss identified as encompassed what are often called 'houses' in a variety of different cultures.[16] Previous to Lévi-Strauss' work, anthropologists had viewed words in various languages for 'house' to mean only the building, while he recognized that this term also encompassed people, whether related by blood or not, and property in addition to the dwelling. Lévi-Strauss proposed the use of "house societies" (*société* '*à Maisons*') as a flexible alternative to classify particular social organizations that did not easily fit into a standard kinship system or other anthropological typologies.[17] This model, one of many under the larger umbrella of house-centric approaches, has been particularly fruitful in investigating the economic and political factors of relationships and their changes over time,[18] and it is especially useful as a heuristic, rather than as a strictly applied social structure.[19] In addition, it focuses on the intricate web of interactions in society and provides a framework for understanding organizational change.[20] One of the central characteristics of a house in house societies is that it has a 'collective persona' and acts as a 'moral person' (*personne morale*) with jural and social claims and obligations within wider society.[21] Recently, the term 'social house' has been adopted as a way to separate this concept of a social unit from the meaning of 'house' as a physical structure and other house-centric approaches.[22]

Maintaining the components of one's social house –including property, people, and public reputation– is a priority, and these components are intertwined, as "[shared property] can be said to materialize the social group" and preserving this property "serves to configure their status vis-à-vis other houses with the larger society".[23] In addition to this important material aspect for perpetuating a social house, intangibles, such as names, titles, status, shared religious beliefs and practices, etc., create a kind of identity, cohesion, and continuity that goes beyond kinship ties or a shared residence.[24] These intangible aspects are most relevant for our current discussion, particularly those of names, titles, and status. Without continuation of these aspects of identity, the social house as a unit, or a 'persona' in and of itself, would cease to exist.[25] In addition, to continue the social house's identity requires continuous generations of members of that social house and potentially the recruiting of additional members when required through various alliances and other means.[26]

In the case of ancient Egypt, and of Khnumhotep II in particular, it appears that such alliances could take the form of what in modern times we would categorize as economic transactions or as patronage,[27] happen through

[15] Picardo, in Müller (ed.), *Household Studies in Complex Societies*, 245.

[16] Lévi-Strauss, in Bonte, Izard (eds.), *Dictionnaire de l'ethnologie*; Lévi-Strauss, *The Way of the Masks*; Lévi-Strauss, *Anthropology and Myth*.

[17] Beck, in Beck (ed.), *The Durable House*, 4-5. This model may be particularly fitting in the case of Pharaonic Egypt because some aspects of its kinship and decent systems do not fit traditional anthropological models. For example, the kinship naming system in some ways matches that of the Eskimo model, in that ancient Egyptian kin naming is bilateral (the same terms are used for relatives from both the mother and father's sides of ego's family). However, the Eskimo model differentiates generations in a way not typically done in ancient Egyptian sources. For discussions of ancient Egyptian kinship terms, see Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandschaftsbezeichnungen*; Lustig, *Gender, Kinship, Ancestors*; Robins, *CdE* 54; Willems, *Egyptian Kinship Terminology*; Campagno, in Frood, Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia*; Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Family*.

[18] Gillespie, in Beck (ed.), *The Durable House*, 29-42.

[19] *Op. cit.*, 30.

[20] *Op. cit.*, 31.

[21] Gillespie, in Joyce, Gillespie (eds.), *Beyond Kinship*, 27; Gillespie, in Beck (ed.), *The Durable House*, 33-4; Picardo, in Müller (ed.), *Household Studies in Complex Societies*, 245-6; the foregoing three works reference Lévi-Strauss, in Aron, Barthes (eds.), *Culture, science et développement*; Lévi-Strauss, *The Way of the Masks*; and Lévi-Strauss, *Anthropology and Myth*. The concept of the social house as a moral person depicts the social house's role within larger society in a similar way to Baines' description of one's personhood within a social group (and how it relates to funerary monuments): Baines, in Leahy, Tait (eds.), *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H. S. Smith*, 24-5. See also his discussion (25-6) of how a physical structure can proclaim status and group allegiance and his discussion of identity throughout the work, as well as Chauvet, *JARCE* 49, esp. 57-9. In addition, see note 50 below.

[22] For a thorough overview of this concept, see Beck, in Beck (ed.), *The Durable House*, 3-24; Picardo, in Müller (ed.), *Household Studies in Complex Societies*, 243-8; Gillespie, in Beck (ed.), *The Durable House*, 26-31. It is important to note that a 'social house' is not necessarily the same as a 'household.' A social house may include one or more households, but it is not defined by the dwelling in the way that a household typically is.

[23] Gillespie, in Joyce, Gillespie (eds.), *Beyond Kinship*, 2; also quoted in Picardo, in Müller (ed.), *Household Studies in Complex Societies*, 246.

[24] Lévi-Strauss, in Aron, Barthes (eds.), *Culture, science et développement*, 47.

[25] Beck, in Beck (ed.), *The Durable House*, 13.

[26] Picardo, in Müller (ed.), *Household Studies in Complex Societies*, 247.

[27] While not directly linked to the concept of the social house, Moreno García provides a detailed overview of the varied and complex informal relationships that were present in ancient Egypt. His analysis shows that many correlations be-

marriage,[28] or perhaps transpire through additional "economic, religious, juridical, or coercive factors"[29] that are not immediately apparent to us from the surviving record. Crucial to the concept is that the house's identity is recognized from the outside, as the house "is a dynamic formation that cannot be defined in itself, but only in relation to others of the same kind, situated in their historical context".[30] In this way, the concept of the social house aligns well with recent scholarly priorities in the study of ancient Egyptian texts, particularly that of viewing texts within their historical context as much as is possible with surviving materials. However, this model may take it a step further by being specific, yet flexible, and may have the potential to shed further light on both the contexts and motivations behind ancient Egyptian autobiographical texts.

Since a social house is defined by its relationships with others of its kind, legitimation and identity are crucial issues for any house. Picardo has proposed that, since legitimacy and interactions happened in two primary spheres –"from internal membership and from broader society"–[31] there are also two primary modalities of household identity: 'introverted' and 'extroverted'. Introverted modalities reinforced the cohesion of internal membership and relationships (which may or may not extend beyond the core group in one building), while extroverted modalities convey the external identity, or 'public face', of the social house and its members and their place within larger society.[32] While Picardo only proposed applying these two categories to archaeology of domestic space,[33] they seem useful criteria for understanding the motivation for self and social/family group presentation in accessible funerary texts and iconography. It has long been acknowledged that decorum, the idea of *ma'at*, or divine order, and wanting to present oneself as both successful and having lived according to social rules and norms play a significant role in the content of autobiographies, as well as funerary iconography, of the Old and Middle Kingdoms.[34] However, such an explanation does not clarify fully for us why additional family members, colleagues, patrons, and subordinates are often included in these contexts. If we understand an autobiography like that of Khnumhotep II to have the two primary social purposes that Picardo outlines (introverted and extroverted, which could include ritual and mortuary functions), such inclusions can be understood to aid in the internal cohesion of Khnumhotep's social house, which could encompass the wide variety of people included in his tomb chapel iconography.

At the same time, it must be acknowledged that the application of this model to texts or iconography will automatically differ from its application to archaeology. Excavation of a house structure may uncover parts from different people and different times that together make up "the residues of the sum total of the strategies and relationships that once aimed to sustain one or more households".[35] A text such as the autobiography of Khnumhotep II, on the other hand, essentially provides only one slice in time, though sometimes including a retrospective on previous generations, thus usually revealing only the strategies (and to some extent the relationships) of one point in time, one context, and –since it is written from the protagonist's point of view– one perspective.[36]

tween what we find in the ancient Egyptian historic record and the factors believed to perpetuate the social house exist. See Moreno García, in Moreno García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, passim, but especially the examples of relationships on pp. 1042-3.

[28] Gillespie, in Beck (ed.), *The Durable House*, 36. For example, Khnumhotep II married the daughter of the neighboring nome's ruler. In addition, his mother left their home nome to marry his father and connect the family with administration closer to the capital.

[29] Picardo, in Müller (ed.), *Household Studies in Complex Societies*, 247.

[30] Lévi-Strauss, *Anthropology and Myth*, 178. In addition, the model depends on the existence of a hierarchy and inequality among houses: Beck, in Beck (ed.), *The Durable House*, 7.

[31] Picardo, in Müller (ed.), *Household Studies in Complex Societies*, 247.

[32] *Op. cit*. 247-8. See also Gillespie, in Joyce, Gillespie (eds.), *Beyond Kinship*, 42. One could relate these external modalities, in terms of both the motivations behind them and the form that they take, to the traditional understandings of decorum and prestige in the context of ancient Egypt.

[33] However, the domestic space in question was also used for official activities relating to administration at South Abydos, thus functioning in more than one sphere: Picardo, in Müller (ed.), *Household Studies in Complex Societies*, 244-5.

[34] Gnirs notes that the 'encomiastic biography' becomes particularly prominent and reaches a high point in the Twelfth Dynasty in particular, especially focusing on the idea of the ideal official. In addition, Gnirs notes that family descent is part of the overall picture (along with behavior, education, and upbringing) of what constituted an ideal official: Gnirs, in Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 225-8.

[35] Picardo, in Müller (ed.), *Household Studies in Complex Societies*, 247.

[36] The iconography would appear to be even more restricted in time, with less in the way of retrospectives. For example, Khnumhotep II discusses family members of previous generations in his autobiography, but he does not include them in his tomb chapel decoration (with the exception of his mother in the shrine). As Baines notes, "decoration was not well suited to presenting temporal development": Baines, in Leahy, Tait (eds.) *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H. S. Smith*, 37. The text, on the other hand, may seek to position Khnumhotep II as the central figure within the complex, multigenerational network of relationships within his social house and its position among other important social houses. Who

The social house of Khnumhotep II

Having introduced the concept of the social house and how it may apply to autobiographical texts and to tomb chapel iconography, we turn now to applying this model to the example of Khnumhotep II, while also placing his text and tomb decoration in their social, historical, and physical context. Because the social house is most visible in interactions and when a house distinguishes itself (through claims to property, titles, etc.),[37] ancient Egyptian autobiographies of Khnumhotep II's type –which includes highlighting a selective lineage in local office– are well-suited for the application of this model. The tomb of Khnumhotep II (tomb 3) is carved into the high terrace cliff at the site of Beni Hasan in Middle Egypt, the place of burial for many of the Oryx Nome's top officials.[38] Multiple works address various aspects of the tomb,[39] the autobiography it contains,[40] or the Khnumhotep family and their place in political history.[41] Central to many works that address the last of these is that Khnumhotep II was apparently the final member of his family to complete a large, rock-cut tomb at the site, fueling the argument that the strong local rulers, or 'nomarchs',[42] who had ruled the area now disappeared during the mid-to-late Twelfth Dynasty, either through royal intervention or slower, more organic processes.[43]

The tomb chapel of Khnumhotep II features elaborate painted decoration that includes many of his family members and an even larger number of people apparently unrelated to him, but with whom he worked. Many of these subordinates are labelled with their names and titles, a feature not seen with frequency earlier in the Middle Kingdom, but that became popular on stelae for the remainder of the Middle Kingdom and into the Second Intermediate Period.[44] The inclusion of Khnumhotep's social house members (*i.e.*, family and those who had a close working relationship with him, whether they worked within his dwelling or outside of it) in these representations would certainly have served purposes that Picardo describes as 'introverted' and 'extroverted', as the tomb chapel created a kind of 'public face' for Khnumhotep II and his social house and the inclusion of so many of his subordinates and his family members undoubtedly reinforced internal cohesion among the members by firmly stating the members' roles in ways visible inside and outside of the house. Furthermore, Khnumhotep's inclusion of them in the tomb might help the members share in the benefits of the tomb.[45] At the same time,

composed such texts and iconography is still a matter of debate. However, whether it was Khnumhotep II, a relative, or someone of them had hired, the intention behind the compositions would likely remain the same, as these works would still revolve around the figure of Khnumhotep II and intend to portray what would be (or have been) desirable to him.

[37] Gillespie, in Beck (ed.), *The Durable House*, 31.

[38] Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. I, 39-72, pls. 22-38; Junge, in *LÄ* I, 695-8; Kessler, *Historische Topographie der Region zwischen Mallawi und Samalut*, 120-85; Hölzl, in *Sesto Congresso Internazionale*, 279-83.

[39] E.g. Goedicke, *JARCE* 21, 203-10; Kamrin, *The 12th Dynasty Tomb Chapel of Khnumhotep II*; Kamrin, *The Cosmos of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan*; Kessler, *SAK* 14; Rabehl, *Imago Aegypti* 1, 86-95; Kamrin, *JAEI* 1/3, 22-36; Kamrin, in *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*; Kamrin, in Aruz, Graff, Rakic (eds.), *Cultures in contact*, 156-69.

[40] E.g. Jansen-Winkeln, *GM* 180, 88-91; Lloyd, in Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion*, 21-36; Newberry, *Beni Hasan,* vol. I, 56-66; Le Guilloux, *La biographie de Khnoumhotep II*.

[41] E.g. Franke, in Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies*, 51-67; Willems, *Chests of life*, 25; Redford, *JEA* 53, 158-9; Ward, *GM* 71, 51-9.

[42] Though it must be noted that Khnumhotep II did not hold the title of nomarch, strictly speaking, as he was the *ḥ3ti-ʿ* of Menat Khufu and the Overseer of the Eastern Deserts. On the issues surrounding the use of the term 'nomarch' in Egyptology and the interpretation of the title *ḥ3ti-ʿ*, see Willems, in Moreno García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 360-81, and for their historical aspects, 381-92.

[43] The idea of royal intervention goes back over a century, but in recent decades it has been questioned. See Franke, in Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies*, 51-67 and the references therein; Willems, in Moreno García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 389-92 and the references therein; Willems (ed.), *Dayr al-Barsha*, 83-113.

[44] Picardo, in Müller (ed.), *Household Studies in Complex Societies*, 259 suggests "wherever a bureaucracy or other well-developed hierarchies influence behaviors, the social valuation of titles is more likely to spill over from the mainstreams of official pursuits into day-to-day life. Titles will tend to become more visible materially and to stride the line between symbolic and material assets of an individual or group". He further suggests that the sealing practices evident in the archaeological record at *Wah-sut* are a case in point of this phenomenon. I would add to this suggestion that the general increase in representing names and titles, which starts around the time of Khnumhotep II and continues to grow through the late Middle Kingdom in other contexts (such as tomb and stela decoration), represents the same phenomenon and blurs the lines between extroverted and introverted modalities. On this situation, see also Bourriau, in Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies*, 15; Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets*, 25; Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 9-10; Leahy, *JEA* 75, 41-60; Leprohon, *JARCE* 15, 33-8; Richards, *Society and Death*, 171-80; Richards, in Wegner, Hawass (eds.), *Millions of Jubilees*, 157-61; Nelson-Hurst, in Hawass, Wegner (eds.), *Millions of Jubilees*, 13-7, 19-26; Nelson-Hurst, in Horn *et al.* (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2010*, 116-23; Pfüger, *JAOS* 67, 127-35; Nelson-Hurst, *Ideology and Practicality in Transmission of Office*, 24.

[45] Several of Khnumhotep's close subordinates were buried in the shaft tombs on the lower terrace of the site. See Garstang,

many of these individuals likely belonged to other social houses as well, perhaps in some cases as the leaders of them. The case of Heqanakht illustrates such a complex, somewhat hierarchical network of relationships.[46] By including members (perhaps heads) of these other social houses within his tomb, Khnumhotep II would be able to express that they were also members of his social house, demonstrating that their social houses were lower in the hierarchy than his.

The act of including his subordinates in his tomb is even commemorated in his autobiography in a fashion that indicates it was considered a great deed:

> As a memorial to himself did he make <it>. His first achievement consisted of causing his city to be properly endowed, causing his name to endure, for ever, causing it to be commemorated for eternity in his tomb of the necropolis, and causing the name of his advisory council to endure, they being commemorated in accordance with their office, (to wit) the efficient ones within his houses,[47] whom he promoted before his serfs, every office which he controlled, and every craft as it is performed[48]

Not only does this section of the text indicate that Khnumhotep II caused his advisory council's names to endure through including them in his tomb, but it also refers to them as "the efficient ones within his houses",[49] and adds a reference to the many other individuals whom he included in the tomb decoration. Needless to say, such references suggest that the ancient Egyptian conception (or, at least, some Egyptians' conception) of houses or estates encompassed independent people who were members of a group, in addition to the house/estate property.[50] The fact that ancient Egyptian estates encompassed people is not a new observation. However, it demonstrates the applicability of the social house model to ancient Egyptian society, at least –in this case– during the mid-to-late Middle Kingdom.[51]

That his autobiography and tomb iconography include this wide array of people who were likely part of Khnumhotep's social house at the time of or shortly before their compositions suggests a focus on the present house membership and an effort to further the cohesion among its members.[52] It is notable that the tomb deco-

ASAE 5, 215-28; Garstang, *Burial customs*; Orel, *Chronology and Social Stratification in a Middle Kingdom Cemetery*; Seidlmayer, in Richards, Hawass (eds.), *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt*,137-66.

[46] See the discussion in Moreno García, in Moreno García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 1043. See also note 50 below.

[47] Or "the efficient ones among those of his house" for *mnḫ*(*y*).*w im*(*y*).*w* (*ḥ*)*nw pr*(*y*).*w*=*f*, as Antonio J. Morales (personal communication) suggests. See also note 49.

[48] Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. I, pl. 25, lines 4-13. Translation from Lloyd, in Lloyd (ed.), *Studies Griffiths*, 21-2.

[49] *Mnḫ*(*y*).*w im*(*y*).*w* (*ḥ*)*nw pr*.*w*=*f*. *Pr* is determined with a seated man before the plural strokes. If Lloyd's translation is correct, this choice of signs would seem to allude to the idea that 'houses' in this case does not refer solely to physical buildings, but also to the people who worked in Khnumhotep's houses/estates: Alternately, one could take this last part as "ones of his house", (*pr*(*y*).*w*=*f*). Whichever translation one prefers, both possibilities highlight the idea that houses included people.

[50] The case of Heqanakht is particularly illustrative of this concept. As Picardo, (in Müller (ed.), *Household Studies in Complex Societies*, 266-68 and figs. 11-2) suggests, Heqanakht's collection of letters and accounts provides a "first-hand view of household management" and illustrates how Heqanakht's social house's extended sphere included other houses (of Mentunakht, Tjai's son Nakht, and Khetyankhef). In the recorded interactions, Heqanakht refers to relationships of obligation with these houses in the same manner as he would with those of individual persons, demonstrating how Middle Kingdom houses could function as *personnes morale* with perceived rights and duties, as described by Lévi-Strauss (see *ibid.* and note 21). See also the discussion in Moreno García, in Moreno García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, especially 1043. In addition, A. J. Morales (personal communication) points out that Heqanakht's letters having been deposited in the tomb of Meseh (cut into the courtyard of TT 315, tomb of Ipi – perhaps suggesting that Meseh's connection to Heqanakht was through the former's relationship with Ipi) further illustrates the importance and applicability of this example when discussing the intricacies of social houses and their relationships with each other. However, *cf.* the view of Allen, *The Heqanakht Papyri*, esp. 129-30. On Heqanakht, see also James, *The Hekanakhte papers*; Baer, *JAOS* 83; Goedicke, *Studies in the Hekanakhte Papers*.

[51] Previous work has shown similar results, though generally not viewed through the framework of the social house. See, for example, Moreno García's extensive work on estates and social networks in the Old Kingdom and, most recently, his survey on the topic of informal networks: Moreno García, in Hill, Jones, Morales (eds.), *Experiencing Power, Generating Authority*, 199-200, 204-7; Moreno García, in Moreno García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration,* 1029-65. In addition, the archaeology of mortuary landscapes at multiple locations has suggested the existence of such networks (or 'patronage') through the grouping of smaller tombs around the larger tombs of local superiors, such as has been found at Bersheh and in the Qau region, to name just a couple of locations: Seidlmayer, in Assmann, Burkard, Davies (eds.), *Problems and Priorities in Egyptian Archaeology*, 175-217; Willems (ed.), *Dayr al-Barsha*, 12-3, figs. 14, 28-58, 62-78, 112-3; Brovarski, in Simpson, Davis (eds.), *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan*, 16; Doxey, in Gundlach, Taylor (eds.), *Egyptian Royal Residences*, 2-3; Kaper, van Walsem, Willems, in Silverman (ed.), *Bersheh Reports*, 41-50.

[52] However, this is not to suggest that the tomb decoration or texts would include the entire social house. 'Selective bias' undoubtedly played an equal role in these overlapping arenas.

ration focuses most heavily on Khnumhotep II's subordinates, his female relatives, and his children, perhaps to highlight Khnumhotep's role as a ruler, protector, and creator in his social house and in the wider community. Arguably, all of these individuals could be part of his house at one time, while his elder male relatives, who do not appear in the tomb, were either deceased or part of a different social house.[53] At the same time, the large section that the autobiography dedicated to Khnumhotep II's ancestors, particularly those on his mother's side, would seem, at first, to argue against this interpretation. It is important to note, however, that the text's coverage of previous generations is not intended to be comprehensive, but rather those included were chosen for specific purposes. In a house society, "kinship or kin-like ties are strategically used to create social relationships and stake out social identities",[54] and keeping and enhancing the house fortune, name, and prestige were a priority for a house, allowing it to 'perpetuate itself'.[55] Furthermore, "the continuity of the social house…*is* represented in the 'language of kinship and/or alliance' by material and immaterial references to precedence in the form of ancestors".[56] By displaying his family's lineage in high office in the Oryx Nome and highlighting the favor that kings had shown to his predecessors, Khnumhotep II both boosts his own image and helps his house to perpetuate itself and its fortune (at least that connected to offices held in his family), name, and prestige. The inclusion of descriptions pertaining to his father (who was not from the Oryx Nome) may have served a similar purpose, perhaps to show that his father had an important background and career as well, though not directly linked to the lineage in focus for the Oryx Nome.

Khnumhotep II's discussion of his predecessors and family fits well in both the model of the social house and in the traditional frameworks for understanding ancient Egyptian practices of office transmission and self-presentation.[57] Furthermore, this facet of Khnumhotep's text displays another important feature of a social house: the use of origin narratives. When discussing origin narratives, we might at first think of what Helms calls 'first-principle origins', which tie one to the larger community through shared stories of creation, migration, etc.[58] However, a second type of origins is Helms' 'prior house origins', which are related to a particular house and are 'prior' only in relation to a particular moment in time in the house (in this case, when Khnumhotep's autobiography and tomb decoration were composed), which accords particularly well with Khnumhotep II's presentation of his family. After all, he does not provide a full picture of his family –if he did, we could reasonably expect that he, his father, his uncle and mother, and his grandfather would not have been the sole offspring from their generations– but rather provides only what is necessary to paint a picture of his house's origins and continuous[59] identity and prestige in the Oryx Nome, along with his connection to that house, as well as to the house of his father (who perhaps originated from the Anubis or Hare Nomes, but worked close to the capital) and of his wife (from the ruling family in the Anubis Nome).

Interpretive implications for the Khnumhotep family's place in social and political history

The preceding discussion of how the social house model fits the example of Khnumhotep II's house, of course, begs the question: "what can it do to further our understanding of Khnumhotep II and his time?". First and most obvious is that the application of the social house model shows that some broader factors that are present cross-culturally also come into play in ancient Egypt. More specifically, though, for Khnumhotep II, it helps us reframe our understanding of his autobiography and what it tells us about his family and their careers. The career paths of Khnumhotep's family members have been examined multiple times in the past as a means to access the larger picture of social and political changes during the middle of the Twelfth Dynasty. Thus, any reinterpretation of these aspects of the family has an impact on our understanding of Middle Kingdom Egypt beyond just this one family. By utilizing the social house mod-

[53] Or, perhaps, they were former heads of Khnumhotep II's own social house before he took on that role.

[54] Gillespie, in Beck (ed.), *The Durable House*, 35.

[55] Lévi-Strauss, *The Way of the Masks*, 169; Gillespie, in Beck (ed.), *The Durable House*, 34.

[56] Gillespie, in Beck (ed.), *The Durable House*, 35, emphasis from the original.

[57] However, on office transmission, *cf.* Nelson-Hurst, *Ideology and Practicality in Transmission of Office*, passim, especially 442-57.

[58] Beck, in Beck (ed.), *The Durable House*, 8-9; Helms, *Affines, Ancestors, and Aristocrats*, 77.

[59] The text does such a good job at portraying this preferred image of continuity through kinship ties that, when discussing this family, scholars often gloss over the fact that the situation was much more complicated. In reality, Khnumhotep's family likely did not hold high office in the nome continuously, as there appears to be a significant gap between Nakht I and Khnumhotep II. Netjernakht (tomb 23) may have been a member of the family who served between them, but still not have covered the entire span of time. Amenemhat (tomb 2), who either overlapped with or succeeded Nakht I, appears completely unrelated to the Khnumhotep family. In addition, Netjernakht and Khnumhotep II do not carry the title of Great Chief of the Oryx Nome, as previous generations of the family had done.

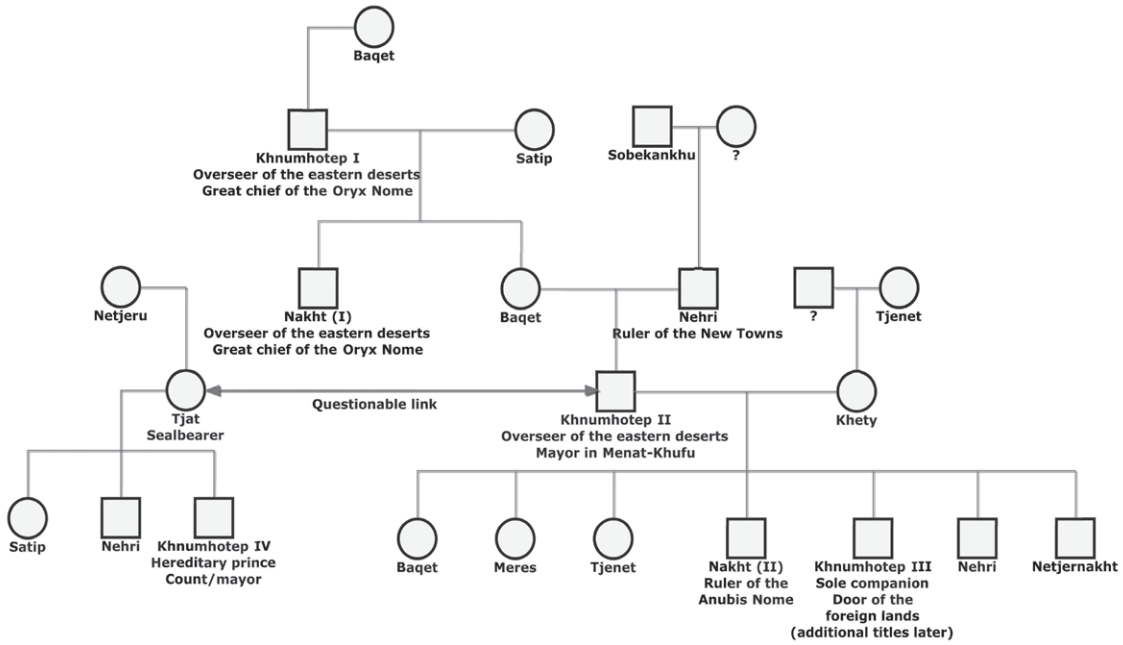

Fig. 1 - Khnumhotep family tree with members' title strings shortened to those most pertinent

el along with a generally critical approach, this section aims to do just that.

First, as already mentioned above, Khnumhotep II's autobiography is quite selective in the family members it includes. Looking at a family tree of what we know from the autobiography and tomb chapel decoration (Fig. 1), we can see clearly how Khnumhotep II has many children (the number varying somewhat by interpretation of relationships), but the previous generations, including his own, feature only one or two family members. Certainly, Khnumhotep II is not saying that previous generations were not as successful in producing offspring as he was. Rather, additional collateral kin (siblings, aunts and uncles, cousins, etc.) were irrelevant to his narrative, as they were not part of (or were lesser members of) his social house and, therefore, did not fit into the house's origin narrative, increase its prestige, or highlight Khnumhotep II's role as creator and protector. Put in more traditionally Egyptological terms, those additional relatives would not have served to improve Khnumhotep's image or further solidify his claim to his positions. They may, instead, have even been viewed as competition and in a different place in the hierarchy of houses.[60] The maternal uncle, Nakht (I), seems to have a somewhat liminal position in this sense, as he is mentioned briefly as the successor of Khnumhotep I, but when Khnumhotep II discusses his own career, he refers to his position as having been that of his mother's father, not his mother's brother, though Nakht clearly held office between Khnumhotep I and Khnumhotep II.[61] Nakht is perhaps included to show precedent of offices moving down through the generations of their family or because of a close relationship with Khnumhotep II or his mother. However, he is ultimately excluded from the narrative of lineal descent that Khnumhotep II presents.[62] Khnumhotep II was not alone in presenting his career in such a way. Probably the most well-known of other cases is that of the Eighteenth Dynasty vizier Rekhmire, who succeeded his uncle Useramun in office (Fig. 2), but states that he succeeded his (grand)father Ahmose-Aametu in his career narrative.[63]

[60] A distinct hierarchy among houses in wider society is one of the hallmarks of a house society: Beck, in Beck (ed.), *The Durable House*, 7. See also Moreno García's discussion of provincial families of the late Old Kingdom and the different careers (at different ranks) of collateral kin of those families: Moreno García, in Hill, Jones, Morales (eds.), *Experiencing Power, Generating Authority*, 199-200, 204-7; Moreno García, in Moreno García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 1035-6.

[61] Not to mention the other two men who came in between. See note 59.

[62] Could this, at least in part, be due to the position of nomarch having either left Khnumhotep's family line or ceased entirely after Nakht I? A. J. Morales (personal communication) has suggested that it is possible that there existed a local memory of this member of the family having lost this position, making it undesirable to place any emphasis on him.

[63] Shirley, *The Culture of Officialdom*, 75-94, esp. 91. It is important to note also that Useramun had his own sons who lived and held offices in the Amun precinct. Thus, Rekhmire must have come to his position for reasons other than a lack of an 'heir'. In the case of Khnumhotep II, the lack of an 'heir'

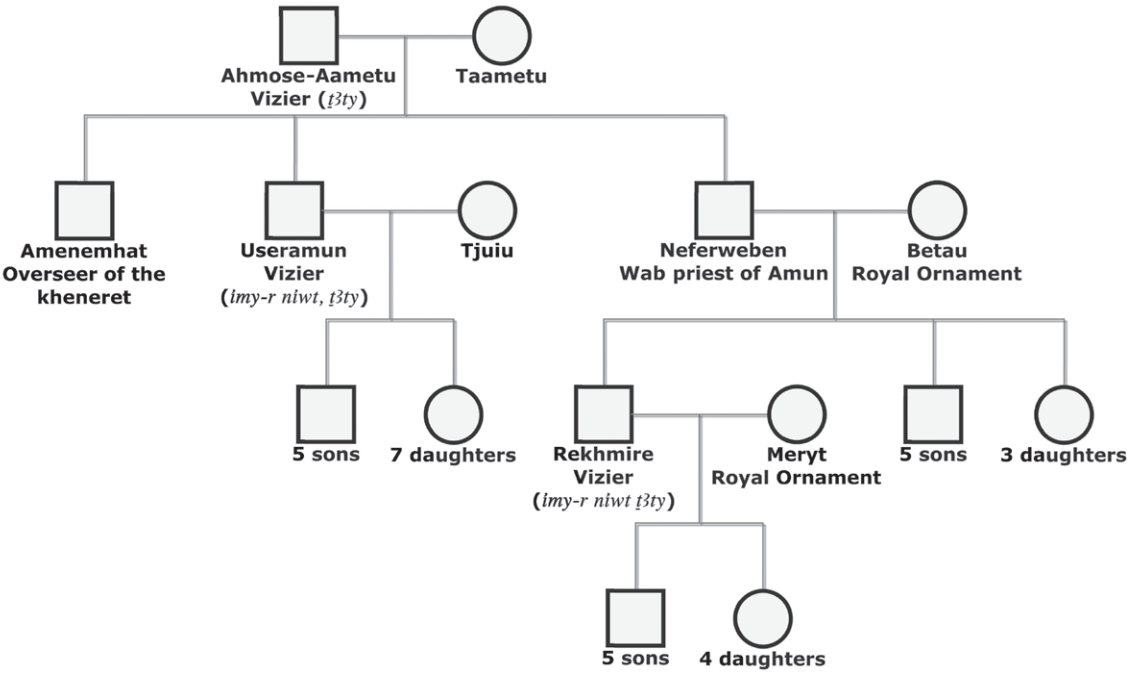

Fig. 2 - Abbreviated family tree of Rekhmire (after Shirley, *The Culture of Officialdom*)

Considering this (from a modern, western point of view) manipulation of the 'facts' through omission to suit the protagonist's priorities, it is not safe to adhere to previous assumptions about a lack of heirs on Khnumhotep II's mother's side and in his father-in-law's family in the neighboring nome.[64] Unfortunately, Khnumhotep I and Nakht's tombs are in poor states of preservation that do not allow us to gain a better picture of their immediate families. One could file these cases under the general 'absence of evidence is not evidence of absence' view. However, it is beneficial to not only acknowledge what we cannot say, but also what we might say about the intentions behind omitting certain family members. In this case, it seems that other family members and officeholders were either irrelevant or detrimental to the preferred narrative, suggesting that Khnumhotep II's preference was to portray a strictly lineal descent for his office and thereby also establish his house's origin through the same line.[65] Crafting his narrative in this way, Khnumhotep may have aimed not only to legitimize or glorify himself, but also to perpetuate his social house[66] and to set up a sort of 'pre-packaged' legitimation for future generations of his family.[67]

What might such omissions mean for our interpretation of Khnumhotep's family and its place in political history? Franke and Willems suggested some years ago that the career of Khnumhotep II's second eldest son, Khnumhotep III, at court (rising eventually to the position of vizier) indicated that the king 'promoted away' heirs to high provincial offices in order to centralize power at the capital.[68] When considering the greater context of the disappearance of the title of nomarch and the subsequent disappearance of large, rock-cut tombs such as that of Khnumhotep II, this conclusion appears quite logical and, thus, has been accepted widely. However, I would suggest that when we take into account that Khnumho-

for Nakht I has been cited as the reason for Khnumhotep II having held high office in the Oryx nome. The same argument is used for the case of his son, Nakht II, who took over the position of his maternal grandfather in the Anubis nome.

[64] *Cf.* Lloyd, in Lloyd (ed.), *Studies Griffiths*, 28; Shirley, *The Culture of Officialdom*, 62.

[65] And perhaps to demonstrate that Khnumhotep II heads the same social house, perpetuated over generations, as his maternal grandfather had done.

[66] See note 65.

[67] Texts from other sites, such as Ukhhotep's 'list of ancestors' (Meir Tomb B 4) may have been created for similar purposes. However, the fragmentary state of Ukhhotep's list and lack of corroborating evidence for the ancestors' names that do survive makes it impossible to tell whether the list was 'factual', 'fictitious', or selectively 'factual', as Khnumhotep II was for his biography. Whichever of these options fits the case of the Meir list, the purpose of the list may safely still be considered part of Ukhhotep's house's origin narrative. On Ukhhotep's list, see Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, vol. I, 9, 12, 15; vol. III, 16-21, pls. 10-1, 29, 35-7; Favry, *Le nomarque sous le règne de Sésostris Ier*, 79; Kessler, in *LÄ* IV, 14; Porter, in Redford (ed.), *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, 372.

[68] Franke, in Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies,* 51-67; Willems, *Chests of life,* 25. See also Allen, *BASOR* 352, 29-39; Allen, *BSFE* 173, 13-31.

tep II's text is not a family history in the way that we would conceive of one and that family members who did not help solidify Khnumhotep II's position and his house were left out, the story changes considerably. It is important to note here again that the autobiography and tomb decoration both offer only snapshots in time, not a true narrative over time. Thus, Khnumhotep's house members are labelled or mentioned with their highest titles at the time of composition (or at the time of their death, if they died before composition, such as Khnumhotep I) and any earlier titles held are generally not in view to us.[69]

Khnumhotep III's career is an excellent example of a situation in which an official rose through various offices over the span of his career. In his father's text, he has been appointed as sole companion and door of foreign lands, while texts from other locations tell us that Khnumhotep III later took on the titles of an expedition leader and eventually those of vizier.[70] His epithets, including "who was made in the palace, educated of Horus, Lord of the Two Lands",[71] show that Khnumhotep III spent at least part of his youth at the palace with the king and his court. Although not immediately visible to us through surviving texts, members of the family in previous generations undoubtedly also worked their way up through positions, possibly while working under the supervision of senior members of their family with higher positions and more experience.[72] This experience and their family connections (one could not exist without the other)[73] would set them up for advancing to higher positions within the same part of the administration (or something parallel, where the same skills and experience would be relevant). Even before Khnumhotep III, the family clearly held court ties, as Khnumhotep II likely grew up near the capital, since his father Nehri worked in that area,[74] though he was likely originally from Middle Egypt (perhaps from another provincial ruling family).[75]

As Franke suggested, it seems plausible that the combination of connections to the central administration and to the Oryx nome (and his father being the overseer of eastern deserts) led to Khnumhotep III's position as an expedition leader.[76] However, we have no reason to believe that his career was exceptional. Indeed, the family members of previous generations who do not appear in Khnumhotep II's narrative are likely to have had similar career paths. Since only one man (or perhaps very few, depending on geographic divisions within the nome) at a time could be a top administrator in the nome, some family members inevitably would need to find careers elsewhere, either staying local and acting as subordinates to their higher-ranked family members or pursuing a career elsewhere, such as at the capital. Considering the intense court ties of multiple top provincial families of the early Middle Kingdom,[77] such an interpretation for the Khnumhotep family does not seem a stretch. The father of Khnumhotep II, Nehri, even seems to have originally been from Middle Egypt, but served in the administration near the capital, suggesting the possibility that he was also a member of one of the top families of the region who had a career at court. We see such a pattern in other periods as well. Moreno García has shown that provincial families of the late Old Kingdom had the main line of the family in high provincial offices, while other branches of the family or "minor" sons served in the central administration.[78]

If we add to this discussion the two other members of the Khnumhotep house from Khnumhotep III's generation –Nakht II and Khnumhotep IV– who apparently held high positions in the Oryx and Anubis nomes, the picture becomes even more of one of carrying on

[69] It has also been suggested that two family members may have held the title of Mayor of Menat Khufu before becoming Great Chief of the Oryx Nome: Willems, in Moreno García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 377; Favry, *Le nomarque sous le règne de Sésostris I^er^*, 312-4. See the discussion of the career of Khnumhotep III, who does not appear to retain all of his earlier titles, below.

[70] Allen, *BASOR* 352, 29-39; Allen, *BSFE* 173, 13-3; Franke, in Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies*, 60-3.

[71] See also his epithet "whom the god (*i.e.* king) made": Franke, in Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies*, 56-9.

[72] See note 70 and Nelson-Hurst, *Ideology and Practicality in Transmission of Office*, 126-78, esp. 139-49, 156-8, 176-7.

[73] Family connections would allow them to gain experience, and that experience would allow them to advance and solidify or further their connections.

[74] Gauthier, *Dictionnaire*, vol. IV, 128-9.

[75] See, for example, Redford, *JEA* 53; Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. II, 9.

[76] Franke, in Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies*, 60.

[77] See the provincial ruling families buried at Meir and Bersheh: Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, vol. I, 11-3; Kessler, in *LÄ* IV, 14-9; Willems, *Chests of life*, 84-7; Brovarski, in Simpson, Davis (eds.), *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan*, 23-9; Brovarski, in Woods, McFarlane, Binder (eds.), *Studies in Honor of Naguib Kanawati*, 31-85; Brovarski, in Gulyás, Hasznos (eds.), *From Illahun to Djeme*; Gestermann, *ZÄS* 135, 1-15; Willems, *JEOL* 28, 80-102. Willems, in Moreno García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 387-9. See also Allen, in Strudwick, Taylor (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis*, 23-6; Willems (ed.), *Dayr al-Barsha*, 105.

[78] He highlights especially the ruling families at El-Hawawish, Elkab, Meir, and Abydos: Moreno García, in Hill, Jones, Morales (eds.), *Experiencing Power, Generating Authority*,199-200, 204-7; Moreno García, in Moreno García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 1033-6. While he does not go into detail, Moreno García also suggests that a similar practice continued through the Twelfth Dynasty: Moreno García, in Moreno García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 1036.

tradition, rather than of innovation. Furthermore, since Nakht II and Khnumhotep IV stayed in the region, the promotion(s) of Khnumhotep III seem unlikely to have caused a significant shift in either power or wealth. This is not to say that changes were not occurring in the economy and administration, as they most clearly were, but rather to say that Khnumhotep III's office did not play a significant (or perhaps any) role in a royal plan that caused the shifts that were going on, since his career was not unusual when compared to previous generations of his own family and to those of other nomes. It, in fact, aligns with practices that can be traced back to the Old Kingdom.[79]

In addition to these conclusions for the macro view, I would suggest that, on a more micro view of individual careers, the way offices were transferred had more to do with experience, age, and family ties than with either a royal plan or hereditary practices.[80] Moreover, the language often used to describe these families as having held hereditary offices has allowed us to gloss over the details of what is included and excluded from accounts such as Khnumhotep II's and to presume that –since offices were hereditary– his maternal uncle and his father-in-law had no sons. There is no doubt that the texts focus on a lineal descent, but we have already seen how the image of lineal descent is sometimes created partially through omission in the texts. A closer, critical examination shows that offices skipping generations or transferring from brother to brother or from uncle to nephew was not at all unusual. We see it in other provincial ruling families, such as those buried at Meir and Bersheh, as well as in families from lower in the administration during the Middle Kingdom.[81] In addition, similar practices seem apparent for at least parts of the Old and New Kingdoms (see above).

In conclusion, when examining ancient Egyptian autobiographies and other texts (such as labels in tomb chapel scenes) that relate details of family, house, and career, we should take a critical view of not only the physical context, but also the social context and purpose of the text. Looking through the lens of the model of the social house is one potentially beneficial way of viewing such sources that deserves further examination and application to determine the extent of its validity and utility for investigating ancient Egyptian society. In addition to this critical, detailed examination of the micro –particular cases and sources– we must at the same time take a macro view of society during the time period under study to help flesh out our micro view, lest we see exception or conformity where it does not exist.

Acknowledgment
My research on Khnumhotep II and his family started as a small section of my doctoral dissertation, but has since evolved significantly over multiple conference papers and through additional lines of research. The number of people to whom I am grateful for assistance and feedback over these years are too numerous to mention here. However, for this article in particular, I must thank the then Supreme Council of Antiquities and the Egyptian Museum in Cairo for access to and permission to photograph the tombs at Beni Hasan and numerous stelae under the Egyptian Museum's care. In addition, for their invaluable discussions, suggestions, and general feedback on this article, Nicholas Picardo and Antonio Morales have my deepest gratitude. Nicholas Picardo deserves additional thanks for kindly sharing his work with me before it appeared in print. Any errors, of course, remain solely my own.

[79] See note 78.
[80] See also Nelson-Hurst, *Ideology and Practicality in Transmission of Office*, 126-78, 442-57, esp. 139-49, 156-8, 176-7.
[81] See, for example, the families of Tjeny (mid-Twelfth Dynasty; Figs. 3-4) and Ankhren (late Twelfth-early Thirteenth Dynasty; Fig. 5) that show offices skipping generations or moving from uncle to nephew, as well as sometimes (in a minority of cases that survive for these families) from father to son.

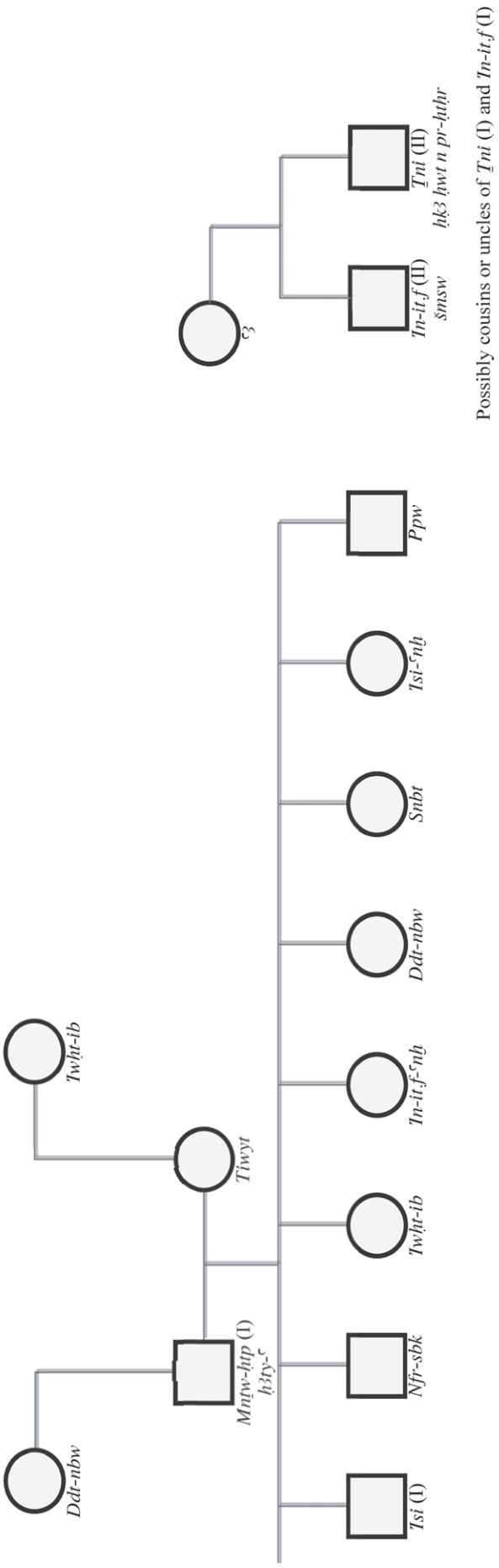

Fig. 3 - Family tree of Tjeny (based on names, titles, and relationships on Vienna ÄS 167)

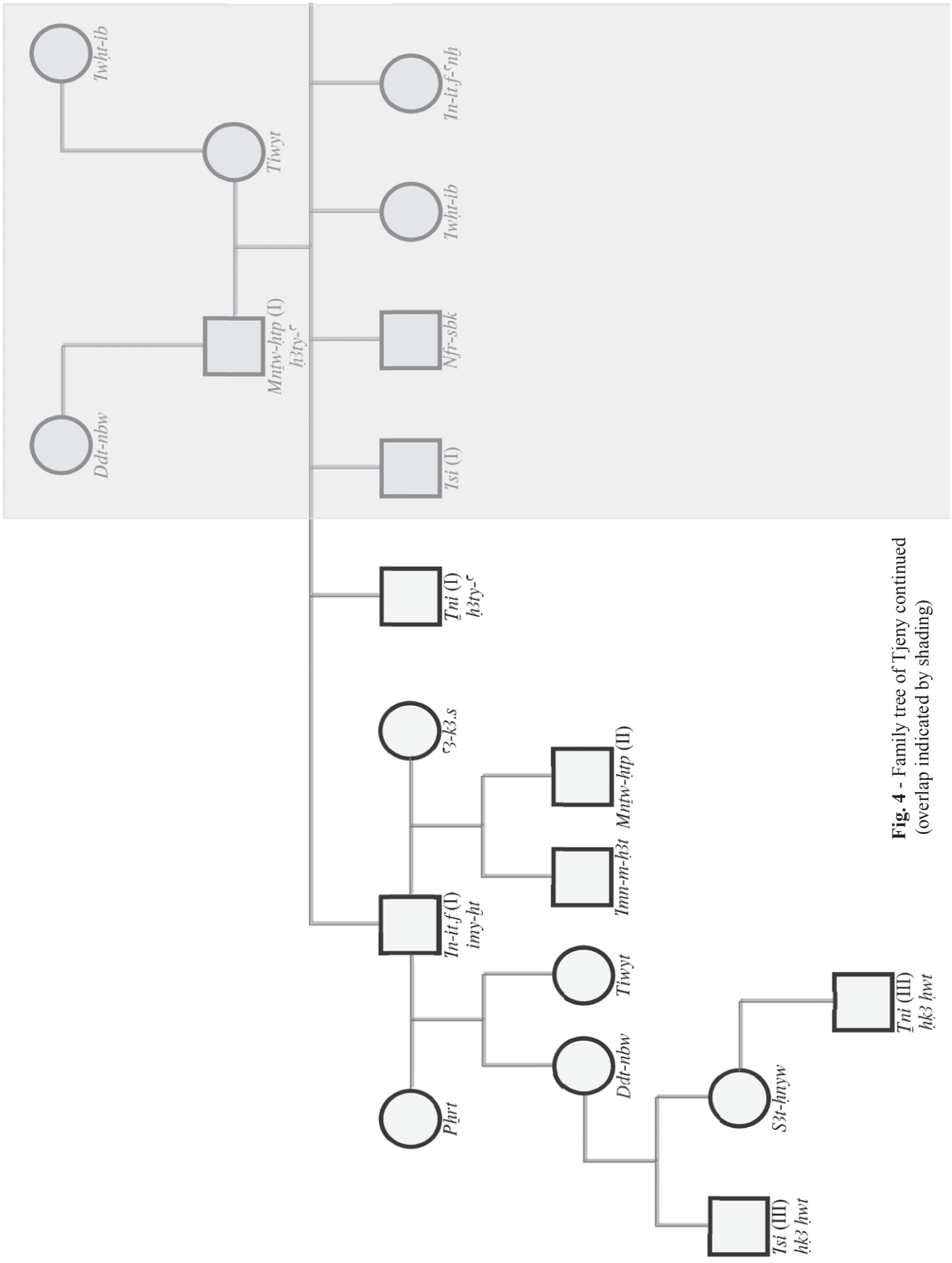

Fig. 4 - Family tree of Tjeny continued (overlap indicated by shading)

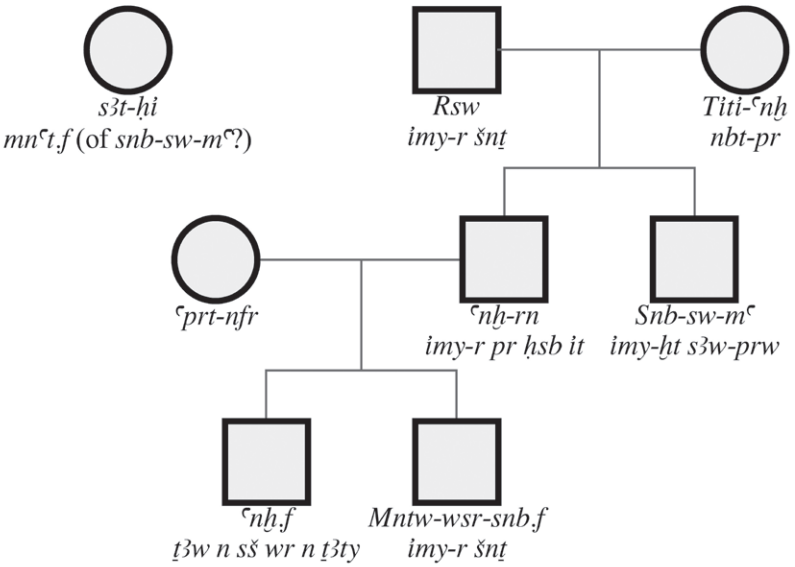

Fig. 5 - Family tree of Ankhren (based on names, titles, and relationships on stelae BM EA 208 and Oxford QC 1113 and on statue Richmond 65-10)

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Scribes of the Gods in the Coffin Texts

Rune Nyord

Abstract

Among the transformation spells in the Coffin Texts, where the deceased is transformed into various mythological beings, is a smaller group dealing specifically with becoming the "scribe" (sš) or "archivist" (iry-mḏ3t) of various gods with the largest number of spells being connected to the goddess Hathor. Drawing on a particularly rich collection of such spells on a coffin in Basel not previously translated as well as similar texts published in de Buck's Coffin Texts edition, this chapter examines the characteristic blend of ritual, mythological and ontological themes found in the texts, in order to elucidate the conceptual background of the notion of divine scribes. Translations of the spells for becoming a scribe of the gods and a typeset version of some of the 'new' spells are found in the appendices.

1. Introduction

A theme of relative importance in the Coffin Texts which has not received much attention in the past is that of the deceased 'becoming' (*ḫpr*) or 'being' (*wnn*) the scribe of a particular god. Clearly related to the wider group of transformation spells,[1] the notion of becoming the scribe of a god presents an interesting case of transference of a social structure from human life to the religious world. The figure of the scribe[2] made it possible to combine a number of salient mythological and ritual themes, and the extant spells dealing with this notion show a wide range of associated ideas, some remarkably clear and simple and others highly obscure.

The paper begins with narrowing down the concept of a scribe of the gods by presenting some the interpretations put forward in the past along with a preliminary analysis of the relationship between scribe and deity in the texts (section 2). A small group of manuscripts, one of which was not included in de Buck's edition of the Coffin Texts, attest to the particular importance within the group of scribe spells of the notion of becoming a scribe of Hathor. The relatively large number of spells attesting to this notion, many of which are clearly related and draw on a shared body of phraseology, makes it worthwhile to go through the individual themes related to the scribe of Hathor in some detail, and section 3 presents the results of this analysis. The following sections discuss the characteristic features of the smaller number of spells dealing with the scribe of other gods and places, namely Re-Atum (section 4), the Field of Offerings (section 5), Thoth (section 6), Re (section 7), the great god (section 8) and Khonsu (section 9). Finally, section 10 summarises the results of the previous sections and presents some considerations of the wider relevance of the scribe spells. Two appendices present the data of the study. Appendix A contains translations of all the Coffin Texts spells directly or indirectly connected to the scribal theme, while Appendix B provides the hieroglyphic text of two scribal spells not included in de Buck's edition of the Coffin Texts, and one where the addition of a 'new' copy of a spell allows significant new insights into the structure and contents of the spell.

2. What is a scribe of the gods?

The notion of scribes in the divine world as evidenced by the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts has been discussed by S. Schott who collected and presented the relevant material.[3] Schott points out that the idea of the deceased taking over the role as scribe of Re is found already in the Pyramid Texts,[4] where we also find the earliest example

[1] For the Coffin Texts see Buchberger, *Transformation und Transformat. Sargtextstudien 1*. The phenomenon as it appears in the Book of the Dead has been most recently discussed by Servajean, *Formules des transformations*.

[2] For the scribal office in general, see conveniently the collection of references to earlier literature in Piacentini, *Les scribes dans la societé égyptienne de l'Ancient Empire,* vol. I, 18-20.

[3] Schott, *JEA* 54, 45-50.

[4] In most detail in Spell 309 reading "N is the clerk (*ḏḥ3i*) of the gods, in charge of the mansion of Re, born by Nehet-Netjeru (perhaps Her-whom-the-Gods-Beseech) who is in the prow

of threats of destroying the writing implements of hostile or rivalling beings. Thus, at the end of PT 476, the deceased king is poised to take over the position of his predecessor: "Scribe, Scribe! Break your palette (*mnḥḏ*), snap your pair of reeds (*ʿrwy*), tear up your documents (*mḏ3wt*)! Re, remove him from his position and place N in his position, so that N may shine bright carrying the forked staff".[5] Such threats proliferate in the Coffin Texts corpus, especially in connection with the threatening bird-beings Gebga and Seqed.[6]

Schott regarded the presence and roles of scribes in the 'Hereafter' ultimately as a relatively straightforward case of a projection of earthly affairs into the religious sphere:

> Daß im Jenseits Schreiber wirken, konnte der Ägypter auf Grund irdischer Erfahrungen voraussetzen. Er mußte annehmen, daß auch die Götter über Behörden mit Beamten, Büros und Archiven verfügen[7]

There is no doubt that many of the details of the divine scribes in social and material culture terms are modelled on aspects of daily life as Schott suggests, but it is also clear that the detailed conceptions underlying the texts go far beyond such a one-to-one projection, and that scribes have come to play a distinct role in the divine pantheon and cosmology.

In his monograph on *shabti* figurines published a decade after Schott's article, H. Schneider touches upon the spells with scribal theme, seeing them ultimately in connection with the wish to avoid menial labour after death.[8] Thus, to Schneider the purpose of becoming a scribe in the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts is directly related to the corollary ability to control, and personal exemption from, such tasks.

Across the whole corpus of the Coffin Texts, the notion of a scribe of the gods occurs a number of times, making it possible to make some general observations about the concept. One of the first things that become apparent is that the concept is always a relational one: being a scribe of god X is primarily an expression of a particular relationship to the god in question. Thus in the spells for becoming the scribe of Hathor, discussed in detail in section 3 below, this identity is repeatedly connected to performing the cultic service of that goddess and 'being in the suite of Hathor'. In a similar way, spell B from M1Bas, labelled '**Becoming the archivist of Re (**(*i*)*r*(*y*)-*mḏ3t n rʿ***)**' (see below), begins with the words "I have come to you, O Re, so that you may appoint me as […]", thus affirming the connection between proximity to the god and the status as scribe.

Apart from this connection with cultic service and the corollary divine proximity, there is evidence that the role of the scribe of a god can be notionally identified with that of the son of the god in question, thus showing a very close association between the two. Thus, at least in the one Theban manuscript of the spell,[9] CT 252 is explicitly understood to bring about the speaker's identity as 'the scribe of Re-Atum'.[10] In mythological allusions in the spell, however, the speaker clearly identifies neither with Re-Atum himself nor with a cultic or administrative role as his scribe, but rather as Re-Atum's son Shu when he searched for Tefnut: "I am the Great One seeking the Great Lady. I have come to seek that beard of Re-Atum, which was taken away on that day of rebellion".[11] Thus, the role of the 'scribe of Re-Atum' is actually achieved in this spell by the mythological identification with Re-Atum's son.

In some cases, the intimate relation between deity and scribe can become so close as to apparently making the two coincide. Thus, CT 253 carries the heading '**Becoming the scribe of the Lord of All (***nb tm***)**'[12], and the speaker refers to his "acting on behalf of my lord" (*ir=i ḥr nb=i*)[13] in a passage probably referring to the cyclical appearance and withdrawal of the god. In the final line of the spell, however, the speaker says "I will have returned at the first day of the year and appeared as the Lord of All" (*ḫʿ.kwi m nb tm*),[14] thus showing that the service and assistance to the god provided by the scribe has become so closely entangled with god's manifestation that the speaker has himself become a manifestation of his lord. In a similar way, CT 252 just referred to is labelled in T3C '**Becoming the scribe of Re-Atum**',[15] a notion which is affirmed in the spell itself as "I shall be the scribe of Re-Atum".[16] However, the two extant

of the bark of Re. N will sit in his presence, N will open his chests, N will unseal his decrees, N will seal his documents. N will send out his tireless messengers, and N will do what he tells N" (*Pyr.* 490a-491d [309]). Despite having clear responsibility for the documents of the sun-god, the deceased is not identified explicitly as a 'scribe' in this spell. The title *ḏḥ3i*, occurring only here, is apparently a nisbe from the root *ḏḥ3* "deliver" or sim., so that the designation of the deceased here may identify him more specifically as a clerk in charge of registering incoming deliveries.

[5] *Pyr.* 954a-955d [476].

[6] See Schott, *JEA* 54, 47-9 for the references.

[7] *Op. cit.*, 49.

[8] Schneider, *Shabtis*, vol. I, 34-6.

[9] See below for the the Siut version of this spell, which gives the spell a slightly different nuance.

[10] CT III, 351d; 352e [252].

[11] CT III, 352b-d [252], *cf.* Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 239f. For the mythological situation, see Kees, *ZÄS* 60, 6.

[12] CT III, 353a [253].

[13] CT III, 356c-d [253].

[14] CT III, 356f [253].

[15] CT III, 351d [252].

[16] CT III, 352e [252].

titles of this spell from S1C gives the title instead as '**Becoming Re-Atum**'[17], which, in the light of CT 253, may be more than just an error of omission.

3. 'Scribe of Hathor' spells

Spells dealing with the identity as a scribe of the gods show a wide geographical distribution (see Appendix A for the geographical distribution of each spell), and are rarely found in longer sequences devoted to this theme. A significant exception to the latter observation is found in three extant collections of spells mostly dealing with becoming a 'scribe of Hathor', but also including spells associated with scribes of other gods. These three sequences are closely similar without being identical, and are found in pGardiner III[18] as well as on two coffins from Meir (M22C[19] and M1Bas). The two former sources were included in de Buck's edition of the Coffin Texts, while the latter, belonging to one Henenet probably from Meir[20] was published by Günther Lapp in 1985.[21] This coffin contains new parallels for a number of the spells published by de Buck, as well as certain 'new' spells that do not have any parallels in de Buck's corpus. The inscriptions are damaged in a number of places, and this, along with the fairly 'minimalistic' manner of its publication with only a facsimile and an identification of known Coffin Texts parallels, may have contributed to the coffin being quite rarely referred to in the literature, despite the potential interest of its inscriptions.[22]

The spell sequence on M1Bas which is of particular interest for the present purposes is found at the right end of the back or west side of the coffin.[23] The sequence begins with two 'new' spells, labelled '**Becoming the scribe of Thoth**' and '**Becoming the archivist of Re**', respectively (Spells A and B in the appendices), followed by a copy of CT 539 ('**Becoming the scribe of Hathor**'), a badly preserved new spell without rubric (Spell D), followed by a sequence of known spells: CT 545, 543, 533 (all connected to Hathor), 253 ('**Becoming the scribe of the Lord of All**') and 329 ('**Becoming the scribe of the Field of Offerings**'). Before moving on to other, unrelated themes, the sequence ends with a set of individual phrases giving relatively obscure names of writing implements, a badly preserved parallel to which was included in de Buck's edition as the end of CT 545.

Along with the two collections included in de Buck's edition, the 'new' sequence from M1Bas offers an excellent point of departure for examining the conception of divine scribes in the Coffin Texts. The texts are translated sequentially in Appendix A, and a few of the 'new' spells from M1Bas are reproduced in Appendix B. In the present section, a synthesis of each of the main themes found in the 'scribe of Hathor' spells will be given.

3.1. Control over scribal implements

In two of the spells from this group, the scribe's control over divine scribal implements is stressed, in both cases connected directly to the knowledge of their names. In CT 540, attested in M22C only, the passage in question begins by presenting the speaker's scribal implements as being held, and thus presumably used, by one or more other beings.[24] The pronouns appear to be slightly confused in the passage in question, which unfortunately makes it unclear whether it is Hathor herself[25] or the group of subservient deities mentioned previously in the spell[26] that are cast in this role. The palette appears in the singular, and the MS consistently has the pronoun in the singular as well, so the former is perhaps the more likely solution.[27]

Following on from this somewhat obscure passage is a clearer statement of the relationship of the speaker to the divine writing implements:

[17] CT III, 351d [252].
[18] Chicago OIM 14059-87.
[19] Cairo JE 42828.
[20] The textual tradition of the coffin points towards a Meir provenance (*cf.* Jürgens, *Grundlinien einer Überlieferungsgeschichte der altägyptischen Sargtexte*, 37, n. 118), but on the basis of the decoration typology, a Beni Hasan provenance might also be possible, *cf.* the discussion of this question in Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, 45f, n. 25.
[21] Lapp, *Särge des Mittleren Reiches*, 5-7, pl. 5-11 and 35-7. It was included in the typologies of Willems, *Chests of life*, 34 as X1Bas, and in that of Lapp, *Typologie der Särge und Sargkammern*, 288f as M*30.
[22] E.g. Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, 457 notes that a copy of CT 207 occurs on this coffin, but does not otherwise refer to this version. The copy of the spell for the *ibhȝty* serpent on M1Bas was recently added to the known corpus of copies of this spell by Lapp, *SAK* 40, 275-86.
[23] Lapp, *Särge des Mittleren Reiches*, pl. 36, ll. 1-24 from the right (unnumbered in the publication). For convenience, references to this text are given in the format M1Bas B 1-24 whenever this MS is referred to.
[24] CT VI, 135q-r [540]: "May my writings be on her (/their) thighs, and my palette in her (/their) armpit".
[25] Thus Carrier, *Textes des Sarcophages*, vol. II, 1287.
[26] Thus Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, vol. II, 158, n. 5 ad loc.
[27] In which case the role of the scribal implements could perhaps be compared with that of the *ṯstn*-garment, which the deceased both "gives to" (CT VI, 53d [483]; 56e [484]) and "ties for" (CT VI, 63f [485]; 63k; 64n; 65j [486]) the goddess (though B2L has consistently the reverse division of roles), as well as being "worn" by the deceased himself (CT VI, 55a [484]), an ambiguity which probably serves to effect the cultic identity between the goddess and the ritualist (for the ritual setting of these ideas, *cf.* Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult*, 126).

> I have received those four wands and pens of Maat, which are doubly great, greater than the sky and the earth, received from her fingers, moistened […] with me myself. Now the gods who are in their tribunal are august when they see that one who swallows his interior[28] carrying those four wands and pens [of Maat?]. Thus am I distinguished before all efficacious [scribes] of hers even <more than> all the great ones of their tribunal, who know the four wands and pens of Maat

Next follows a list of the names of the pens, consisting syntactically of a combination of nominalised relative clauses and finite main clauses.[29] The problem is to reconcile the number of these designations with the number of reed pens. The following is a reasonable suggestion:[30]

> I know them by their names: 'The one which brings perfection [… and] lets Maat enter', 'He calms the two combatants, he detests non-existence, he shall not see Isfet', 'The conveyor of the crew of Re, the great one in the sky and the earth', 'To whom come the gods […] the horizon bowing'. I know you, I know your names. I have come forth purified, with my plume on my […][31]

Here the pens occur in two roles, firstly as items which have been conferred on the speaker in connection with his being "distinguished before all efficacious scribes of hers [*i.e.* Hathor]", and further on they are personified and addressed by name, whereby the speaker demonstrates his mastery over them. While the exact delineation is not entirely clear, the names elaborate on the indicated connection to Maat by showing a range of functions in relation to cosmic order in maintaining Maat and the solar cycle.

The importance of knowing the names of the scribal implements is found again at the end of CT 545 as edited by de Buck. In his edition,[32] this part of the spell is based on a fragmentary passage in M22C as the only witness, making the text very difficult to understand or even to make out its overall structure. The passage in question is paralleled, however, in a series of short spells transmitted separately in M1Bas. The latter MS makes it clear that the broken lines in M22C were originally conceived as a series of designations of scribal implements, and further shows that the structure conjectured by de Buck was not always correct. Even with the improved textual basis (see Appendix B), the text remains highly obscure, and unlike the very straightforward mythological designations of the pens in CT 540 just discussed, many of the names here are unparalleled and difficult to understand, partly due to the peculiar tendency to write out the names using only single-consonant signs providing little clue to either the semantics or the internal division (if any) of the names. The latter unusual orthographic practice is reminiscent first of all of the names found in the serpent spells in the Pyramid Texts,[33] a group of spells which does not however provide any exact parallels for the names and epithets occurring in our spell, although determinatives do indicate that at least some of the entities were conceived as having a serpent form.

The specifics of these philological problems are discussed in the textual notes to the translation in Appendix A. Tentative though it is, the following translation still offers significant improvements over those previously available, simply by being able to draw on the better preserved version of M1Bas:

> **Spell of the palette:** The concealer of the Great Lady sees me. The palette has dipped you. Lead, O Hentju, the one whom you have begotten, Maat. Acclaim(?) yourself, for you have begotten Maat. [Knowing the na]me of the palette of the god in order to write with it
> **Spell of the ink:** Long One of Henat, Long One of Henbet, may you save me from the wetter of Ha and of Hu. Knowing the name of the ink
> **Spell of the charcoal:** The beans(?) of Abab is the name of the charcoal
> **Spell of the two reed pens:** The … of Hu and Neha. Knowing the name of the reed pens
> **Spell of the cup:** Her water has been given to him, collected in a cup for her sake(?). Knowing the name of the cup

Obscure as they are, the overall structure of the spells for the scribal implements offers a few clues to their meaning. In M22C, each of the short spells is followed by the words "Knowing the name of the X", except in the case of the charcoal where the verb *rḫ* is omitted, resulting in a nominal sentence to much the same effect,

[28] *Cf.* Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 100 for this expression.
[29] *Pace* Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, vol. II, 158 n. 12 ad loc., who emends to 1st person pronouns both in cases where no pronouns are found in the text and where the text has 3rd person pronouns.
[30] As mentioned in the previous note, Faulkner did not see these phrases as names and thus did not have the problem of separating them. Barguet, *Textes des Sarcophages*, 538f (followed by Carrier, *Textes des Sarcophages*, vol. II, 1286f) solves the problem of the number of names by separating the phrases into actual names (marked by hyphens) followed by descriptive epithets that do not count as separate names. The exact delineation can clearly only be a conjecture based on the thematic fit between the designations.
[31] CT VI, 135u-136q [540].
[32] CT VI, 141k-142f [545].
[33] See most recently Steiner, *Early Northwest Semitic Serpent Spells*, who suggests that the 'incomprehensible' parts of the serpent spells, including the serpent names, may be renderings of Northwest Semitic words and phrases in Egyptian hieroglyphs.

"The beans(?) of Abab is the name of the charcoal".[34] In the case of the palette, this postscript explicitly shows that the purpose of knowing the name is to allow the person to use the scribal implement, and it is likely that this underlying idea can be extended to the other spells as well.[35] In this way, while the details differ widely, the broader ideas underlying the two passages dealing with the names of the scribal implements may well be very similar.

Under this heading belongs also a reference to the writings of the "scribe of the altars of Hathor" being located "in the Two Fields of Offerings of Hathor".[36] This location occurs only this once in the scribe spells connected with Hathor, but plays a central role in the group of spells connected to Thoth and Osiris to be discussed in section 5 (see below).

3.2. Journeys

A recurring concern in the group of spells is that of travelling from one place to another, which can be broadly separated into travels made by the speaker,[37] often stressing his free movement and access to restricted places, on the one hand, and the travels of gods and other beings to meet the scribe on the other, where it is the power and respect of the latter that is at issue. Occasionally the two themes are combined, so that the speaker is met by a group of beings said to "come to" him, who subsequently grant him access, for example in the beginning of CT 540:

> The sky and the earth come to me, their great ones, the chief gods come to me. They open for me the unapproachable roads […][38]

In general, the setting of this granting of access seems to be a celestial locale, which can be described in various terms. Mostly a set of 'doors' or 'gates' being opened is referred to, designated either as "the doors of Penedned/Pedenden",[39] "this gate which Hathor made",[40] "doors in the horizon"[41] or a variety of references to "doors of Re" involving the numbers three and four.[42] The doors are said to be opened, either by a group of subservient beings as in the passage from the beginning of CT 540 just cited, or once by the speaker himself,[43] though in most cases, it is not specified exactly who opens them. The beneficiary is either the speaker or in a single case "my mistress Hathor".[44]

In many cases, the purpose of opening the doors, thereby granting access for the speaker, is not specified or shown by the context. In CT 533, the statement about open doors is clearly situated in the context of carrying out cultic services for Hathor and Re-Atum, and after his claim of opening the doors, the speaker says "I traverse the great house of Hathor",[45] so that at least in this case the doors referred to seem to be those of a temple or shrine of Hathor. Occasional references to the 'horizon' in this connection[46] may well be understood in the same way, as indicated for instance by the statement "I perform the recitation for their offerings inside the horizon of Hathor".[47]

In the beginning of CT 540, the theme of the opened doors is followed by the speaker's claiming the thrones

[34] CT VI, 142c-d [545] = M1Bas B 22.

[35] Knowledge of the name and nature of objects and entities as precondition for mastering them is known from several other contexts in the Coffin Texts, most pertinently the ferryboat (*cf.* Bickel, in Bickel, Mathieu (eds.), *D'un monde à l'autre*, 91-117), fishing/fowling nets (Bidoli, *Die Sprüche der Fangnetze*), and the counting of fingers (Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, 170 with further refs.).

[36] CT IV, 47g [295].

[37] On this general theme, *cf.* Jacq, *Le voyage dans l'Autre Monde selon l'Égypte ancienne*.

[38] CT VI, 135b-d [540].

[39] CT VI, 137d [541], *cf.* the traces in VI, 140b, with n. 3. For the word, derived from the root *pnḏ*, see Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. II, 78.1456-7.

[40] CT VI, 48b [295].

[41] CT VI, 138e [543].

[42] CT IV, 48c [295]: "The third of the gates of Re is thrown open"; CT VI, 140b [545], "these three and four gates of Re". *Cf.* CT II, 124e [110]: "the three […] of the horizon are opened to me". Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, 354 (following Derchain, *CdE* 27, 363f), suggests that the 'Third One' in this connection be understood as a reference to Hathor who then comes to function as subject for the act of opening. While very attractive in the light of passages such as CT IV, 177e [332], where Hathor explicitly says "I am the Third One" (*ḫmt-nwt*), there are a few problems with this interpretation. First, in the two instances where the ending of the numeral *ḫmt-nw* is preserved in the passages referring to the opening of doors (CT IV, 48c [295] B1C, B2L), it is masculine, rather than the expected feminine as in CT 332 (a problem also noted by Derchain, *CdE* 27, 364). Secondly, the passive verb form in CT II, 124e [110], *sn=t(w)* precludes the possibility of understanding *ḫmt-nw* as subject in that particular passage. It would thus require more than one emendation to bring the texts in line with the interpretation of 'the Third One' as a reference to Hathor as subject. Since the other parallel passages not containing the word *ḫmt-nw* generally have the verbs of opening clearly in the passive (as no subject is present), and in one case Hathor even occurs as the beneficiary rather than the agent of the act of opening, it seems preferable to accept the wording of the texts, although the exact significance of the numbers of the gates thus remains unclear.

[43] CT VI, 130e-f [533].

[44] CT VI, 137d-e [541].

[45] CT VI, 130e-g [533].

[46] CT VI, 137e [541]; 138e [543]; 141e [545].

[47] CT VI, 128d-129a [533], *cf.* Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult*, 148, n. 7.

in two boats which are said to come to him.[48] Before this passage is found one in which the speaker addresses Geb, telling him to look as the speaker "grows inside the egg and breaks out of it",[49] and the reference to the boats leads directly on to the theme of the speaker's promotion before all other scribes of Hathor's and the associated mastery over the writing implements as discussed above.

A separate set of phrases also falling under the 'Journey' heading deal with movement of the speaker through the cosmos, in both cases following directly after phrases in which the speaker claims to be leading groups of animals (see section 3.4 below).[50] The passages consist of a series of phrases each containing a verb followed by a location, but there is some variation in the precise combinations:

	Shu	Aker	Firmament (*i3dw*)	Sunlight (*i3ḫw*)	Iasu	Circuit (*šnt*)	Broken
Pluck out (*fd*)	CT VI, 131c [533] M6C						
Traverse (*š3s*)	M1Bas B 10 [545] CT VI, 140f [545] M22C	M1Bas B 16 [533] CT VI, 131d [533] M23C	CT VI, 141a [545] M22C CT VI, 341l [710]			CT VI, 341k [710]	CT VI, 140f [545] P.Gard.III-IV
Make firm (*smn*)		CT VI, 131d [533] M6C					
Stride over (*nmt*)		M1Bas B 10 [545] CT VI, 140f [545] M22C	M1Bas B 16 [533]	CT VI, 140f [545] M22C		CT VI, 341k [710]	
Climb (*ḫfd*)	CT VI, 140f [545] M22C			CT VI, 341m [710]			
Reach (*pḥ*)			CT VI, 141a [545] M22C		CT VI, 140f [545] P.Gard.IV		
Broken	M1Bas B 16 [533] CT VI, 140f [545] P.Gard.IV	CT VI, 140f [545] P.Gard.IV	M1Bas B 10 [545]				

Table 1 - Phraseology of the speaker traversing cosmos in CT 533, 545 and 710

The general picture is thus one of the speaker travelling through the cosmos as represented by various cosmic deities. The most glaring departure from this characterisation is the reference in M6C to "plucking out Shu" (*fd=i šw*), but in light of the parallels and the overall theme, this seems to be a straightforward misunderstanding of the phrase "I climb Shu" (*ḫfd=i šw*).[51] The presence in one MS of the verb *smn*, "make firm"[52] is slightly less easy to explain, but in connection to Aker it makes good sense as a reinterpretation away from movement through the cosmos towards the theme of establishment of cosmic order.

While the speaker consistently stresses his own activity in these phrases, the addition in CT 710 at the end of the words "in the suite of Hathor"[53] shows that the travels described here can be understood as forming part of a procession of Hathor, rather than being travels the speaker undertakes on his own.

3.3. Being in the suite of Hathor

Most of the spells in the group stress in one way or another the speaker's being a member of the suite of Hathor,[54] often accompanied by other related themes, and in several instances following directly on from the theme of the granting of access by opening doors just discussed. The most frequent expressions of this wish in the spells are the repeated lines "How perfect! Would that I were there"[55] and "I shall be in the suite of Hathor"[56] (and the corresponding spell title 'Being in the suite of Hathor'[57]) or "I shall be there together with

[48] CT VI, 135h-l [540], *cf*. Roeder, *Studien zur Semantik der Herrschaft*, 188-94 for the theme of enthronement in the bark in the mortuary texts.
[49] CT VI, 135g [540].
[50] CT VI, 131c-e [533] and CT VI, 140f-141b [545].
[51] CT VI, 140f [545] (M22C).
[52] CT VI, 131d [533] (M6C).
[53] CT VI, 341m [710].
[54] *Cf*. Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult*, 122-4.
[55] CT IV, 48d [295]; CT VI, 139c [545]. Other versions add "with (my mistress) Hathor" (CT II, 124f [110]), "in the suite of Hathor" (CT VI, 141b* [545]), or "under the foliage of the *iṯnws*-tree" (CT II, 120a [107]).
[56] CT IV, 48e [295]; CT VI, 138e [543] (several times), *cf*. the parallel in M1Bas B 11-12.
[57] CT VI, 138d [543]. *Cf*. also CT VI, 209j [588] which is lost in the only *Coffin Texts* version of this spell (T1L), but the later version in BD 103 carries the title '**Being in the suite of Hathor**' (also strongly indicated by the presence of the

my mistress Hathor under the foliage of the *iṯnws*-tree".[58]

Closely connected to this theme is that of the reception of the speaker by Hathor by extending her arms to the former, which is said to take place "under the foliage[59] of the *iṯnws*-tree",[60] but can also be connected more generally with the performance of the cult of the goddess.[61] Another associated theme is that of "eating hidden things and chewing *nšnw*", a set of acts which are often explicitly located either "in the suite of Hathor"[62] or "under the foliage of the *iṯnws*-tree".[63]

The identity of the *iṯnws*-tree is not entirely clear,[64] but the phraseological variation just cited shows clearly that we can equate the location under the branches of the tree with the cultic or cosmic proximity to the goddess Hathor. Despite the corrupted writings, there is little doubt that the same tree is also referred to in the hymnic account of the solar cycle in CT 1029, where the regeneration of the sun is couched in the following terms: "May you count your bones and gather your body parts, may you turn your face towards the perfect West, so that you may return anew every day, for you are that perfect image of gold which is under the foliage of the *iṯnwt*-tree".[65] Closely connected with this notion of the tree as a place of regeneration, in CT 1012, labelled '**Not eating faeces in the necropolis**' and thus connected to the overall theme of access to proper food,[66] the deceased answers the question of what he will live on inter alia by saying 'I will eat the tops of the *i3rw*-rushes and the tops of the *i3rwt*-rushes under the foliage of the *iṯnws*-tree'.[67]

The object or substance *nšnw* known only from this context in the Coffin Texts is not straightforward to understand either. Apart from a single possible, but not particularly likely occurrence in a different context,[68] the word is found only in the scribe of Hathor spells as something eaten by the speaker.[69] In the certain occurrences, the word is mostly written purely phonetically with no determinative except plural strokes, thus providing no clue to its meaning, though a single occurrence shows the pellet determinative ( ) followed by plural strokes,[70] while a damaged passage parallel to CT 543 in M1Bas shows the traces ,[71] which may have been a kind of container. The determinatives thus do not offer much help in identifying the meaning of the word. Such as it is, the evidence does not offer much support for the otherwise tempting connection to the word *nšn*, "bird offering"[72] assumed by Hannig,[73] while a type of grain as suggested by Barguet[74] remains a possibility. The latter understanding also seems generally compatible with the other type of foodstuff connected to the *iṯnws*-tree as discussed above, namely the "tops of (or what is upon) the rushes".[75] In all cases, the word occurs as object of the verb *sdb*, often translated with "chew",[76] but actually able to cover the ingestion of both solid and liquid aliments or medicine,[77] and thus not of any particular help in narrowing down the meaning of *nšnw*. It is also worth noting that a somewhat corrupted version of this phrase in CT 710 from Bersheh adds "living fowl and fish" to the usual *nšnw* and "secret things" said to be eaten in the proximity of Hathor.[78]

One final possibility is that the word *nšnw* is to be connected to the one written *nḫnw* occasionally connected to the cult of Hathor. In the Coffin Texts, this word occurs in two passages, one reading "I have eaten the *sšt*[79] and witnessed the *nḫnw*-offering (det.) in the temple of Hathor",[80] and the other very similarly as answer to the question "On what will you live?" gives the answer "This N will live on the *sšt*[81] and *nḫnw* (det.) on which Hathor and her Horus live".[82] While these passages are not particularly revealing when it comes

phrase in CT VI, 209m [588]).

[58] CT VI, 140d [545].

[59] Lit. "hair" (*sm3*), *cf*. Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 239, with n. 2303.

[60] CT VI, 138a-b [542].

[61] CT VI, 129c [533], *cf*. Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult*, 124.

[62] CT VI, 137f [541]; 141b [545].

[63] CT VI, 138e* [543]; 140e [545]. For Hathor's close connection to this tree, *cf*. further CT III, 1e; CT VI, 330s [696].

[64] Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult*, 105-9, *cf*. Hannig, *Lexica* 5, vol. I, 441; van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 61, and the remarks by Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, vol. III, 127, n. 8.

[65] CT VII, 255b-256a [1029].

[66] *Cf*. Topmann, *'Abscheu'-Sprüche* and for this particular spell, *ibid*., 201-5.

[67] CT VII, 129a-c [1012]. The tree occurs in a similar context in CT III, 87c [186].

[68] CT V, 296a [440], *cf*. de Buck's notes 2, 4 and 5.

[69] CT VI, 137f [541]; 137i [542]; 138e [543]; 140e; 141b [545].

[70] CT VI, 137i [542].

[71] M1Bas B 12.

[72] Wb II, 340, 8, *cf*. Derchain-Urtel, *GM* 6, 51.

[73] Hannig, *Lexica* 5, vol. I, 1349.

[74] Barguet, *Textes des Sarcophages*, 538f, "graines-*nšnw*", followed by Carrier, *Textes des Sarcophages*, vol. II, 1291, 1293 and 1295, "graines-néchénou".

[75] CT VII, 129a-c [1012].

[76] E.g. Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, vol. II, 159f; Barguet, *Textes des Sarcophages*, 538f and Carrier, *Textes des Sarcophages*, vol. II, 1290-5 ("mâcher"); van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 587.

[77] von Deines, Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Drogennamen*, vol. II, 825 s.v. *sdb*, "einnehmen".

[78] CT VI, 341g-i [710].

[79] Det. / , *cf*. the *sšt3*, "hidden things" occurring in parallel with *nšnw* in CT VI, 137f [541]; 137i [542]; 140e; 141b [545].

[80] CT IV, 47a-b [294].

[81] Det. , *cf*. n. 79 above.

[82] CT VI, 284m-n [660].

to the exact identification of the substances involved, the connection with temple sacrifices and the corollary notion that Hathor lives on them indicate that the proximity of the speaker with the goddess also entails partaking in her offerings. This connection is further corroborated by the fact that we find *nḫnw* as an offering to Hathor and other goddesses in certain New Kingdom temple scenes (the state of preservation of which does not, unfortunately, make them particularly helpful for identifying the offering).[83]

3.4. Leading animals

A passage making reference to the speaker's leading two groups of animals occurs in three of the scribe of Hathor spells (see the Table 2 for details and references). The overall pattern is one where the speaker claims to "lead" or "control" a group of animals "together with" (*ḫnꜥ*) a particular god. The notion of leading animals further occurs in a single place outside of the scribe of Hathor spells in a passage from CT 107 which shares a significant portion of the phraseology with this group of spells. The spell is labelled '**Recitation: Coming forth by day**'[84] and combines various mythological themes of judgment and free movement. The passage paralleling the scribe of Hathor spells[85] reads:

> I am Re of this day, I am Horus inside his eye. How much better it is with me today than yesterday! How perfect! Would that I [were there] under the foliage of the *iṯnws*-tree.[86] Together with Thoth I protect the jackal, together with the Lord of Upper Egypt I protect the *ꜣḫ*-animal. The gates of Degneg[87] are opened for me, the gates of the horizon are thrown open for me[88]

After this passage, which is clearly connected to the themes and phraseology of the scribe of Hathor spells, follows a series of less obviously connected mythological identifications before the spell ends with a brief address to a being called Dau.[89] The different context of this particular passage thus does not help much in itself towards clarifying the meaning of the statements, but it does add another example, so that we can make an overview of the occurrences of the phrase (see Table 2).

The emerging pattern shows that the reference to *sꜥḥw*, "dignitaries" in CT II, 124g [110] is most likely to be emended to *ꜣḫw*, "*ꜣḫ*-animals" in accordance with the parallels. Such an error could easily be explained as the result of a misunderstanding of an ideographic writing of the Seth-animal as the *sꜥḥ*-ideogram (*cf.* the clearly goat-like determinative of *ꜣḫ* in CT II, 120c [107]), which was then explicated by the copyist by adding the phonetic complements.

We are thus faced with a general scenario where the speaker takes on the role of helping (either leading, controlling or protecting) the two groups of animals, each associated with another god as well, the jackals typically with Thoth (1 and 4) and the *ꜣḫ*-animals with Re-Atum (2 and 4), although the "Lord of Upper Egypt" occurs twice breaking this pattern (associated with the *ꜣḫ*-animals in 1 and the jackals in 2), while passage 3 ascribes both groups of animals to a "Lord of the Entourage".

The role of the two groups of animals is not clarified further in the Coffin Texts passages, but from the context alone one would expect their role to be one of maintaining cosmic order, a task which the speaker then oversees or assists along with the other gods referred to. This general idea is corroborated by later evidence where jackals and *ꜣḫ*-animals occur occasionally in the role of dragging the solar boat or otherwise assisting the solar circuit in both text[90] and image.[91]

3.5. Addressing other beings

Most of the scribe of Hathor spells are spoken in the general 'performative' style of transformation spells that

[83] Beaux, *La chapelle d'Hathor*, vol. III, pl. 12 (= Naville, *The shrine of Hathor*, pl. 102) and Caminos, *The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen*, vol. II, 17 and pl. 21. *Cf.* the remarks on this offering by Davies, *JEA* 65, 188, and most recently the synthesis in Beaux, *Chapelle d'Hathor*, vol. I, 49-51, who argues in favour of an identity between the variously written words.
[84] CT II, 118a [107].
[85] Especially CT 110, for which this passage provides an almost exact parallel.
[86] The word is written as *itn*, "sun disk" in S1C, while G2T has *itn=s*, "her sun disk". The mention of "foliage" and the parallelism with the phraseology discussed above leave little doubt that this is a corruption.
[87] S1C has "the gates of the Duat and Degneg".
[88] CT II, 119j-120e [107].
[89] CT II, 120f-i [107].
[90] E.g. the solar hymn in the Harris Magical Papyrus (pBM EA 10042), rto. 5,3-5,5: "You alight on this mountain which is in the Silent Land, while the overlords praise you, the Seth-animal praising you, and the crew of jackals who drag your boat in the hidden mountain receive you" (Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri*, pl. 16). The same situation probably also underlies another magical spell, pLeiden I 348, rto. 4,9, reading "The front part (of the enemy causing headache) is for the jackals, the hind part is for the Seth-animals of Re, who put these on the fire" (Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, pl. 4, *cf.* Leitz, *GM* 98, 55-60 for this interpretation).
[91] *Cf.* the material collected by Heerma van Voss, *JEA* 41, 127 and Leitz, *GM* 98, 56, n. 8 (and p. 59 fig.). I am grateful to Carlos Gracia Zamacona for the intriguing suggestion that the role of these animals may be partly 'emblematic' in the sense of recalling the verbs of movement *sꜣb*, "flow forth" and *ꜣḫs*, "traverse", in a broadly similar way to the oxyrhynchus-fish (K4, phon. *ḫꜣ*) standing for *ḫꜣt*, "corpse" as discussed by Hornung, *Eranos Jahrbuch* 52, 455-96.

	Verb	Animal	God	Preceding theme	Following theme	Reference
1	*ḫwi*, "protect"	(*sꜣb*)	Thoth	Proximity to Hathor		II, 120b [107]
	ḫwi, "protect"	*šꜣ*	Lord of Upper Egypt		Opening of gates	II, 120c [107]
2	*sšm*, "lead"	[...] (P.Gard.III) *sᶜḥ* pl. (M22C)	Re-Atum / Atum	Proximity to Hathor		II, 124g [110]
	sšm, "lead"/ *ḫrp*, "control"	(*sꜣb*)	Lord of Upper Egypt		End of spell[a]	II, 124h [110]
3	*sšm*, "lead"	(*šꜣ?*) pl. (M6C)[b] (*šꜣ?*) (M23C) (*šꜣ*)[c] pl. (M1Bas)	Lord of the Entourage	Proximity to Hathor		VI, 131b [533]
	ḫrp, "control"	(*sꜣb*) pl. (M1Bas)	Lord of the Entourage		Traversing the cosmos	M1Bas B 16 (=VI, 131b* [533])
4	*ḫrp*, "control"	(*sꜣb*)	Thoth	Proximity to Hathor		M1Bas B 9 (=VI, 139e* [545])
	ḫrp, "control"	[…]	Re-Atum		Traversing the cosmos	M1Bas B 9-10 (=VI, 139e* [545])

Table 2 - Occurrences of 'leading animal' phrases in the Coffin Texts

[a] P.Gard.III only (*cf.* CT II, 124, n. 1 ad loc.). In M22C, the text continues without any mark of separation into CT 542, beginning with the identification "I am one of this sacred cattle of yours, O my mistress Hathor".
[b] Plural strokes, not the numeral 4, *pace* Leitz, *GM* 98, 57, n. 10. The writing with four strokes is the standard way of marking the plural in M6C*, cf.* e.g. the writing of *šmsw* in the same passage.
[c] Written ideographically, but the head and tail makes the identity of the animal clear.

does not specify any addressees. However, a few passages in the group of spells are explicitly marked as being addressed to particular beings.

Perhaps least surprisingly, Hathor herself is addressed once in CT 542, which consists otherwise of phraseology well-known in the 'scribe of Hathor' group.[92] This could indicate that the same speech situation should be taken as implicitly underlying some of the other spells in the group, especially since CT 542 combines the direct address of Hathor with the same kind of 3rd-person references to the goddess[93] that are found in many of the other spells. Direct address to Hathor is clearly found in CT 543 as well when the speaker asks to be "in your (fem.) suite".[94]

What seems to be only a brief address to the god Geb

[92] CT VI, 137h [542].
[93] CT VI, 138a [542].
[94] CT VI, 138e [543].

is found in the beginning of CT 540, where he is asked by the speaker to "see me, as I grow inside my egg and break out of it".[95] This theme is not elaborated further, and it is unclear whether the following longer passage about the two boats claimed by the deceased should also be understood as part of the address to Geb, as he is not asked to do anything further.

Another being addressed by the speaker in this group of spells is called *ꜥmꜥ*, written either as [ꜥ]*m*-ꜥ, "Arm-swallower",[96] or, in a related spell outside of the group, ꜥ-*m*-ꜥ, "Arm-in-Arm" or similar.[97] In both cases the being is asked to make way for the speaker who identifies himself as either the "Great One" (in CT 252), shown by the context to be a designation of Shu, or "the son of the Great One, whom Re has equipped daily" in CT 544. The latter spell proceeds immediately after this identification to address a female "possessor of perfect protection on the hands of Thoth",[98] to whom the speaker continues to relate a series of mythological identifications which are unfortunately too fragmentary to be of much help in elucidating the relationship between this goddess and the speaker.

In the beginning of CT 545, the speaker addresses a being called "you who are high on his Maat (var. on the Double Maat)" (*q33 ḥr mꜣꜥt=f/mꜣꜥty*) who is credited with having protected the speaker from a being called "Beqa (var. Beqa-Her) who is in his jar".[99] After a damaged and obscure phrase, the spell then proceeds with well-known 'scribe of Hathor' phraseology, thus offering another possible interpretation of the underlying speech situation.

Finally, the scribal implements are addressed directly as the deceased stresses his knowledge of their names, as detailed in section 3.1 (see above).

In summary, the scribe of Hathor spells offer addresses to a small number of different beings, several of which play the role of addressee of the characteristic phraseology of the spells. This leaves the impression that, apart from the specific and generally very brief requests made to some of the beings, the precise addressee of much of the general phraseology in the spells is not important. Given the general 'performative' nature of these utterances as alluded to above, this is not surprising – it is the very enunciation, not the listeners or their reactions that make these spells achieve their purpose.[100]

3.6. Access to food

Two exceptional spells (CT 208 and 211) are labelled '**Being a scribe of Hathor**'[101], but otherwise do not share any of the characteristic phraseology found in the rest of the group. Instead these two spells deal exclusively with the closely entangled themes of avoidance of excrement and urine and access to pure food.[102] Apart from the reference to the scribe of Hathor, CT 208 carries the further title '**Becoming the Bull of Heliopolis**', an epithet occurring among a number of other 'bull' designations in the context of avoidance of excrement and urine.[103] The two closely related spells present the well-known cosmic distribution of the "portions" (*ḫt*/*išt*) of the deceased between sky and earth and present the Day-bark and Night-bark as bringing sustenance for him daily.[104] Nothing in the spells helps elucidate why these spells in particular –very similar as they are to others treating the same theme– should be connected specifically with being the scribe of Hathor.

3.7. Cultic service

The theme of the speaker's cultic service for Hathor underlies all of the spells and many of the themes already discussed, but in a smaller number of cases, the cult becomes explicitly thematised. The most detailed such account comes from CT 533. The beginning of the spell presents the speaker with the obscure designation "the one who makes presentation with his head" followed by a series of general ritual titles.[105] After this first part of the spell follows a more concrete account of the ritual roles carried out by the speaker:

> I perform the recitation for their offerings inside the horizon of Hathor. I lead, I lead, the *wḫ*-standards to their places on the day of reckoning Maat. May Hathor extend her arms to me, I am her scribe whom she loves, who does what she desires every day. I have come to play music for her, to play music for her. I have come to offer bread to Re-Atum and to institute offerings for Hathor[106]

As mentioned above, it seems very reasonable to understand the reference to the "horizon of Hathor" as the temple of the goddess, and indeed in the description quoted the speaker claims responsibility for some of the most characteristic features of the Hathor cult such as the importance

[95] CT VI, 135f-g [540].
[96] CT VI, 139a [544].
[97] CT III, 351e [252]. S1C^{b} writes the second ꜥ with the determinative Y1, as if the word for 'document' was meant.
[98] CT VI, 139c [544].
[99] CT VI, 139j-k [545].
[100] Servajean, *Formules des transformations*, passim.
[101] CT III, 161a [208]; 168g [211].
[102] *Cf*. Topmann, *'Abscheu'-Sprüche*, 43-120.
[103] See Topmann, *'Abscheu'-Sprüche*, 68-70. *Cf*. also CT 207, a 'Recitation for being the scribe of Khonsu' (CT III, 155b [207]), where the speaker ends with the identification "I am the Bull of Heliopolis" (CT III, 160b [207]). For the question of the original distribution of the titles of spells in this sequence, see the remarks by Topmann, *'Abscheu'-Sprüche*, 41.
[104] CT III, 161c-f [208]; 167d-168c [211].
[105] CT VI, 127b-128c [533].
[106] CT VI,128d-130d [533].

of music[107] and the procession with the *wḫ*-standards.[108]

An expression the exact meaning of which is unclear occurs twice in the group of spells. In one passage the speaker identifies himself as belonging to a group of beings "who spend the night on their *wʿbw* (det. var.)",[109] while in the other the speaker claims "I spend the night in their *wʿbt* (det.)".[110] In the first passage, it would appear that the 3rd person plural pronoun can only refer reflexively to the group of beings spending the night, whereas this interpretation is impossible in the second passage, where the pronoun would ostensibly refer to the cosmic deities mentioned in the preceding lines. The words are clearly of the root *wʿb*, "be(come) pure", and the passages clearly related, but whether the primary meaning should be taken to be "sanctified garment", "offering" or "priestly service" remains unclear.[111]

Another fairly obscure reference which may be rooted in the cult is the claim that "my locks are parted",[112] which, since it is followed by "the face of Hathor shines for me",[113] may refer to the procedure of revealing the divine image.[114]

3.8. Identity of the scribe of Hathor

As has been seen, the greater part of this group of spells concerns the actions of various kind carried out by or for the speaker, but in a few instances references are made to the identity of the scribe of Hathor. Perhaps somewhat surprisingly, these identifications never relate the scribe directly to Hathor herself, but instead anchor his identity by reference to other gods.

In CT 295, labelled '**Becoming the scribe of the altars of Hathor**',[115] the speaker begins by identifying himself as "the Seated One, the son of Atum".[116] While the first part of this designation is somewhat obscure,[117] the second would seem to point unequivocally towards the mythological role of Shu. The same identity is also alluded to in CT 539, which begins "I am the *nʿw*-serpent,[118] the son of the Lord of All (*nb tm*), the scribe of Hathor".[119] The roles of the *nʿw*-serpent in mortuary literature in general are multifarious,[120] but the genealogy in this case as well narrows down the mythology.

Later on in CT 295 occurs a different name, which is possibly also to be understood as an identification with the speaker because of the epithet recurring almost identically in the spell's title: "Ihemsu, son of Nefertem, scribe of the altars of the Field of Offerings of Hathor".[121] The name Ihemsu is otherwise unknown.[122]

4. 'Scribe of Re-Atum' spells

Much smaller than the group of 'scribe of Hathor' spells, the spells for becoming the scribe of Re-Atum consists of CT 252-253 and 538. Spell 538 is too fragmentary to get any information from, while CT 252 is a short and quite straightforward spell where the speaker identifies himself indirectly as Shu looking for Tefnut.

The last spell in the group, CT 253, is somewhat more complex and quite frequently attested across a range of sites from Saqqara to Thebes. It is worth noting that in the two coffins containing a sizeable collection of 'scribe of Hathor' spells (M22C and M1Bas), CT 253 is directly related to this group. In Siut coffins, the spell is particularly frequently associated with CT 252 dealing with the same theme, while another recurring association is with CT 329 (in B2Bo, M1Bas and S2C[a]) for '**Becoming the scribe of the Field of Offerings of Osiris**'[123] to be discussed below.

Parts of the mythological allusions of the spell remain unclear, but the overall situation seems to be that of the reception by Orion of the deceased connected to the sun's appearance at dawn.[124] In this connection, Orion acknowledges the legitimacy and power of the deceased, occasionally through granting him a document,[125] and this is most likely what is referred to in the beginning of the spell by mentioning Orion's transfer document (*imt-pr*) and judgement (*wḏʿ-mdw*).

[107] Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult*, 127-8.
[108] *Op. cit.*, 29-31 and 128, *cf.* Behrens, *LÄ* IV, 820-1.
[109] CT VI, 137j [542].
[110] CT VI, 131f [533].
[111] *Cf.* van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 88.
[112] CT VI, 131g [533].
[113] CT VI, 131h [533].
[114] As tentatively suggested in Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 230.
[115] CT IV, 47e [295].
[116] CT IV, 47f [295].
[117] The same name occurs also in an obscure interjection in CT V, 70d [395]. *LGG* V, 151a-b cites only Graeco-Roman occurrences of this name.
[118] 'The *nʿw*-serpent' in M1Bas (W 4) only.
[119] CT VI, 134g [539].
[120] *Cf.* overview in Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, 353 and *LGG* III, 530c-532b. Most recently the roles of *nʿw*-serpent have been discussed in detail in Massiera, *Divinités ophidiennes*, with the relationship to Shu and Re-Atum being treated *op. cit.*, 130-42 (to which the unusually clear identification of the serpent as "the son of the Lord of All" just cited may be added).
[121] CT IV, 48a [295]. The identification (?) follows just after a statement reading "I have joined with the *wꜣḏ*-amulets". The relevance of this act is not certain, but for the funerary use of *wꜣḏ*-amulets, see Silverman, in Nyord, Ryholt (eds.), *Lotus and Laurel*, 373-89.
[122] *LGG* I, 540a.
[123] CT IV, 165a [329].
[124] *Cf.* Goebs, *Crowns*, passim.
[125] See *op. cit.*, 81-2 for this theme.

The final part of the spell, which is only included in a few of the MSS (M1Bas, T1L, Sq6C and M22C), is somewhat difficult to understand, but the 'new' version from M1Bas allows for a comprehensible reconstruction as follows:

> It is not so that he may come that I am acting on behalf of my lord. I will act on behalf of my lord so that he may leave. I will return on the first day of the month. I will have returned on the first day of the year and appeared as the Lord of All[126]

The gist of this seems to be that the speaker is not acting to effect the return (*i.e.* manifestation) of his lord (given the spell's title, most likely Atum), but is instead working to achieve his withdrawal. This is immediately followed up by the claim that the speaker himself will return instead at the cyclical renewals of New Moon and New Year and will in that context appear 'as the Lord of All'. In other words, the speaker allows Atum to withdraw only to become himself the manifestation of Atum at the beginning of the new cycle – a theme very much in line with the general cycles of creation and destruction which Goebs has convincingly argued underlie the theme of the reception of the deceased by Orion.[127]

5. The scribe of the Field of Offerings

A group of relatively short spells combine the scribal theme with that of the Field of Offerings.[128] Most of these spells (CT 1047-49, 1159-60) form part of the Book of Two Ways,[129] but the very similar spell CT 329 is transmitted independently, sometimes in direct association with other scribe spells.[130]

Out of this small group, only CT 329 carries an explicit heading, namely '**Becoming the scribe of the Field of Offerings of Osiris**'.[131] The spells themselves consist of variations of a few overall themes. One such theme which emphasises the connection to the mythic locale is that of two chests[132] belonging to the speaker which are said to be located in the Field of Offerings.[133] This theme is directly related to that of a group of beings carrying out cultic service for Osiris. This group can be designated in various ways and stand in different relations to the chests and/or the deceased, possibly indicating that the ancient scribes may have had problems understanding the sense of the passages. At the core stand two words of the root *ḫnm*, one (*ḫnmt*) designating a type of offering, judging from the determinatives ([134], [135], [136], [137], [138], [139]) a kind of bread,[140] and the other, the feminine *ḫnmtt* (det. [141], [142], [143]) or masculine *ḫnmt*(*y*) (det. [144]), referring to a category of ritual servants of a god.[145] The first of these words occurs always in the context of the preparation of this bread for Osiris, either as the occupation of a group beings,[146] or as something for which the speaker

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[126] CT III, 356c-f [253].
[127] See n. 124 above.
[128] For this location in the Coffin Texts and Book of the Dead, see most recently Aufrère, in Pérez Rey, Malbran-Labat, Lebrun (eds.), *L'homme et la nature*, 13-55.
[129] Later, as with the other spells in this sequence of the Book of Two Ways, the phrases of this group of spells become incorporated into BD 144, *cf.* Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead*, 231, section f.
[130] Just after CT 253 in B2Bo and M1Bas (where it forms part of the longer sequence of scribe spells).
[131] CT IV, 165a [329].
[132] *ḥ3dty* – as noted by Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, vol. I, 254, n. 1 for CT 329, the variant *3ḫty*, "two fields" found in some of the MSS is likely to be a secondary reinterpretation (*lectio facilior*).
[133] CT IV, 165b [329]; CT VII, 300d [1048]; CT VII, 505a [1159], *cf.* CT VII, 301d-e [1048].
[134] M1Bas B 20 [329].
[135] CT IV, 165c [329] (S1C, Pap.Berl.), *cf.* the writing of the *nisbe* of this word in CT VII, 301c [1048] (B1L).
[136] CT IV, 165c [329] (S2C).
[137] CT VII, 299c [1047] (B3C, B12C, B4Bo); 300a [1048] (B3C, B12C, B13C, B4Bo), *cf.* the writing of the *nisbe* of this word in CT VII, 301c [1048] (B1C).
[138] CT VII, 299c [1047] (B12Bo, *cf.* B13C); 301a [1048] (B1C); 302b [1049] (B2Bo, B2L).
[139] CT VII, 299c [1047] (B13C); 300a (B4L), *cf.* the writing of the *nisbe* of this word in CT VII, 301c [1048] (B2L).
[140] For *ḫnmt*-bread, *cf. pEbers* 197,11 (Grapow, *Die medizinischen Texte*, 490), which refers to "spoiled *ḫnmt*-bread of barley" as the base ingredient of a remedy (*cf.* von Deines, Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Drogennamen*, vol. I, 399 s.v. *ḫnm.t*).
[141] M1Bas B 20 [329], *cf.* the sign in CT VII, 301g [1049] (B1C) with de Buck's n. 1 ad loc.
[142] CT IV, 165c [329] (S1C, Pap.Berl.).
[143] CT IV, 165c [329] (B2Bo).
[144] M1Bas B 21 [329].
[145] Apparently male and female variants of the title *ḫnmty* discussed by Laurent, *RdE* 35, 152-6 (with the main focus on later material). According to its heading, CT 251 is a '**Spell for the *ḫnmtt* of Osiris**', but this spell does not otherwise share any of the characteristic phraseology of the group under discussion here. In CT VII, 301c [1048] the masculine *nisbe ḫnmty* seems from the way it is written to have been understood as meaning "he who pertains (given the context most likely in the sense of preparing) the *ḫnmt*-bread".
[146] CT VII, 299c [1047], *cf.* "the guardians (*iry*) of the *ḫnmt*-bread of Osiris" in M1Bas B 21. Other groups of beings occurring in similar roles are "those who make offerings" (CT VII, 300a [1047]; 301c [1048]; M1Bas B 22), "the knowledgeable ones" (CT VII, 300e [1048]) and "those who know offerings" (CT VII, 505d [1159]).

himself claims to be responsible.[147] The role of preparing food for Osiris also occasionally occurs without specific mention of the type of bread.[148] The ritual designation *ḫnmty*/*ḫnmtt* is found mainly as a designation of the deceased, either directly connected to the *ḫnmt*-bread[149] or otherwise shown by the context to refer to the ritual service of Osiris.[150] Apart from this central role of preparing food offerings for Osiris, the speaker makes a few further identifications, claiming the role of "scribe of the chests (var. fields)"[151] and "assistant of Thoth".[152]

While sharing much of the phraseology of the other spells in this group, CT 1049 is quite different and shows a number of variants between the MSS (the main variants have been given in the translation in Appendix A). Filling a separate compartment in the Book of Two Ways labelled "Offerings",[153] the text of the spell describes the processes associated with this location. The name of the location varies in the MSS between "Basket of Offerings",[154] "Field of Offerings"[155] and "Field of the Eye"[156] – the key to understanding this variation may lie in the parallel spell CT 1160, which begins with the words "The field which makes offerings" (*sḫt irt ḥtpt*).[157] Following this, the spells proceed to locate an attendant within the field[158] and stress the daily offerings taking place there, of which one MS states that the being who is in the field can partake along with Osiris.[159]

6. 'Scribe of Thoth' spells

As discussed in the previous section, the role as 'assistant of Thoth' is a recurring element of some importance in the group of spells connected to the Field of Offerings. Apart from this, the title occurs in the heading of another, phraseologically unrelated, spell, namely CT 992 entitled '**Becoming the assistant of Thoth, and opening his document chest**'.[160]

The spell begins with a reference to the speaker's ownership of the Red Crown.[161] Following this, the overall theme of the spell is the access to hidden things, expressed as inspecting (cultic) images,[162] breaking clay seals,[163] and finally opening the document chest of the god and lifting out the scrolls.[164] The fragmentary nature of both of the extant MSS means that it is difficult to clarify further details about the role of the scribe in this spell, apart from a contextually slightly unexpected reference to the speaker being "the master of exhaling, the great lord of exhaling".[165] The first of these epithets recurs in CT 585 in the context of the manifestation in the sky ("I am the master of exhaling, living on blood"[166]) in a passage reminiscent of the 'cannibal themes' argued by Goebs to be connected to astronomical phenomena at dawn.[167] More generally, the verb *nfȝ*, "exhale" is associated with the creative power of a divine being who embodies beings of the next generation in a potential form realised through the act of exhaling.[168] The broken context unfortunately makes it very difficult to substantiate what role, if any, these wider associations may have played in CT 992.

Apart from this spell, the sequence of scribe spells in M1Bas begins with a new spell (labelled New Spell A in the appendices) carrying the title '**Becoming the scribe of Thoth**'.[169] This spell begins with an address to Thoth himself, identifying the speaker as "the scribe of the god's tribunal".[170] After a short fragmented passage, the spell ends with the words "As for that which I say to the Elder God, that is what he will do".[171] The epithet "Elder God" (*nṯr smsw*) can be used of various gods, and nothing in the context helps us elucidate who exactly is meant, but powerful influence on a primeval god can at least be seen in general as involvement in the primeval creative and ordering processes.

7. 'Scribe of Re' spells

CT 254 carries the heading '**Being a scribe of Re**', and is always found in sequence with the 'Re-Atum spells'

[147] CT VII, 300a [1047].
[148] CT VII, 300c [1048]; 505d [1159].
[149] CT IV, 165c [329].
[150] M1Bas B 21 [329].
[151] CT IV, 165d [329]; CT VII, 301b [1048]; 505c [1159].
[152] CT IV, 165d [329]; CT VII, 299d [1047]; 301b [1048]; 505c [1159]; M1Bas B 21 [329].
[153] CT VII, 302c [1049].
[154] CT VII, 301f [1049] (B2Bo).
[155] CT VII, 301f [1049] (B1C).
[156] CT VII, 301f [1049] (B1-2L, B2P).
[157] CT VII, 505e [1160].
[158] CT VII, 505g [1159].
[159] CT VII, 302h-i [1049] (B1C).
[160] CT VII, 203j-k [992].
[161] CT VII, 203l-m [992]. *Cf.* Goebs, *Crowns*, 165-8 for the theme of crowns expressing the royalty of the deceased. As Goebs, *op. cit.*, 165, notes the context in this spell is too broken to make it clear what role this statement of royalty played here.
[162] CT VII, 204b [992].
[163] CT VII, 204d, g-h [992].
[164] CT VII, 204k-l [992].
[165] CT VII, 204e [992].
[166] CT VI, 202k [585].
[167] Goebs, *Crowns*, with a convenient overview on 333-49.
[168] Most famously with Atum and Shu, CT I, 338/339b-c; 354/355b; 356/357a; 360/361a [75], but the same mythological pattern is also found with other pairs of beings of different generations, *cf.* the *fnḏ* snake and Seth in CT IV, 1d [268] and the unnamed pair of beings in CT III, 100d [191].
[169] M1Bas B 1 [New Spell A].
[170] M1Bas B 1 [New Spell A].
[171] M1Bas B 2 [New Spell A].

CT 252-253 discussed above. Somewhat surprisingly given the title of the spell, the speaker begins by stating "I am Qerqeru, the scribe of Osiris".[172] A similar name occurs in PT 506,[173] but as no further details are found there, it is difficult to tell if the same being is referred to. However, the role of Qerqeru in the Coffin Texts shows clearly that the name is related to the variant form Qenqenwy ('Beater'?)[174] found in a very similar context in CT 665 in connection with Horus's coronation at which Osiris is "established in his place".[175] Against this background the spell continues: "N is his (sc. Osiris's) scribe whose name is Qenqenwy, and Hetjat is the name of his mother. (One) reed pen of this N is a spool (? *ḏ*), and his (other) reed pen a sceptre (*sḫm*/*ḫ3*). He has been allowed to pass so that he may make shapes and so that he may make patterns – thus says Osiris of N".[176] The last statement about the creation of shapes (*irw*) and patterns (*sšmw*) is directly related to the situation in CT 254, where the speaker continues "I have counted the number of those who are on the roads, whose patterns I have made".[177]

The common situation underlying these two spells thus seems to be one where the speaker is tasked with creating shapes and patterns of a certain group of beings in the process of moving from one place to the other (expressed as being "on the road"). As we have seen a number of other divine scribes being involved in various tasks involved in the orderly creation and regeneration of the world, it is probable that the situation described in CT 254 and 665 is broadly similar. It is possible that the solar cycle, or, given the plural, perhaps more probably that of the moving stars, is referred to specifically, but given the general wording especially in the latter spell, it is also possible that "those who are on the road" refers to beings involved in the regeneration of the world more generally. This general picture is corroborated by the next passage, where it is said that "Osiris and Re-Atum are pleased, for his head has been given to him".[178]

It is worth noting that in CT 665, the role of the scribe is directly connected to the cultic restoration of Osiris, as the scribe says "Receive bread, receive beer, receive water, discharge your efflux in life while your progeny is on earth, their baskets have been allowed to pass".[179]

The spell then moves on to the topic of the position of the deceased, which he refuses to give up to a threatening group of beings called *3hrw*.[180] After this theme follows a very brief *Gliedervergottung* passage ("My mouth is Anubis, my arm is Thoth"[181]), a theme generally connected to the transformation of the speaker (or addressee) into a primeval god.[182] The spell ends by two expressions claiming the eternal nature of the speaker.[183]

The only other spell belonging to this group is New Spell B from M1Bas, carrying the heading '**Becoming the archivist of Re**'. This spell is unfortunately quite fragmented and known only in this one copy, but it begins clearly with an address to Re with the words, "I have come to you, Re, so that you can appoint me […]".[184] Probably as an example of the general scribal and cultic responsibilities of other scribes of the gods, the speaker claims to "seal the hidden thing",[185] and the final legible statement of the spell refers to the "god-expeller" who is kept at bay by the speaker and to Fetekta, the cupbearer of Re known from the Pyramid Texts.[186]

8. 'Scribe of the Great God' spell

A single spell, CT 959 (with close phraseological ties to CT 641[187]), carries the heading 'Becoming the scribe of the Great God, greatest of the trib[unal of the god]'.[188] The speaker begins by identifying himself as "Re, the great one who is in his eye",[189] followed by a few state-

[172] CT III, 357b [254].
[173] *Pyr.* 1095d [506], reading *N pw qrqr N pw qrqrw*, "N is Qerqer, N is Qerqeru" (Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 157 renders "Meryre is He Who Bustles, Meryre is Bustler"). *Cf. LGG* VII, 226a.
[174] *Cf.* perhaps the place name *qnqn.t* (CT V, 349c-d; 350d; 351h; 352c [465]; 352I, 358XXI [466]; 374e [467]) in the spells for '**Being Hotep, the lord of the Field of Hetep**' (CT V, 348b [465], for which see most recently Aufrère, in Pérez Rey, Malbran-Labat, Lebrun (eds.), *L'homme et la nature*, 13-55).
[175] CT VI, 291j [665].
[176] CT VI, 291m-t [665].
[177] CT III, 357c-d [254].
[178] CT III, 357e-358a [254]. *Cf.* Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 145-9 for the theme of restoring the head in the Coffin Texts. Note that a conversation between Re-Atum and Osiris also forms part of spell 665, CT VI, 292c-d [665].
[179] CT VI, 292i-l [665].
[180] CT III, 358b-c [254]. A garbled version of the same set of epithets is found in CT VI, 293k [666] (*cf.* Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, vol. II, 238, n. 8 ad loc.), where these beings announce the deceased, apparently in a supportive capacity. For this group of beings *cf.* also CT V, 67c [393], where the deceased is inducted into a building located on the "bank of the *3hrw*". In all instances, the word is written with the general divine determinative A40 (*cf. LGG* I, 22b).
[181] CT III, 358d-e [254].
[182] *Cf.* Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 510-22.
[183] CT III, 359b-c [254].
[184] M1Bas B 2 [New Spell B].
[185] M1Bas B 3 [New Spell B].
[186] M1Bas B 3 [New Spell B]. For the "god-expeller", *cf. Pyr.* 227b [227]. For Fetekta, whose role is usually that of acting as a mediator between the deceased and Re, *cf.* Simonet, *CdE* 62, 59f, and *LGG* III, 194c.
[187] Entitled '**Being a great one in the necropolis**', var. D1C 'Spell for [being?] in the tribunal of the god' (CT VI, 262a [641]).
[188] CT VII, 177j [959].
[189] CT VII, 177k [959].

ments which are too broken to provide much further mythological information.

After these first few lines, a being called "He who is on his Redness" (*ḥry-ṯrt*) is addressed,[190] and the speaker relates his intention of causing the great ones to pass and to sit down in order to judge, so that the Sun-folk may follow him.[191] These administrative roles are clearly generally consonant with an identity as scribe, but the badly preserved and sometimes apparently corrupt text of the spell does not provide much further information about the precise entailments.

9. 'Scribe of Khonsu' spell

The identity as the scribe of Khonsu occurs only once, in CT 207[192] carrying the titles '**Receiving food-offerings in Heliopolis**',[193] '**Recitation: Being the scribe of Khonsu**',[194] '**Not eating excrement and not drinking u[rine] in the necropolis**'.[195] The spell begins by addressing two goddesses who are said to give birth by night and conceive by day, and the speaker asks them to do the same for him. As Willems has pointed out, the daily conception and birth points to the speaker's identity as a celestial body, while the sequence of birth by night and conception by day shows that either a star or constellation or the moon must be meant, and in light of the lunar festivals referred to at the end of the spell as well as the mention of Khonsu, Willems argues that the moon is the most likely candidate.[196] The speaker appears in this spell exclusively as the recipient of offerings, but Willems has argued that the PT original of the difficult passage in CT III, 160a-b [207][197] could be understood to indicate "that the deceased, being the 'bull of Heliopolis', is able to distribute offerings to others".[198] While methodologically this might appear to put too much stock in a single obscure passage, which seems no longer to have been understood in the Middle Kingdom versions of the spell, it is worth noting in the present context that such an image where the speaker is able to benefit from the cult that he himself performs is echoed in a number of the other 'divine scribe' spells, which may serve to lend further credence to the interpretation put forward by Willems.

10. Conclusion

By bringing together the spells concerned with becoming the scribe of a deity, a number of common themes become visible. Found in most detail in the scribe of Hathor spells because of their larger number, themes such as the involvement in the cyclical regeneration of the world closely related to cultic service to the god are also associated with several of the other scribe spells. While some of the spells put the emphasis on the cosmic side of this coin, others, such as CT 533, stress mainly the cultic aspects, and across the whole group of spells, this can be seen as one of the overarching themes. A direct consequence of this expressed in some of the spells is the ability of the scribe himself to partake in the offerings presented to the deity, seen most clearly in the frequent references to eating *nšnw* in the company of the goddess in the Hathor spells. In this case as well, the emphasis shifts, so that spells such as CT 207 skip the intermediary of the speaker's own cultic service almost completely, focusing instead on the two poles of cosmic regeneration and reception of offerings.

While the combination of, and interrelationship between, these themes is thus especially clear in the scribe spells, the themes themselves are obviously prevalent throughout the Coffin Texts more generally. However there are a few features which are striking not by their prominence but by their absence across the spells. The first of these is the extreme rarity of any specifically mortuary claims in the scribal spells. As has been seen, the overall focus is on cosmic cycles and their cultic maintenance, and while a few passages intimate that the speaker himself benefits from the cult as well, there is not much in the spells to indicate a specifically mortuary (as opposed to generally religious) conceptual context.[199] Given

[190] CT VII, 178a [959]. The writing in this passage is ambiguous, but it seems likely that this is the same being who occurs more clearly written (with the Y3 sign) and with more distinct roles in CT III, 285a [228]; CT VI, 179e [573]; 262f [641] (for the occurrences of this epithet, see *LGG* V, 403a-b). Not surprisingly in view of his name, he usually performs the role of butcher for the deceased, *cf*. Goebs, *Crowns*, 243f, nn. y and ab.

[191] CT VII, 178c-f [959].

[192] Translated and discussed in detail by Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, 253-5 and 457-60. *Cf*. also *Pyr.* 714a-716e [408].

[193] CT III, 155a [207].

[194] CT III, 155b [207].

[195] CT III, 160c-d [207].

[196] Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, 253f.

[197] *Pyr.* 716d [408], reading *mrwt rdyt im dd N pw*, for which Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, 460 n. s suggests the translation "(Anything) one wishes to be given therefrom, it is N's giving (lit. 'N gives')". *Cf*. the earlier discussions of this passage by Sethe, *Pyramidentexte*, vol. III, 322f and Sander-Hansen, *Grammatik der Pyramidentexte*, 178, §502.

[198] Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, 254.

[199] This observation is particularly interesting in the light of the converging evidence of the non-mortuary use (or in some cases perhaps even origin) of texts known to us mainly from a mortuary context, for which see most recently von Lieven, *JEA* 98, 249-68.

the transmission of these spells on the inside of coffins, of course, the assumption might be made that being dead is a necessary condition for becoming a scribe of the gods as understood by these spells, but the spells themselves do not contain much to support this. A possible exception might be found in the statements of immortality (of the type "I shall not perish" etc.) found in a few of the spells.[200] However, in the context in which they occur, it seems more likely that such statements should be understood as part of the mythological description in the spells in question describing the eternally recurrent nature of the primeval deities presented[201] or the acts carried out in the cult,[202] than that they form a kind of meta-statement about the benefits derived by the deceased 'himself' from the transformation entailed by the spell (as one might assume e.g. on the basis of the analogical understanding of the transformation spells by Servajean[203] according to which the aim of the transformation is for the deceased to appropriate the 'compétences' of the god for his or her own use rather than any true shift in identity).

Another theme notable by its absence is that of the avoidance of menial labour suggested by Schneider[204] as the underlying motivation of the focus on becoming a scribe in the mortuary literature. While clearly to a great extent the notion of scribes of the gods mirror social relations of power and authority in human society, the texts focus very much on the hierarchy between the deity and his or her scribe without apparently transferring the lower part of that hierarchy to the religious domain. The result is a characteristic blend of authority and subservience, where the power claimed by the speaker in the spells is always the power to maintain the ordered regeneration of the world.

The scribe spells offer a convergence of different perspectives where the relation between scribe and god is characterised interchangeably in terms of genealogy (the scribe as son of the god he serves or another primeval god), cult (the scribe as priest of the god) and ontology (the scribe as manifestation of the god). In a structural sense these three relations can be seen as parallel, with the ontological perhaps being the most apt to subsume the others. Thus the general distinction between ontologically proximal (*i.e.* closer to the myriad phenomena of the created world) and distal (*i.e.* closer to the primeval unity) can be expressed genealogically as the relationship between son and father.[205] This general pattern is most well-known in the cases of Atum and his son Shu, and Osiris and his son Horus, but it recurs in a wide range of myths which have in common that the son can be regarded as a more active, dynamic and differentiated actualisation of a potential found in the father. In a similar way, the priest officiating in the cult can be seen as mediator between the god (or ancestor) and human worshippers, which, in ontological terms, can once again be translated into a tension between belonging to the sphere of the gods and the sphere of humanity. Once again, the conflation of the genealogical and cultic perspectives is well-known in the mortuary cult where the eldest son (as Horus) is responsible for the cult of the ancestor (as Osiris),[206] but again the constellation[207] is much more widespread in Egyptian mythology and religious thinking.

On the one hand, the conceptual model of the scribe offers a perfect opportunity for combining these various perspectives in a well-known figure in Egyptian elite society. On the other hand, the scribe spells also offer important clues to the ontological underpinnings of the broader category of transformation spells in Egyptian mortuary literature. In explicitly combining references to mythology, temple cult and ontology, the scribal spells indicate that what it means to become a god in the sense of the transformation spells is intimately related to performing the temple cult of the god in question. Previous studies of the transformation spells have sometimes pointed to such ritual aspects,[208] but the scribe spells in the Coffin Texts as analysed here may offer a key to exploring these aspects of the texts further in the future.

Appendix A: Translations

This appendix presents translations of the main spells for becoming a divine scribe. Given the number of spells, comments have deliberately been kept to a minimum, noting important variants and occasionally commenting on translation choices. When the M1Bas MS offers copies of the spells translated, these have been incorporated into the translation, occasionally providing new insertions marked by an asterisk (*) in the line numbers.

The first part of the appendix contains the main sequence of scribe spells in M22C. The second part presents texts from the sequences of M1Bas and P.Gard.III

[200] CT III, 359b-c [254]; CT VI, 134h-i [539]; 136s [540].
[201] Thus clearly in CT III, 359b-c [254].
[202] CT VI, 134h-i [539]; 136s [540].
[203] Servajean, *Formules des transformations*, 93f.
[204] Quoted at n. 8 above.
[205] Broadening the important observation made by Allen, *Genesis in Egypt*, 9, that mythological genealogies can be seen as "a means of expressing the interdependence and causality that the Egyptians saw among the various forces and elements of the natural world".
[206] *Cf.* Willems, in Willems (ed.), *Social Aspects of Funerary Culture*, 253-372.
[207] In the sense of Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, 96-102.
[208] Especially the performative aspects of the spells discussed by Servajean, *Formules des transformations*.

which are not found in M22C. In the third part are found translations of the other texts dealing with the theme of becoming a divine scribe, as identified mostly through headings to this effect and secondarily by phraseological connections to spells with such headings. The sequences of spells presented in the first two parts of the appendix are as follows (Parentheses denote general transformation spells not connected directly to the scribal theme and thus not translated here):

M22C: 540 - 541 - 110 - 542 - 544 - 533 - 539 - 545 - 253 - (546 - 84 - 547 - 505 …)

P.Gard.III: 543 - 545 - 541 (hor. title) - 110 - 541 (spell) - 542 - (108 - 962 - 963 - 964 - 617 …)

M1Bas: A - B - 539 - D - 545 - 543 - 533 - 253 - 329 - 545 end - (258 - 412 - M - N …)

The letters in the sequence of M1Bas denote spells not included in de Buck's edition. Those which are related to the scribal theme (A, B and presumably D, though its fragmented nature makes this impossible to verify) are translated in part 2 of this appendix.

1. Sequence in M22C

CT 540 (VI, 135-136)

135a	*ḫpr m sš n ḫwt-ḥr*	**Becoming the scribe of Hathor**
b	*ii n=i pt tȝ*	The sky and the earth come to me,
c	*ii* [*n*]*=i wrw=sn nṯrw ḥrw*	their great ones, the chief gods come to me.
d	*wn=sn n=i wȝwt ḏsrt* [...]	They open for me the unapproachable roads […]
e	[*r?...*]	[…]
f	*i gb* [*rp*]ᶜ *nṯrw mȝȝ wi*	O Geb, Prince of the Gods, see me,
g	*rd=i sḏ=i m-ḫnw swḥt=i*	as I grow inside my egg and break out of it.
h	*ii n=i dpt 2*	The two boats come to me,
i	*šsp.n=i nswt=i m dpt*	for I have received my thrones in (one) boat,
j	*sḫw.n=i nswt=i m dpt*	and I have protected my thrones in (the other) boat.
k	*i*[*w?...*]*=i ḫrpw ḫnt*	I [...] those who lead the voyage.
l	*iw rdi n=i nst=sn*	Their thrones have been given to me.
m	*ṯn<t>=i pw r sš=s nb*	Thus have I been distinguished before all scribes of hers,
n	*ḥmst m-ḫnt wrwt=sn m-ḫhnt ᶜȝwt=sn ḥmwt=sn isṯ*	<my> seat being before their great ones, before their important ones, and before their ladies,
o	*ink pw* [...] *sḫmwy=sn* [...]*wy=sn*	for I am […] their two mighty ones and their two […].
p	*n irf gm=i ᶜ=i im=sn*	I have not found my hand on them.
q	*wn sš=i ḥr mnty=s*	My scribal implements are on her haunches,
r	*gsti=i m ḥttt=s*	and my palette in her armpit.
s	*iw=i wr.kwi r wrw=sn*	I have become greater than their great ones.
t	*iw=i nr.kwi* [...] *ᶜȝt n ḏȝḏt=s*	I have become more feared […] the great lady of her tribunal.
u	*iw sšp.n=i fd*[*w*] *pw sḫmw ᶜrw mȝᶜt wrw sp 2 wrw r pt tȝ*	I have received those four wands and pens of Maat, which are doubly great, greater than the sky and the earth,
136a	*sšp is m ḏbᶜw=s ᶜwḥ is* [...] *ḫ*[*r*]*=i r=i*	received from her fingers, moistened […] with me myself.
b	*špss swt nṯrw imyw ḏȝḏt=sn mȝȝ=sn*	Now the gods who are in their tribunal are august when they see
c	*ᶜm-ib=f pw ḫr fdw pw sḫmw ᶜrw* [*mȝᶜt?*]	that one who swallows his interior carrying those four wands and pens [of Maat?]
d-e	[*ṯn*]*t=i pw r* [*sš*]*=s nb mnḫ*	Thus am I distinguished before all efficacious [scribes] of hers
f	*swt <r> wrw nb nw ḏȝḏt=sn*	even <more than> all the great ones of their tribunal,
g	*rḫ rn n sḫmw 4 pw ᶜrw mȝᶜt*	who know the names of those four wands and pens of Maat.
h	*iw=i rḫ.kwi sn m rn=sn*	I know them by their names:

i	*inn nfrt* [...] *sᶜqw mɜᶜt*	'The one which brings perfection [… and] lets Maat enter' ,
j	*sid=f ᶜḥɜwy*	'He calms the two combatants,
k	*bwt=f iwtt n mɜɜ=f isft*	He detests non-existence, he shall not see Isfet'
l	*s*[*q*]*dd ist rᶜ wr m pt tɜ*	'The conveyor of the crew of Re, the great one in the sky and the earth'
m	*iww n=f nṯrw* […*ḥ?*]*sw* [...] *ɜḫt m ksw*	'To whom come the gods […] the horizon bowing'
n	*rḫ.n=i ṯn rḫ.n=i rn=ṯn*	I know you, I know your names.
o	*pr.kwi r=i wᶜb.kwi*	I have come forth purified,
q	*šwt=i m* [...]*=i*	with my plume on my […].
p	*nṯrw iw=sn ḥᶜy m wɜš*	The gods come rejoicing in honour
r	[...]*w* [...]	[…]
s	*n sk=i* [*n*] *tm=i m tɜ pn* [*ḏt*]	I shall not perish, I shall [not] come to an end in this land [forever].
t	*ink sš n ḥwt-ḥr*	I am the scribe of Hathor.
u	*wn n=i ḫrt-ᶜ nt ḏḥwty*	The document chest of Thoth is open for me.
v	*ink iry-ᶜ=f*	I am his assistant.

CT 541 (VI, 137) (P.Gard.III and M22C)

137a	[...] *ḥwt-ḥr*	**[…] Hathor**
b	[...] *sp 2 m ḫsf* [...]	[…], twice, opposite […]
c	[...]	[…]
d	*wn ᶜɜwy pndnd*[1] *n ḥnwt=i*[2] *ḥwt-ḥr*	The doors of Penedned are open for my mistress Hathor.
e	[...] *ɜḫt n ḥwt-ḥr*[3]	[…] of the horizon […] for Hathor.
f	*wnm=i sštɜw sdb=i nšnw m šms n ḥwt-ḥr*	I eat hidden things and ingest *nšnw* in the suite of Hathor.

[1] Var. P.Gard.III *pdndn*.
[2] M22C omits *ḥnwt=i*.
[3] P.Gard.III preserves traces of the word *šms*, "suite".

CT 110 (II, 124)

124a	*ink* [...] *hrw pn ṯs pḫr*	I am […] this day - and *vice versa*.
b	*ink ḥr m-ḫnw irt=f*	I am Horus inside his eye
c	*n nfr n=i m hrw pn r sf wrt*	for I fare much better on this day than yesterday.
d	[…*dn*]*gng*	[…]
e	*sn=t*(*w*) *n=i ḫmt* [...] *ɜḫt*	The three [...] of the horizon are opened for me.
f	*nfr.w*(*y*) *ḥw wi im ḥnᶜ ḥnwt=i*[1] *ḥwt-ḥr*	How perfect! Would that I were there with my mistress Hathor!
g	*šm=i sᶜḥw ḥnᶜ tm*[2]	I lead the dignitaries (?) together with Atum,
h	*ḫrp=i*[3] *sɜb ḥnᶜ nb šmᶜ*	I direct the jackal together with the Lord of the South
i	[...] *ɜḫt m šms n ḥwt-ḥr*	**[…] the horizon in the suite of Hathor**

[1] P.Gard.III omits *ḥnwt=i*.
[2] P.Gard.III has *rᶜ-tm*, Re-Atum.
[3] P.Gard.III has *šm=i*, "I lead".

CT 544 (VI, 139) (P.Gard.III and M22C)

139a	[*i ꜥ*]*m-ꜥ ir* [*n=i*] *w3t*	[O] Arm[-swallower], make way [for me]!
b	*ink s3 wr ꜥpr.n rꜥ rꜥ nb*	I am the son of the Great One, whom Re has equipped daily.
c	*nbt ḫwt nfrt ḥr ꜥwy ḏḥwty*	O Lady of Perfect Protection on the hands of Thoth,
d	*ii.n=i* [...] *ḥwt iḥy*	I have come [...] the mansion of Ihy.
e	*ink wꜥ pw* [...]*k*	I am the unique one […]
f	[... *r pḥ*]*=f*	[… to] his [end].
g	*pr wrt* [...] *r=f*	The great lady […] comes forth against him,
h	*wꜥ ḥwt-ḥr rnn m nw sp 4*	the unique one of Hathor, who rejoices in Nu, 4 times.

CT 533 (VI, 127-131) (attested on numerous coffins from Meir, including M1Bas B 12-17)

127a	*ḫpr* [...]	Becoming […]
b	*ink ḥkn m tp=f*[1]	I am the one who makes presentation with his head
c	*ḫnty wpwt*	one prominent of horns
d	*dmḏ ꜥwy*	with folded arms,
e	*ḫry-ḥbt*	a lector priest,
f	*sš n mdwt nfrt*	scribe of perfect words,
g	*iry si3*	guardian of Sia
128a	*m ḥwt imnt m ḏ3ḏ3t nt s3w wrt*[2]	in the hidden mansion in the tribunal of him who guards the great lady,
b	*imyt-ꜥ sš m ḥtp*	scribe of records in peace,
c	*imy si3*	who is in Sia.
d	*ir=i r3 n ḥtp=sn*[3]	I perform the recitation for their offerings
129a	*m-ḫnw 3ḫt ḥwt-ḥr*	inside the horizon of Hathor.
b	*sšm=i sp 2 wḫw*[4] *r swt=sn*[5] *hrw ip m3ꜥt*	I lead (twice), the *wḫ*-standards to their places on the day of reckoning Maat.[6]
c[7]	*di ḥwt-ḥr ꜥwy=s r=i*	May Hathor extend her arms to me,
130a	*ink sš=s mrr=s irr mrrt=s rꜥ nb*	I am her scribe whom she loves, who does what she desires every day.[8]
b	*ii.n=i ḫn=i sp 2*[9]	I have come to play music (twice).
c	*ii.n=i*[10] *w3ḥ=i t n rꜥ-tm*[11]	I have come to offer bread to Re-Atum
d[12]	*sgrg=i wdḥw n ḥwt-ḥr*[13]	and to institute offerings for Hathor.
e	*wn=i sb3*	I open the gate
f	*sn=i sb3*[14]	I throw open the gate
g	*dndn=i pr wr n ḥwt-ḥr*[15]	<I> traverse the great house of Hathor.
131a	*nfrw*(*y*) *ḥw wi im*[16]	How perfect! Would that I were there!
b	*sšm=i š3w ḫrp=i s3bw*[17] *ḥnꜥ nb šms*[18]	I lead the *š3*-animals, I control the jackals together with the lord of the suite.
c	*fd=i šw*	I pluck out Shu,
d	*š3s=i*[19] *3kr*	I traverse Aker,
e	*nmt=i i3dw*[20]	I stride over the firmament
f	*sḏr=i ḥr wꜥbt=sn*	I spend the night in their priestly service.
g[21]	<*wp*> *wprty=i*	My hair <is parted>,

h	*ḥḏ n=i ḥr n ḥwt-ḥr*	the face of Hathor is bright for me.
i	*di*[22] *ḥwt-ḥr ꜥwy=s r=i*	May Hathor extend her arms to me.

[1] M22C has *m pr=f r3=f irt=f*, "from his house, his mouth and his eye".
[2] M22C has the variant (VI, 128e), "in the hidden mansion. I have come to my place before the great house, which belongs to him who guards the great lady".
[3] M6C writes "their 8 offerings"; about half the preserved MSS omit the pronoun =*sn*.
[4] M23C and M4C have *r wḫw*, "to the *wḫ*-standards".
[5] M1Bas B 14 omits *r swt=sn*.
[6] M22C ends here, followed by CT 539.
[7] M1Bas B 14 omits this and the following line.
[8] M4C, M10C and M11C end here.
[9] M6C adds "for Hathor", M1Bas B 15 adds here *iskt sp 2*, while M3C has *iknst sp 2* and M12L has traces of the same phrase, *ikn*[...]. M3C has "I have come (as) a provided one" and ends here.
[10] M6C omits the verb *ii.n=i*.
[11] Var. M1Bas B 15 "Re" (although there is room for the *tm*-sign); M3C and M12L "Atum".
[12] M1Bas B 15 omits this line.
[13] M6C adds *ḥnwt*[*=i*], "my lady".
[14] M6C adds in the margin "for these three", while M1Bas B 15 reads *ꜣw ḫmt-nw pn*, either to be understood as "this third gate" or as "these three gates". M3C reads instead "for this provided N, true of voice" and ends.
[15] M1Bas B 15 reads only *dnd pr n*, while M12L begins with the verb *pr*, "go forth" followed by a lacuna.
[16] M1Bas B 15 reads *im=sn*, "in them".
[17] *ḫrp=i sꜣbw* in M1Bas B 16 only.
[18] Thus M1Bas B 16, with the end restored from M6C; the remaining MSS seem to have had shorter versions of this phrase but are all damaged. M12L ends here after a brief lacuna.
[19] Thus M1Bas B 16 and M23C; M6C has *smn=i*, "I make firm".
[20] M23C has instead the name of a star or constellation ending in -*wꜣ*. M6C omits.
[21] M1Bas B 17 omits this and the following line.
[22] Var. M1Bas B 17 *rdi.n*, "has extended".

CT 539 (VI, 134) (M1Bas B 4-5, M22C, M23C, P.Gard.III)

*[1]	*ḫpr m sš n ḥwt-ḥr*	**Becoming the scribe of Hathor**
134g	*ink nꜥw*[2] *sꜣ nb tm sš n ḥwt-ḥr*	I am the Naw-serpent, the son of the Lord of All, the scribe of Hathor
*[3]	*wḏ*[...]*ṯ*[...]*tḫ*[...]*ḏr*	[…]
134h	*iwty mt.n=f sk.n=f iwty ḫr.n=f iwty* [*nsn*]*s.n=f*[4]	who cannot die nor perish, who cannot fall, who cannot suffer.
i	*n ḫr=i sk=i nsnsw=i mt=i*[5]	I shall not fall, I shall not perish, I shall not suffer, I shall not die.

[1] Title in M1Bas B 4 only.
[2] *nꜥw* in M1Bas B 4 only.
[3] Badly fragmented line in M1Bas B 4 only.
[4] Thus M22C. The other MSS are badly preserved at this point, but all seem to have had variants of these phrases.
[5] Following P.Gard.III. The other MSS are damaged, but seem to have the same phrases in a different order. M1Bas B 5 begins with *n tm=i*, "I shall not come to an end".

CT 545 (VI, 139-142) (M1Bas B 8-10 + 22-24, M22C, P.Gard.III, P.Gard.IV)

139i	*ink sš* [*n ḥwt-ḥr*] *ꜥšꜣ m ḫnt m iwnt*	I am the scribe of Hathor with many water processions in Denderah.
j	*i qꜣꜣ ḥr mꜣꜥt=f*[1]	O you who are high on his Maat,
k	*ink nw nḏ.n=k m-ꜥ bqꜣ*[2] *imy ds=f*	I am that one whom you protected from Beqa who is in his jar
140a	*tm=f fd wi*[3] [...]*k*	so he could not pluck me out […]

b	*wn n=i*[4] *[... pndnd?*[5]*...] ns [...] s[mɜ?] n ḫmt fd[w] pw sbɜ[w] nw rᶜ*	[The doors of Penedned?] are open for me […] of these three and four gates of Re
c	*nfrw(y) ḥw wi im*[6]	How perfect! Would that I were there!
d[7]	*wnn=i im ḥnᶜ ḥnwt=i ḥwt-ḥr ḫr smɜ nw iṯnws*	I shall be there together with my mistress Hathor under the foliage of the *iṯnws*-tree,
e[8]	*wnm=i [s]štɜw sdb=i n[šn]w*	eating secret things and ingesting *nšnw*.
*[9]	*ḫrp=i sɜb ḥnᶜ ḏḥwty ḫrp[=i ...] ḥ[nᶜ] rᶜ-tm*	I control the jackal together with Thoth, [I] control […] to[gether with] Re-Atum.
140f	*šɜs*[10]*=i šw nmt=i ɜkr*[11] *nmt=i iɜḫw*[12]	I traverse Shu, I stride across Aker, I stride across Iakhu.
141a[13]	*šɜs=i pḥ=i iɜd*	I traverse and reach Iad.
b[14]	*wnm=i sštɜw=i sdb<=i> nšnw m šms n ḥwt-ḥr*	I eat my secret things and I ingest *nšnw* in the suite of Hathor.
*[15]	*[nfr]w(y) ḥw wi im m šms ḥwt-ḥr*	How [perfect]! Would that I were there in the suite of Hathor.
c[16]	*ɜw=t(w) ib ɜw=t(w) imɜḫwt ɜw=t(w) ᶜw m irt ḫt*[17]	The interior is extended, providedness is extended, arms are extended in performing rites.
d	*in [...] ḏ[d...]ɜ=i*	[…]
e	*pḥ=i ɜḫ[t]*	I reach the horizon.
f	*wnn=i m sš n ḥwt-ḥr*	I shall be the scribe of Hathor,
g	*wᶜ ḫmt-nw diw-nw sfḫ-nw m iḥy*	the unique one who is third, fifth and seventh of the Ihys.
h	*iḥy m nfrt nw*	Ihy as the Perfect One and Nu.
i	*[...]r=s ḏd.n=i*	[…] which(?) I have said.
j	*ḥm=i rᶜ [nb?]*	I copulate [every?] day.
*[18]	*rɜ n gsti*	**Spell of the palette**
141k	*mɜɜ*[19] *wi dḫ wrt*	The concealer of the Great Lady sees me.
l	*tɜḥ.n ṯw imy-ᶜ*	The palette has dipped you.[20]
m	*sšm ḥnṯw wtṯt=k mɜᶜt*	Lead, O Hentju, the one whom you have begotten, Maat.
n	*hww ṯw wtṯ.n=k mɜᶜt [rḫ r]n n gsti n nṯr sš [i]m=f*	Acclaim(?) yourself, for you have begotten Maat. [Knowing the na]me of the palette of the god in order to write with it.
*[21]	*rɜ n ryt*	**Spell of the ink**
142a	*ɜwt ḥnᶜt*[22] *ḥnbt nḥm=ṯ wi*	Long One of Henat, Long One of Henbet,[23] may you save me
b	*m-ᶜ gɜy n ḥɜ n ḥw*[24]	from the wetter[25] of Ha and of Hu[26]
c	*rḫ rn n rit*[27]	Knowing the name of the ink
*[28]	*rɜ n ḏᶜbt*	**Spell of the charcoal**
142c	*gngnt n ᶜbᶜb*[29]	The beans(?)[30] of Abab[31]
d	*rn n ḏᶜ[bt]*[32]	is the name of the charcoal
*[33]	*rɜ [n ᶜ]rwy*	**Spell of the two reed pens**
142d	*ḥmy n ḥw n nhɜ*	The …[34] of Hu and Neha
e	*[rḫ] rn n ᶜrw*[35]	Knowing the name of the reed pens.
*[36]	*rɜ n pɜs*	**Spell of the cup**
142e	*di n=f mw=s*	Her water has been given to him
f	*iᶜb*[37] *m pɜs ḫr=s rḫ rn n pɜs*	collected in a cup for her sake(?). Knowing the name of the cup.

[1] Var. M1Bas B 8 *ḫr-tp mɜᶜty*, "upon the Double Maat".

[2] Var. P.Gard.III, *bqꜣ pw*; M1Bas B 8 *bqꜣ ḥr*.
[3] Thus M22C. P.Gard.III has [*t*]*m.n=k ḏd*, "That you have not said".
[4] Var. M1Bas B 9 *wn ḥḏt* [...].
[5] Conjecture based on the traces seen by Lacau (CT VI, 140 n. 3), the traces in M1Bas B 9, and the parallel in CT VI, 137d.
[6] M1Bas B 9 adds "together with my mistress Hathor". P.Gard.IV has "in the suite of Hathor" after a lacuna.
[7] M22C only.
[8] M22C only.
[9] M1Bas B 9-10 only.
[10] Var. M22C *ḫfd*, "climb".
[11] M22C adds *ꜣs=i šw*, "I traverse Shu" at this point.
[12] Varr. M1Bas B 10 [...] *iꜣdw*; P.Gard.IV *i.pḥ=i iꜣsw,* "I reach Iasw".
[13] M22C only.
[14] P.Gard.III and IV only.
[15] M1Bas 10 only.
[16] M22C omits.
[17] M1Bas B 10, P.Gard.III and P.Gard.IV end here.
[18] The end of spell 545 as presented by de Buck consists of a collection difficult phrases. As shown by the parallel in M1Bas B 22-24 where these phrases are transmitted independently from CT 545, they are actually a collection of 'names' of scribal equipment. The translation here follows the order of the phrases in M22C while adding the structuring rubrics from M1Bas.
[19] Var. M1Bas B 23 *mꜣ.n*, "has seen".
[20] Following the understanding of the syntax suggested by Barguet who translates "Celui qui est dans le document t'a troublée" (*Textes des Sarcophages*, 541).
[21] Title in M1Bas B 22 only.
[22] Var. M22C *ḥ*[ꜥ]*nt*.
[23] The two MSS agree in writing *ꜣwt* followed by *ḥnꜥt*/*ḥꜥnt* and *ḥnbt* in split columns. Both of the latter words are determined with the seated god, while M1Bas B 22 precedes this determinative with a serpent in the case of *ḥnꜥt*. The split-column writing indicates that we should read *ꜣwt ḥnꜥt ꜣwt ḥnbt,* which leaves a couple of options for a reading. The two designations should probably be understood as syntactically bound, which means that they can be either *nfr-ḥr* constructions, "You with a long *ḥnꜥt* and you with a long *ḥnbt* (field?)" (thus *LGG* I, 6b), or ordinary genitives "Long One of Henat and Long One of Henbet". The latter option has been tentatively preferred here in light of the apparent occurrence of these two words as textual variants of a location with which the deceased connects himself in CT VI, 227b-c [614]: "… in this my name of Him of Henat (var. Him of Henbet)". Possibly related is the occurrence of the two roots (this time in the masculine) as textual variants of what is presumably a being located in Nun whom the deceased passes in CT VI, 149e [551].
[24] Var. M22C *m-ꜥ gmmy n nḫꜣ n ḥw*.
[25] For *gꜣy*, "wet" in the connection of dipping the pen in the ink, *cf. pEbers* 63,21*,* "Gall of the *wiꜣt*-bird; a pen is dipped in it" (Grapow, *Die Medizinischen Texte*, 98) and *Amenemope* 17, 6, "Do not wet the pen (*gꜣy ꜥrw*) in order to transgress" (Laisney, *L'Enseignement d'Aménémopé*, 347). The earlier translators have understood *gꜣy* as meaning "constriction", which is also possible. The variant in M1Bas B 22, *gmmy*, is unknown.
[26] The name *ḥw* is written exactly like the well-known god Hu. The name *ḥꜣ* appears in M22C to be the usual designation of the god of the West. However, here and in the parallel to line 142d (B 23), M1Bas writes clearly *nḫꜣ*, which might indicate that the *n* before *ḥꜣ* in M22C is not the genitive but was originally part of the name. The being *nḫꜣ* is unknown. Here, he appears in a group responsible for warding off Apep, which at least would fit with the parallelism with Hu in our passage, though we learn nothing more about this obscure being.
[27] As shown by the parallel in M1Bas B 22, the rest of this line actually belong to another one of the small spells.
[28] Title in M1Bas B 22 only.
[29] M1Bas B 22 adds *ḏꜥbt*, "are the charcoal".
[30] The word *gngnt* with divine determinative is unknown. The tentative translation given here is based on the designation of a *gngnt*-plant of uncertain identity which is said in *pEbers* 9,18-19 to be *mi iwryt kftyw*, "like Cretan beans" (Grapow, *Die Medizinische Texte*, 212). The various previous attempts to identify the plant all have significant problems, an overview of which has been provided by Germer, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Heilpflanzen*, 148. The identity of the plant has been discussed most recently by Parkinson, *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant*, 35.
[31] The being Abab ('Braggard'?) is known from one other Coffin Texts passage, namely CT VI, 305c [678], which mentions "Abab who came forth from Nun", in a context which is unfortunately unclear.
[32] As in the previous line of de Buck's edition, the second half of this line belongs to the next spell.
[33] Title in M1Bas B 23 only.
[34] No recorded meaning of the root *hm* seems to fit.
[35] The rest of this line in de Buck's edition belongs to the following spell.
[36] Title in M1Bas B 23 only.
[37] M1Bas B 23 has what appears to be a second *b*, indicating a geminated verb form, followed by ambiguous traces with several possible interpretations.

CT 253 (III, 353-356) (Numerous copies ranging from Saqqara to Thebes, including M1Bas B 17-19)

353a	*ḫpr*[1] *m sš n nb tm*[2]	**Becoming the scribe of the Lord of All**
b[3]	*sꜣq sꜣḥt*[4] *m imt-pr*	Orion has (been?) collected in a transfer document,
354a	*ꜥꜣ sꜣḥt m wḏꜥ-mdw*	Orion has become great in judgement,
b	*ꜥꜣ rḫt ḥw mt=f*	what Hu knows has become great when he dies
355a	*in ꜣ*[5] *sꜣ=f ir rḫt ꜣ*[6] *ḥw*	It is precisely his son who has made what only Hu knows
b	*n*[7] *ntt=f r mt*	because he is going to die.
c	*in ꜣ sꜣ=f iry=f mwt*[8]	It is his son who will make his death,
356a[9]	*sbw sbwt m mwt*[10]	O male and female ones who have departed in death,
b	*šsmw imy šš=f*	and Shesmu who is in his nest.
c	*n*[11] *irr=i is ḥr nb=i iwt=f*	It is not so that he may come that I am acting on behalf of my lord.
d	*ir=i ḥr nb=i r rw=f*[12]	I will act on behalf of my lord so that he may leave.
e	*iw=i r iwt r tp-ꜣbd*[13]	I will return on the first day of the month.
f	*wnn=i ii.kwi r tp-rnpt ḫꜥ.kwi*[14] *m nb tm*[15]	I will have returned at the first day of the year and appeared as the Lord of All.
g[16]	*ḫprw m sš n itm*	Becoming the scribe of Atum.

[1] The Siut MSS have *wnn*, "being" instead.
[2] Varr. Atum (T1L, B2Bo), Re-Atum (S2C[a]) and "the lord Re-Atum" (S1C[a], S3C).
[3] M1Bas combines this and the following line in one set of parallel lines.
[4] The MSS vary between the masculine designation *sꜣḥ* and the feminine *sꜣḥt*, mostly but not always accompanied be the appropriate variation in determinative between A40 and B1 (and the detailed representation of Orion as determinative in M1Bas B 17). T1L adds *sḫwt=f*, "his fields" as object here.
[5] T1L and S3C leave out the particle *ꜣ*.
[6] T1L and most of the Siut MSS leave out the particle *ꜣ*.
[7] *n* in the Siut MSS only.
[8] Most manuscripts end after this line, which is given in various degrees of completeness. Var. B4Bo "It is precisely his son, this Osiris N, the provided, true of voice", S3C "It is [precisely] the son who makes the provided one near the great god […]". M1Bas B 18-19, T1L, Sq6C and M22C continue with the ending given below.
[9] T1L omits.
[10] Thus M1Bas B 18, and M22C may have had a similar version not in parallel columns. Sq6C has "the one who has departed in death".
[11] Thus M1Bas B 18. Sq6C leaves out the negation, while the other two MSS are broken at this point.
[12] Following M22C with de Buck's suggested restoration.
[13] Thus M1Bas B 19. Sq6C and probably T1L have "He will come to this N on the monthly festival", while M22C reads "I will leave at the monthly festival".
[14] M22C has *rnp.kwi*, "I have become rejuvenated".
[15] T1L has a lacuna here, ending with the word *nṯrw*, "gods".
[16] Postscript in T1L only.

2. Spells from the sequences of M1Bas and P.Gard.III)

CT 543 (VI, 138) (M1Bas B 11-12 and P.Gard.III)

138d[1]	[*wnn m šꜣ*]*ms n ḥwt-ḥr*	[Being in] the suite of Hathor
e_1[2]	[... *ḥwt-ḥr*] *biꜣ psḏ ꜣḫt*	[Hathor …] the firmament, the horizon is bright.
*[3]	*wn*[*n=i m*] *šms=ṯ*	I shall be in your suite!
e_2	*wn ꜥꜣw*[4] *m ꜣḫt*	The doors are open in the horizon
*[5]	*sw m ꜣḫt*	and the rushes(?) in the horizon.

e_3	*wnn=i m šms=ṯ*	I shall be in you suite!
e_4[6]	[...] *rn n* [...] *nb ḥnᶜ ḥtp-rdi*	[…] the name of […] Neb(?) together with Hetep-Redi.
e_5[7]	[...] *nšnw* [*wn*]*n=i m šms=ṯ*	[…] *nšnw*. I shall be in your suite!
e_6	*sdb=i nšnw*[8]	May I ingest *nšnw*
*[9]	[*ḫr s*]*mꜣ* [*i*]*ṯnws*	under the foliage of the *iṯnws*-tree.
e_7	*wnn=i m šms=ṯ*	I shall be in your suite!

[1] Horizontal title in P.Gard.III only.
[2] The complex arrangement in CT VI, 138e has been broken up here into several lines, guided primarily by the sequential reading order discernible from M1Bas B 11-12.
[3] M1Bas B 11 only.
[4] Var. P.Gard.III *s*[*bꜣw?*], "portals".
[5] M1Bas B 11 only.
[6] In P.Gard.III this line would appear to belong earlier in the spell. In M1Bas B 12 it occurs here.
[7] M1Bas B 12 has a short lacuna here with much less room than in P.Gard.III.
[8] Var. M1Bas B 12 *wnn sdb n=i nšnw*, "May there be chewing of *nšnw* for me" (or sim.).
[9] M1Bas B 12 only.

New spell A (M1Bas B 1-2 only)

a	*ḫpr m sš n ḏḥwty*	**Becoming the scribe of Thoth**
b	*i ḏḥwty mk wi* [...]	O Thoth, look I […]
c	*m sš n ḏꜣḏt nṯr*	as the scribe of the god's tribunal
d	[*r*]-ᶜ [...] *m-m sḥḏ m* [...]*n*[1]	beside […] among those who illumine […]
e	*ir ḏd.t=i n nṯr smsw*	As for that which I say to the Elder God,
f	*swt p*[*w*] *iry*[*t?*][2]*=f*	that is what he will do

[1] It is impossible to tell from the facsimile whether any signs have been lost at the end of the line. The following line starts with traces of a bird-sign and about two squares of lacuna.
[2] There is room for, but no trace of, this restoration which seems necessary for gender agreement. For the pronoun *swt* in Middle Egyptian as both masc. and fem. 3rd pers. sing., *cf.* Gardiner, *Grammar*, §53 obs.

New spell B (M1Bas B 2-4 only)

g	*ḫpr m* (*i*)*r*(*y*)*-mḏꜣt n rᶜ*	**Becoming the archivist of Re**
h	*ii.n=i ḫr=k rᶜ*	I have come to you, Re,
i	*di=k wi m* [...]	so that you can appoint[1] me […]
j	[...]*s*	[…]
k	*ḫtm=i imnt*	I will seal that which is hidden
l	*wnnt m* [...]*tꜣw bꜣw*	which is in […] of the bas.
m	*sḥr=i ḫsr-nṯr*	I will keep the god-expeller[2] at bay.
n	*ftkt*[...] *d*[*w* ...]	Fetekt[a[3]…]

[1] A conjecture on the meaning of the verb *rdi* here based on the context. For expressions of promotion, the preposition *r* would have been more regular (*cf.* Zamacona, *ZÄS* 137, 20f), so perhaps the lacuna contained a designation of a location instead, thus "that you may place me in […]".
[2] Possibly connected to the scorpion of this name addressed in *Pyr.* 227b [227], *cf. LGG V*, 962b.
[3] Presumably a vocative.

New spell D (M1Bas B 5-8 only)
Too fragmented to make any connected sense

CT 329 (IV, 165) (copies from Meir, including M1Bas B 19-22, Siut, Bersheh and pBerl.)

165a	*ḫpr m sš n sḫt-ḥtp n wsir*[1]	**Becoming the scribe of the Field of Offerings of Osiris**
*[2]	*iw ꜣḫt* [...] *n* [*tꜣ? w...*] *r ꜣ* [...]	[…]
b	*ḥꜣdty*[3]*=i m-m ḥtpw*[4]	My two chests are among the offerings.
c	*ink ḫnmtt ḫnmt nt wsir*[5]	I am the attendant of the *ḫnmt*-bread of Osiris.
d	*ink sš ḥꜣdt*[6] *sḫt-ḥtp* (*i*)*r*(*y*)-ᶜ-*n ḏḥwty m-m irrw ḥtpt*	I am the scribe of the chest of the Field of Offerings, the assistant of Thoth among those who make offerings.[7]
*[8]	*iw ꜣḫty=i m-m iry ḫnmt nt wsir*	My two fields are among the guardian(s) of the *ḫnmt*-bread of Osiris.
*	*ink ꜣḫty* (*i*)*r*(*y*)-ᶜ-*n ḏḥwty*	I am Two-Fields[9] the assistant of Thoth.
*	*ink psw* [*ḫ*]*nmt nt* [*ws*]*ir m-m irw ḥtp*	I am the Cook, the attendant of [Os]iris among those who make offerings.

[1] M1Bas omits *n wsir*.
[2] M1Bas B 19 adds a badly broken line here, written with very small signs, possibly in parallel columns.
[3] Var. M1Bas B 20 and B2Bo *ꜣḫty=i*, "My two fields".
[4] Var. M1Bas B 20 'My two fields are in the Field of Offerings among the guardians of the *ḫnmt*-offerings of Osiris.
[5] Var. M1Bas B 20 and B2Bo, *ink ḫnmt*(*t*) *nt wsir*, "I am the attendant of Osiris", S2C, "I am the attendant who has placed [the *ḫnmt*-bread o]f Osiris".
[6] M1Bas B 20 omits *ḥꜣdt*, var. B2Bo *ꜣḫwt*, "fields".
[7] S1-2C, pBerl. and B2Bo end here.
[8] The next several lines in M1Bas B 21 only.
[9] The divine determinative points to this understanding rather than "To me belong the two fields".

3. Other scribe spells:

CT 207 (III, 155-160) (Several Upper and Middle Egyptian sites)

155a[1]	*šsp ꜣwt m iwnw*	**Receiving food-offerings in Heliopolis**
b[2]	*ḏd mdw wnn m sš n ḫnsw*	**Recitation: Being the scribe of Khonsu**
c	*msty grḥ*	You two who gave birth by night,
d	*my ms=ṯn*[3] *wi*	come that you may give birth to me!
156a	*iwrty hrw*	You two who conceived by day,
b	*ms=ṯn wi imy swḥt*[4]	may you give birth to me who am in the egg!
c	*sk ꜣ ms.n=ṯn wi*	Once you have given birth to me
157a	*snḫn=ṯn wi*	you shall nurse me
b	*ꜣw*[5] *ib=i m ḫnt dwꜣt*	that I may rejoice before the Duat,
c	*ꜣw ib n nṯrw*[6]	and the gods will rejoice
158a	*m-ḏr mꜣꜣ=sn wi rnp.kwi*	as they see me rejuvenated.
b[7]	*i nḫn ib=k im=i*	O youthful one, your interior is in me.
c[8]	*sk snwt n iᶜw*	Now the Sixth-Day festival is for my morning meal,
159a	*ḏnit n mswt=i*	the Seventh-Day festival is for my evening meal,
b	*rḫs n=i sꜣbwt*[9] *n wꜣg=i im*[10]	and dappled cows are slaughtered for my Wag-festival[11] there

160a[12]	*r mrt.n=i r dit n=i r dd n=i*	in accordance with what I have wished, in accordance with what was given to me, and in accordance with what is habitually given to me,
b	*n-ntt ink is kꜣ iwnw*	for I am the Bull of Heliopolis.
c[13]	*tm wnm ḫs*	**Not eating excrement.**
d	*tm swr w[sšt] m ḫrt-nṯr*	**Not drinking u[rine] in the necropolis.**

[1] B2L, M22C, B2Bo[a] and P.Gard.II only.
[2] G1T only.
[3] B2Bo[a], G1T, P.Gard.II and B1Bo[a-b] leave out the subject pronoun, yielding two parallel imperatives.
[4] For the variant in A1C and G1T, *cf.* Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata,* 458 n. g.
[5] S1C has the causative *sꜣw=ṯn ib=i*, "so that you make me rejoice".
[6] B2Bo[a] adds *im*, "thereby", var. P.Gard.II *im=i*, "over me".
[7] B2L, M22C, B2Bo[a] and P.Gard.II only.
[8] B4Bo, B2Bo[b] and G1T conflate this and the following line in parallel columns.
[9] Var. *sꜣbty*, "a pair of dabbled cows"; *sꜣbwt iḫty*, "dabbled cows and a pair of *iḫt*-cows". The *s* in *sꜣbwt* is left out in A1C, G1T, S1C, B2L, B1Bo[a], probably due to assimilation with the end of *rḫs*, as suggested by Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, 459 n. p.
[10] S1C, B2Bo[a] and P.Gard.II omit *im*.
[11] Or, understood as a verb with Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, 460 n. r, "that I might be provided with it".
[12] As Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, vol. I, 169, n. 6 ad loc. remarks, none of the manuscripts has a version that makes sense as it stands. The suggestion given here follows Carrier, *Textes des Sarcophages,* vol. I, 506f.
[13] The rubric in this and the following line in S1C only.

CT 208 (III, 161-162) (Siut and Bersheh only)

161a[1]	*wnn m sš n ḫwt-ḥr*	**Being the scribe of Hathor**
b	*ḫpr m kꜣ iwnw*	**Becoming the Bull of Heliopolis**
c	*ink kꜣ ḥtpw nb ḫt 5 m iwnw*	I am the Bull of Offerings, owner of five portions in Heliopolis.
d[2]	*iw ḫt 3 r pt ḫr ḥr*[3]	Three portions belong to the sky with Horus.
e	*iw ḫt 2 r tꜣ ḫr ꜥꜣ*	Two portions belong to the earth with the Great One.
f	*in sktt ḥnꜥ mꜥnḏt innt n=i rꜥ nb*	It is the Night-bark and the Day-bark which bring to me daily.
162a	*bwt=i pw ḫs*	My abomination is excrement,
b[4]	*n wnm=i*	I will not eat (it).
c	*bwt=i pw wsšt*	My abomination is urine,
d-e[5]	*n wnn m-m=i*	(it) will not be near me.
f	*in dwꜣw rꜥ šms wi rꜥ nb*	It is the Morning Star and Re who follow me daily.
g[6]	*sš wdḫw n rꜥ-tm*	**Writing the offerings of Re-Atum**

[1] The rubric in this and the following line S1-2C and B2Bo only.
[2] S1-2C and B2Bo combine this and the following line in parallel columns.
[3] Var. B1Bo[c] *rꜥ*, "Re".
[4] S1-2C omit.
[5] B1Boc substitutes (162e) *n swr=f*, "he will not drink (it)".
[6] Rubric in B1Bo[a] only.

CT 211 (III, 167-168) (Siut and Bersheh only)

167d[1]	*iw ḫt 3 r pt ḫr rꜥ*	Three portions belong to the sky with Re,
e	*iw ḫt 2 r tꜣ ḫr gb*	two portions belong to the earth with Geb.
168a	*bwt=i pw ḫs*[2] *ḥnꜥ wsšt*	Excrement and urine are my abomination.

b	*ᶜnḫ=i m ḫt bnrt prt m kȝr rᶜ*	I shall live on sweet things proceeding from the shrine of Re.
c	*in sktt ḥnᶜ mᶜnḏt innt n=i rᶜ nb*	It is the Night-bark and the Day-bark which bring to me daily.
d	*šm=i ḥr rdwy=i*	I shall walk on my feet,
e-f	*n sḫd=i*[3] *imy rᶜ*	I shall not be upside-down, being Re.
g[4]	*wnn m sš n ḥwt-ḥr*	**Being the scribe of Hathor**

[1] All MSS but B1Bo[b] conflate this and the following line in parallel columns.
[2] S1C ends here.
[3] Var. B2Bo and B1Bo[b] *n šm=f sḫd*, "he shall not walk upside-down".
[4] B1Bo[b] only.

CT 252 (III, 351-352) (Siut and Thebes)

351d	*ḫpr m rᶜ-tm*[1]	**Becoming Re-Atum**
e	*i ᶜ-m-ᶜ*	O Arm-in-arm,
352a	*ir n=i wȝt*	make a way for me,[2]
b	*ink wr ḏᶜr wrt*	I am the Great One seeking the Great Lady.
c	*ii.n=i ḏᶜr=i ḫsbwt tw nt rᶜ-tm*	I have come to seek that beard of Re-Atum,
d	*iṯyt ḥrw pw n sbit*	which was taken away on that day of rebellion.
e	*wnn=i m sš n rᶜ-tm*	I shall be the scribe of Re-Atum

[1] Var. T3C *wnn m sš n rᶜ-tm*, "Being the scribe of Re-Atum".
[2] T3C adds "to the Field of *ḫmiȝ*" (*cf.* CT VII, 224i [1010] for this name).

CT 254 (III, 357-359) (Siut only)

357a	*wnn m sš n rᶜ*	**Being the scribe of Re**
b[1]	*ink qrqrw sš n wsir*	I am Qerqeru, the scribe of Osiris.
c	*ip.n=i ṯnwt ḥryw wȝwt*	I have counted the number of those who are on the roads,
d	*irw.n=i sšmw=sn*	whose patterns I have made.
e	*ḥtp wsir rᶜ-tm*	Osiris and Re-Atum are pleased,
358a	*rdi n=f tp=f st=i sp 2*	for his head has been given to him. My place is my place.
b	*n rdi.n=i st=i n ȝḫrw ipw*	I shall never give my place to those Aheru
c	*iww m ȝrwt in isftyw*	who come with oppression by the unjust.
d	*rȝ=i m inpw*	My mouth is Anubis,
e	*ᶜ=i m ḏḥwty*	my arm is Thoth.
359a	*ink mn sȝ mnt*	I am so-and-so, son of so-and-so,
b	*n sk=i*	I shall not perish,
c	*n ḥtm=i im n ḏt*	I shall not be extinguished there forever.

[1] Part of the rubric in S1C[b].

CT 295 (IV, 47) (Bersheh only)

47e	*ḫpr m {sš} wdḥw n ḥwt-ḥr*	**Becoming the scribe of the offerings of Hathor**
f	*ink ḥms sȝ tm*	I am the Seated One, the son of Atum,
g	*iw sšw=i m sḫty ḥtp n ḥwt-ḥr*	My writings are in the Two Fields of Offerings of Hathor

h-i[1]	*iw dmḏ.n=i m w3ḏw*	I have joined with *w3ḏ*-amulets,
48a	*ihmsw s3 nfr-tm sš wḏḥw n sḫt-ḥtp n ḥwt-ḥr*	Ihemsu, son of Nefertem, scribe of the altars of the Field of Offerings of Hathor.
b	*wn sb3 pn ir.n ḥwt-ḥr*	This gate which Hathor has made is open.
c	*sn ḫmt-nw sb3w rᶜ*	The third of the gates of Re is thrown open.
d	*nfrw(y) 3 ḥw 3 wi im*	How perfect! Would that I were there!
e	*wn=i im m šms*	May I be there in the suite!

[1] B2L inserts the title wrongly at this point.

CT 538 (VI, 134) (M23C only) - var. of CT 252

a	*ḫpr <m> sš n rᶜ-tm*	Becoming the scribe of Re-Atum
b	[...]	[…]
c	[...]	[…]
d	[...] *n rᶜ-tm*	[…] of Re-Atum,
e	*iṯyt hrw* [...]	which was taken away on [that] day of […]
f	[...]	[…]

CT 710 (VI, 341) (B2L only)

341f	*ḥwt-ḥr ḫr nhw[t]=s <...> ṯntyw=ṯ*	O Hathor under her sycamores <…> your sacred cattle
g	*wnm=i m <n>šnw 3pd rm ᶜnḫw*	I will eat of <*n*>*šnw*, living fowl and fish
h[1]	*wnn m šmsw n ḥwt-ḥr*	**Being in the suite of Hathor**
i	*m sšt3w*	and of secret things
j	*wnnw ḥr s3ṯw*	which are on the ground.
k	*š3s<=i> nmt=i šnt*	I traverse and stride through the circuit,
l	*š3s=i i3d*	I traverse the firmament,
m	*ḥfd<=i> i3ḫw m šms n ḥwt-ḥr*	I climb the sunlight in the suite of Hathor

[1] Intrusive rubric.

CT 959 (VII, 177-178) (P.Gard.III-IV)

177j	*ḫpr m sš n nṯr ᶜ3 wr n ḏ3*[*ḏt nṯr*][1]	Becoming the scribe of the Great God, the greatest of the trib[unal of the god]
k	*ink rᶜ w r ḥry-ib irt=f*	I am Re, the great one who is in his eye,
l	*pr iw*	a lament[2] goes out,
m	*rdi iw* [...] *m 3ḫt*	a lament is given […] in the horizon
n	*nḥ*[*bḫb*[3]...] *ii.n*[...] *ḥr=k*	[…] is opened up […] has come for your sake,
178a	*ḥry-ṯrt*	O you Who are on the Redness,
b	*ink ḫm m m3ᶜt*	I am the one who demolishes according to Maat,[4]
c	*mk rḫ.n=i ḏd.n=i*	See, I have learned and I have spoken.
d	*ii.n=i sw3 wrw*	I have come precisely so that the Great Ones may pass.
e	*ḥms=i ḥr ḏ3p wḏᶜ-mdw=i*	I will sit on the bench in order to judge,

f	*šms wi ḫnmmt*	so that the Sun-folk follow me.
g	*ink wnn m sš n nṯr ᶜ3 wr n ḏ3ḏt*	I am the one who will be the scribe of the great god and the great one of the tribunal

[1] See CT VII, 178g [959] for the restoration
[2] Reading *iw*, "lament" despite the determinative with the parallel passage in CT VI, 262c [641].
[3] Restoration after CT VI, 262e [641].
[4] Reading the text as written here. The parallels offer a series of alternatives of this phrase, perhaps indicating that it was perceived as slightly odd in ancient times as well: "I am Re, the demolisher of the Double Maat" (CT VI, 262g [641] M2NY), "I am one ignorant (*ḫm*) of the Double Maat" (CT VI, 262g [641] D1C), "[I am] Re, the demolisher of the Two Luminaries (*i3ḫwy*)" (CT VII, 178h [960]).

CT 992 (VII, 203-204) (P.Gard.II-III)

203j	*ḫpr m (i)r(y)-mḏ3t n ḏḥwty*	**Becoming the archivist of Thoth,**
k	*wn ḫrt-ᶜ=f*	**and opening his document chest.**
l	*nt=i isw=i*	My red crown is my reward,
m	*isw=i*	my reward.
204a	*ink* [...] *rᶜ-tm*	I am […] Re-Atum
b	*ii.n=i ip=i titw ipw*	I have come to inspect those images [...]
c	*wn=i ntt ḫr=f*	I will open what it contains:
d	*sḏ sin sš* [...]*=f n mdw*	the clay is broken, the [...] is cut […] words.
e	*ink ḥry nf3 nb nfi wr*	I am the master of exhaling, the great lord of exhaling
f	*ḥms* [...]	Sit[…]
g	*wn=i ḫtm wr*	I will open the seal of the great one:
h	*sḏ=i sin*	I will break the clay,
i	[...] *n nb mᶜ3t*	[…] for the lord of Maat.
j	*wn=i ḫrwt-ᶜ nṯr*	I will open the document chests of the god,
k	*siᶜ=i mḏ3wt*	I will lift out the scrolls.
l	*ink nb nf3=f*	I am the Lord-of-his-breath

CT 1047 (VII, 299-300) (Bersheh only)

299b	*iw ḫ3t inpw m ḥtpt hrw rw*	What Anubis bewails is the offerings on the day of straw
c	*m-m irrw ḫnmt n wsir*	among those who make *khenemet*-bread for Osiris.
d	*ink iry-ᶜ n ḏḥwty*	I am the assistant of Thoth
300a	*ink pfs ḫnmt n wsir m-m irrw ḥtpt*	I am the one who cooks *khenemet*-bread for Osiris among those who make offerings
b	*iw ḫ3t inpw m ḥtpt hrw rw*	What Anubis bewails is the offering on the day of straw

CT 1048 (VII, 300-301) (Bersheh only)

300c	*ink wᶜb pfss n wsir m ḫrt-hrw*	I am the pure one who cooks for Osiris daily.
d	*iw 3ḫwt=i m sḫt ḥtpt*	My plots of land are in the Field of Offerings
e	*m-m rḫw ḫwt*	among the knowledgeable ones.
301a	*m-m irw ḫnmt n wsir*	among those who make *khenemet*-bread for Osiris.
b	*ink sš 3ḫwt (i)r(y)-ᶜ ḏḥwty*	I am the scribe of fields, the assistant of Thoth

c	*ỉnk ḫnmty n wsir m-m ỉrw ḥtpt*	I am the attendant of Osiris among those who make offerings
d	*ỉw ꜣḫt ỉnpw 2 m ḥtpt*	The two plots of Anubis are in the offerings,
e	*n ỉṯw m-ᶜ=ỉ*	and they shall not be taken away from me.

CT 1049 (VII, 301-302) (Bersheh only)

B2Bo

301f	*nbtt ḥtp*	A basket of offerings.
g	*ḫnmt ỉm=s{n} n nb=s*	An attendant is in it for its lord.
302b	*prr ḫnmt ỉm=s n wsir rᶜ nb*	Every day *khenemet*-bread comes out of it for Osiris.

B1C

301f	*sḫt ḥtp*	The Field of Hetep.
g	*wnn ḫnmt[t] ỉm=s n wsir*	There shall be a female attendant in it for Osiris.
h	*wnn m sḫt ḥtp nb=s*	He who is in the Field of Hetep is its lord
i	*wnm t ỉm=s ḥnᶜ wsir rᶜ nb*	who eats bread in it with Osiris every day.
302c	*ḥtpt*	Offerings.

B1-2L and B2P

301f	*sḫt ỉrt*	The Field of the Eye.
g	*nb ḫnmt ỉm=s n wsir*	The lord of an attendant is in it for Osiris
h	*m ḥtpt m sḫt ḥtpt*	among the offerings in the Field of Offerings.
302a	*nb=s pr*	Its lord goes out
b	*ỉr ḫnmt ỉm=s n wsir rᶜ nb*	when *khenemet*-bread has been made for Osiris every day.
c	*ḥtpt*	Offerings.

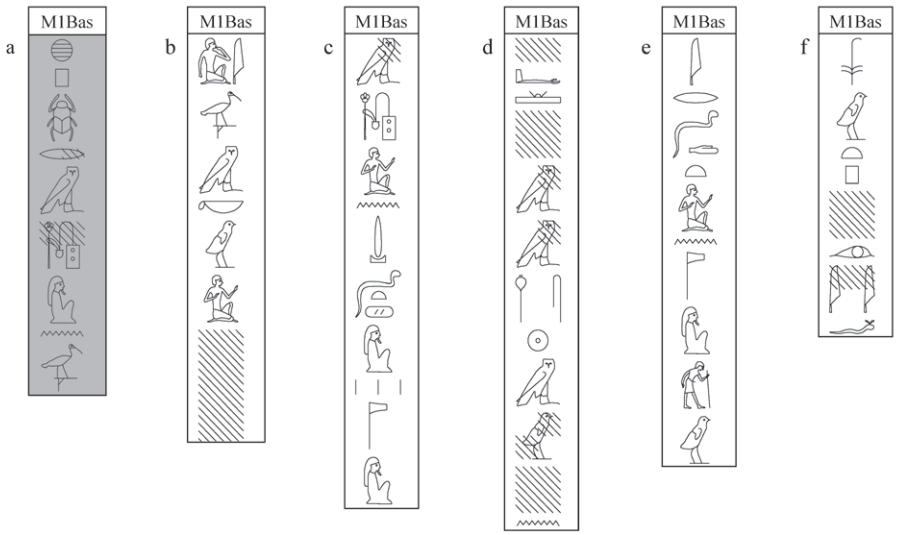
CT 1159 (VII, 505) (Bersheh only)

505a	*ỉw ꜣḫt 2 m sḫt ḥtp m-m rḫw*	Two plots of land are in the Field of Hetep among those who know,
b	*ḫnm=ỉ ỉm n wsir*	I please Osiris there.
c	*ỉnk sš ꜣḫwt n ḥtp (ỉ)r(y)-ᶜ n ḏḥwty*	I am the scribe of the fields of Hetep and the assistant of Thoth.
d	*ỉnk wᶜb pfss n wsir m ḫrt-hrw m-m rḫw ḥtpw*	I am the pure one who cooks for Osiris daily among those who know the offerings.

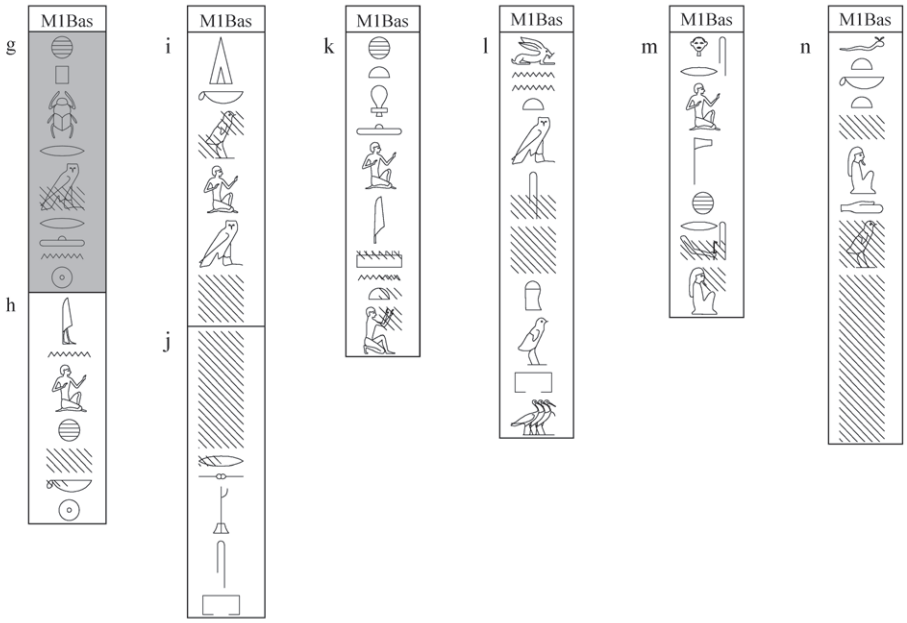
Appendix B: Texts

This appendix presents typeset copies of a small selection of the texts from the sequence of scribe spells from M1Bas. Due to considerations of space only texts which are either both new and reasonably well-preserved or otherwise provide the basis for fundamental reinterpretation of already-known spells have been included. According to these criteria, New Spells A and B as well as the new version of the end of CT 545 are presented here.

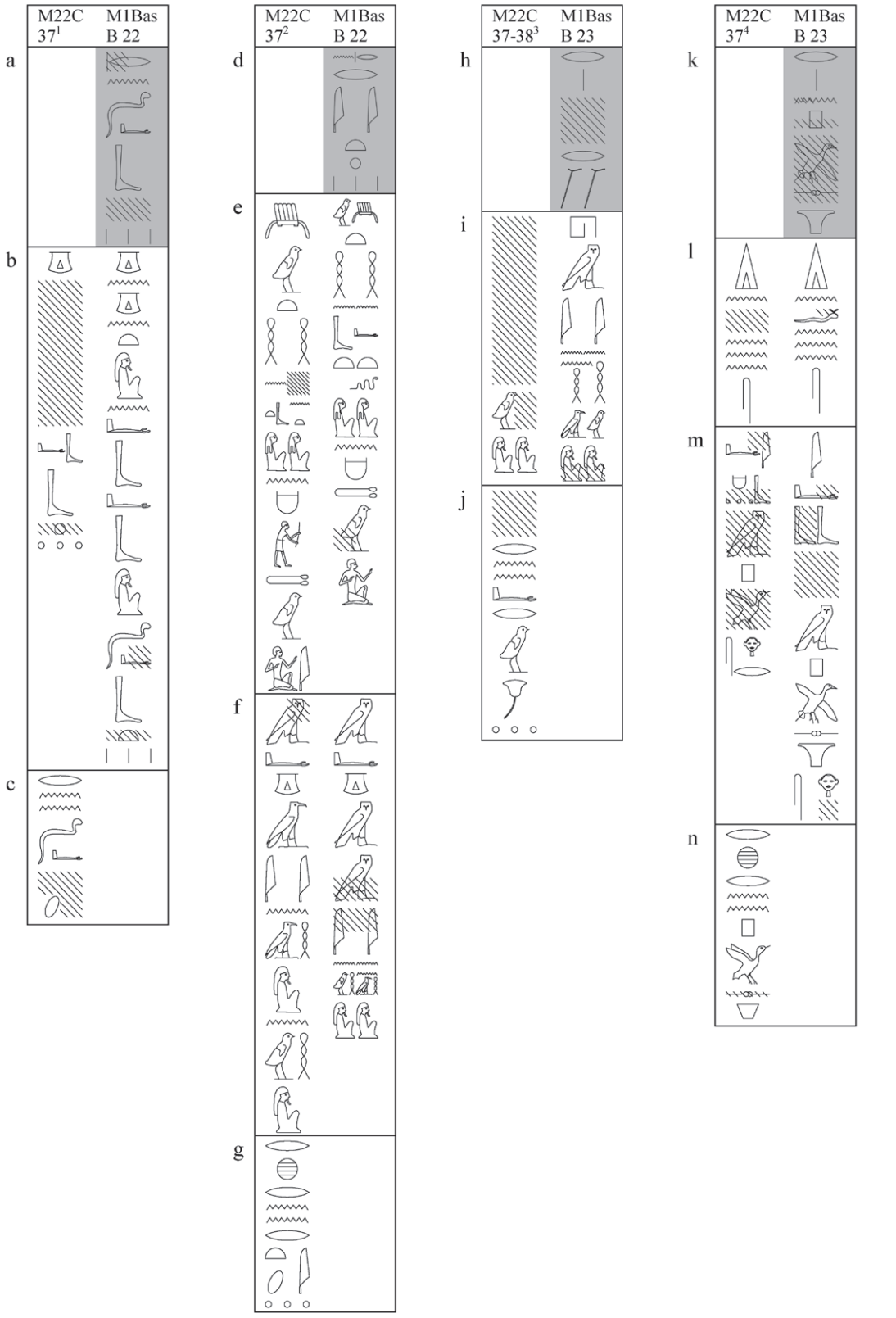
Spell A



Spell B



CT 545 var.

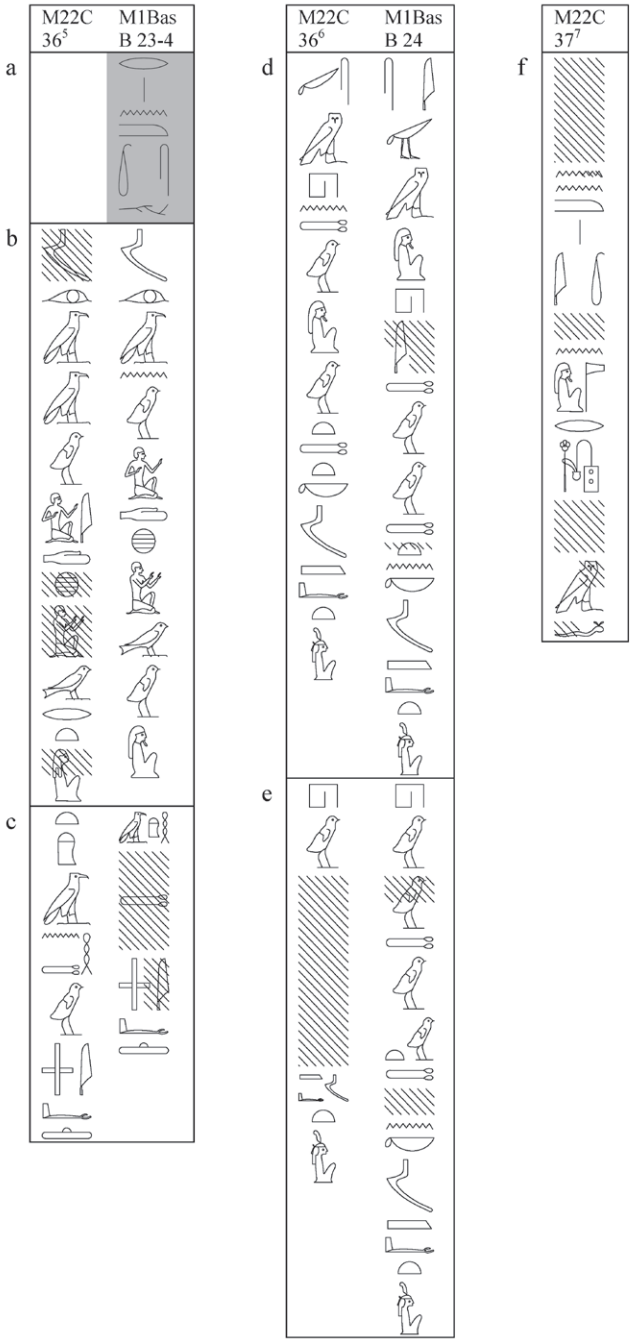


[1] *CT* VI, 142c-d [545].

[2] *CT* VI, 142a-c [545].

[3] *CT* VI, 142d-e [545].

[4] *CT* VI, 142e-f [545].



[5] *CT* VI, 141k-l [545].

[6] *CT* VI, 141m-n [545].

[7] *CT* VI, 141n [545].

Acknowledgment
I am grateful to Carlos Gracia Zamacona for reading and commenting on a draft of this paper, providing a number of useful suggestions.

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The Significance of the Hieroglyph 𓆑 'The Egg with the Young Bird Inside'

Mohamed Gamal Rashed

Abstract

This paper researches the significance of the enigmatic hieroglyph 𓆑 and its variations, which represent an egg with a young bird inside. It presents matters related to its significance, hieroglyphic structure in comparison with similar hieroglyphs and its metaphorical connections. The paper discusses the complete attestations of the hieroglyph 𓆑 (vars. 𓆒, 𓆓) within its context. Therefore, the allusion to these forms can be interpreted through their relevant texts; other texts serve to explain the allusion expressed in this hieroglyph. Mainly, this paper aims to reveal the assimilation of this hieroglyph with the iconography of the child sun god inside his disk, in the First Hour of the Book of the Day. This assimilation is to assume and interpret through the ideas of the sun god who emerges from his egg, and the metaphorical resemblance of the sun disk to the egg, and the related texts that are cited here.

I. Introduction

A passage in the ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts (CT I, 167f) shows a unique cryptic writing for the word *swḥ.t* in its five versions, in which it is written with the combined enigmatic sign 𓆑 or 𓆒 [1] instead of its proper and customary ideogrammatic sign 𓐍,[2] which appears as an abbreviated writing[3] or determinative sign in the numerous attestations of the word.[4] This interesting combined form of the sign, which I came across while I was preparing a paper on the semantics of the *swḥ.t*, "egg", leads me to present the current paper.[5] The hieroglyphs or cryptic writing under discussion, representing the young bird inside an egg or surrounded by the circle, are straightforward pictographic renderings of the word for "egg" and its metaphor. The egg, which is expressed by this particular hieroglyph and its variations, is particularly the one which contains the seed of creation or reproduction in the embryo, not any other egg. However, these specific enigmatic signs 'the egg with the young bird inside' do not then become regular hieroglyphs, though this sort of hieroglyphic structure exists in some other hieroglyphs, for example in the signs for the pregnant woman, woman giving birth, etc. (see below no. VI). On the other hand, it is extended in Egyptian myth and religion through the iconography of the sun god inside his disk,[6] which is attested frequently from the New Kingdom onwards. This was my early assumption and interpretation of these enigmatic hieroglyphic signs.

This paper aims first to bring these hieroglyphs into focus in order to explain their structure, and to reveal their significance; second, to follow and interpret their assimilation and connection with the iconography of the sun god inside the disk, and to examine and prove the assumption of this hieroglyph as an early metaphor for the iconography of the sun god (particularly, in his representations in the First Hour of the *Book of the Day*, and some of his other similar representations in the *Book of the Dead*, etc.).

II. The problematic hieroglyphs' variations

The hieroglyphic enigmatic form 𓆑 and its variations,

[1] CT I, 167f (B12C^{b}; B12C^{c}; B13C^{b}; B16C; B20C).

[2] It should be noted that the word *swḥ.t* is often determined with this proper iconic sign. However, its various occurrences show some cases in which the word is determined with other signs. For the complete variations of the word *swḥ.t*, and its various determinative signs, and its attestations, accompanying with commentaries, see a forthcoming paper by the author in *BIFAO*, entitled: "The *swḥ.t*-egg: A semantic study".

[3] Pyr. 1184b; *Urk*. IV, 276, 1; *Esna*, 225,18.

[4] Wb IV, 73.1-18; Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 217; LGG VI, 221; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch*, 680; van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts,* 466; Lesko, *DLA* II, 21; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 812-3.

[5] The search was made depending on the various Egyptian language dictionaries; as well as the online website: Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae (TLA): <http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/index.html>, accessed 11/02/2015.

[6] It may be interpreted as merely an icon of the child sun god inside the disk, which occurs frequently in the Netherworld and funeral sources, *i.e.* the First hour of the *Book of the Day* shows the daily birth of the sun god in his iconic representation, where he is depicted usually in the form of a child inside the disk getting ready to be reborn (Figs. 2-3); see below.

and occur as a cryptic writing or determinative for the word *swḥ.t* in the following forms:

A. : P 1049[7] (= PT 669; Pyr. 1967; 169c); CT I, 176k (B13C[b]; plural); II, 3f (G1T[8]).

B. : CT I, 167f.[9]

C. : III, 156b; VII, 147a; 198f (P. Gard. II).[10]

The reading of the word in these variations has not changed, and is to be read *swḥ.t*, which is approved by its orthography in the variations listed above (type A and C). The use of these[11] signs is of some interest, since such hieroglyphs occur for instance in the whole versions of CT I, 167f and in a few more places in the CT, in addition to its earliest known occurrence in the PT. According to the semantic study of the *swḥ.t*, "egg", which is presented by the scholar in the various Egyptian textual sources, these are the complete attestations of the combined enigmatic signs in the variations of *swḥ.t*. These forms do not occur in the hieroglyphs for any other writing, as far as I know, except in a variation of the preposition *imy*, "inside", which is a metaphoric rendering of the young bird inside the egg.

First, it may be important to clarify what notion the Egyptian scribes or theologians aimed to determine with this particular form of the sign, since it occurs in all copies of CT I, 167f and thus must not be considered as an isolated occurrence. Furthermore, the PT and CT do not reveal accompanying vignettes; therefore the hieroglyphs were the perfect tool to express their notions accurately, together, in some cases, with the context.

III. The interpretation of the enigmatic writing

There is no specific study or interpretation for this sign form except the interpretation of Sethe for its variation in an enigmatic text from the New Kingdom.[12] Sethe read the egg sign with the bird inside (), in the context of his particular text, as *imy* and interpreted as "is inside/ is located inside", a rendering of this form for the young bird inside the egg. Sethe's interpretation and reading of the sign was followed by various up-to-date dictionaries without any other suggested interpretations.[13]

The preposition , , [14] *imy*, "inside, located inside"[15] is derived from the preposition *im* in reference to a location.[16] Therefore, it occurs occasionally with this ideogrammatic writing or is determined with the customary egg sign from the Middle Kingdom. Its earliest attestation reveals the combined enigmatic form of the egg sign with the young bird inside, where it occurs on a private statue in Heidelberg from the Thirteenth Dynasty.[17] This enigmatic sign, as a writing for *imy*, is attested again in some texts from Thebes dating

[7] The orthographic writing of the word occurs for the first time with this unique determinative in the version of PT 669 in the antechamber of the pyramid of Pepi I. It was given the new spell numbering 1049 (P/A/N 63) according to Leclant's classification and publication of the texts. Its other parallels do not give this sign form. For this writing, *cf.* Leclant *et al*., *Les Textes de la Pyramide de Pépy I[er]*, vol. II, pl. 10; and for its other parallels, *cf.* Pyr. 1967; 1968d (crushed); 1969c; its variation in the CT (CT VII, 198f), Leclant *et al.*, *Les Textes de la Pyramide de Pépy I[er]*, vol. I, 153; Pierre-Croisiau, in Bickel, Mathieu (eds.), *D'un monde à l'autre*, 266, fig. 9 (col. 63).

[8] G1T is an abbreviation for Coffin Turin 15.774 (*Iḳr*); PM V, 163.

[9] It occurs with the same writing in the five coffins (B12C[b]; B12C[c]; B13C[b]; B16C; B20C) from El-Bersheh. The ideographic sign here is encountered as a spelling for the word.

[10] It is determined with this enigmatic hieroglyph only in three different passages, which are in the versions of Papyrus BM EA 10676 (P. Gard. II).

[11] In her definition of "icon" and its relationship to "metaphor", Goldwasser notes "movements within the script from an iconic reading, in which the image stands in iconic relationship with the signified, to what we have called a metaphoric reading, namely transposed reading, where the image stands in a relationship other than iconic with the signified", citing the definition as "iconic when there is a topological similarity between a signifier and its denotata" (denoted symbol). The icon is the definition of the image which reflects the relation between the hieroglyphic signifier and its linguistic signified: Goldwasser, *From Icon to Metaphor*, 56.

[12] Sethe, in Northampton, Spiegelberg, Newberry, *Report on some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis*, 10.

[13] Wb I, 75.20-22; Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 18; van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 466; Kurth, *Einführung ins Ptolemäische,* vol. I, 255, (n. 104). None of these dictionaries list this sign as a variation or determinative for *swḥ.t*, except in van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*.

[14] Wb I, 75.20-22; Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 18. It derives from the term *imy* Wb I, 72.13-17, "to be inside, to be resident/ located, what is within". Faulkner translated the word: *imy* "who, which is in", commenting that the sign is a cryptic writing with the meaning of "in which is", supporting his interpretation with Sethe's and the use of the sign in the Coffin Texts in the writing of *swḥ.t,* "egg", CT I, 167f (*imyw swḥt*, "Those who are in the egg").

[15] *Ebers* 56,11-4. It is attested frequently in medical texts; e.g. Ebers papyrus. About the inverted use of the word *imy*, Griffiths, *JEA* 28, 66-7.

[16] Wb I, 72.4-8; Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 18.

[17] Ranke, in *Mélanges Maspero I,* 362. For the text and its translation *cf.* Ranke's article. It must be noted that this enigmatic form of the egg sign does not occur in the CT under *imy*, *cf.* van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 29-30.

to the New Kingdom, which were translated by Sethe;[18] also in its customary form of the egg sign without the bird inside.[19] On the other hand, this enigmatic form of the egg sign with the bird inside occurs in the writing of *swḥ.t* in just a few cases in the PT and CT.[20] The interpretation of Sethe for this sign is significant, and it agrees with its physical form as a place for the embryo, which is located inside, but also this enigmatic writing for *swḥ.t* meets metaphorically with the mythical and cosmological significance of the egg which can even be understood through the relevant texts, as discussed below.

IV. The structure of the signs and their significance

The hieroglyph or cryptic sign 𓁹 and its varieties 𓁺, 𓁻 or 𓁼 under discussion present combinations that were built on the customary iconic egg sign 𓃀, or its metaphoric replacement, the sign 𓁷, which occurs and builds on the following combination forms. First, the hieroglyph is composed of the sign 𓃰 with the egg-sign 𓃀. Second, the hieroglyph 𓁺 is composed of 𓃰 with the circular sign 𓁷, in which the hieroglyph 𓁹 can be seen. Third, the hieroglyph 𓁻 is composed of the sign 𓅱 with a circular sign 𓁷, in which the hieroglyph 𓁹 can be seen.

The individual signs in the combinations already have several metaphoric connections with the egg: in the first attested combination form which occurs in the PT, the iconic sign 𓃀 is replaced significantly with a circular sign 𓁷, which represents *circle, round*. It occurs as a determinative from the Old Kingdom onwards and is common in words from the stem *ḳd*(*i*) "go round", and related or similar words.[21] Similarly, it meets typically with the signs 𓁶[22] "grain of sand, pellet or like" and 𓁷 "iris/pupil of the eye".[23] This simple circular form may also replace the sun disk ideogram. Metaphorically, it matches the similar hieroglyphic forms from the Old Kingdom. It has been noted that the terms that are often determined with a sun disk, may also be determined with the sign 𓁷.[24] This circular sign replaces the egg sign in the Pyramid Texts of Pepi I, in its enigmatic form type A, and in its customary form 𓁷 in other versions of the same PT spell,[25] this replacement occurs metaphorically under their similarities of form, and perhaps their symbolic significance. Mostly, in my opinion, the sign 𓁷, which occurs instead of the egg sign, is probably due to faulty copying from the hieratic, regarding their similarities in the form. Therefore, the variations of the CT are due to the same interpretations as well. Otherwise, this sign might be a grain of sand,[26] which could be explained through the significance of the relevant passage in the PT.[27] However, it does not deny the significance of "pupil" (*ḏfḏ*), which meets the primeval egg metaphorically in their circle form, and in their mythical roles, since the pupil and *wḏȝ.t-eye* are also associated with creation and rebirth.[28]

The sign 𓃰[29] *ṯȝ*, "fledgling, nestling young bird" ap-

[18] Sethe, in Northampton, Spiegelberg, Newberry, *Report on some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis*, 10, n. 26, 59; Fairman, *BIFAO* 43, 91, 119 (n. 1).

[19] *I.e.* in a text, from the New Kingdom, reads *imy ib n ḥnwt.f nb*(*t*) *mȝᶜt,* "inside the heart of his wife", *Urk*. IV, 46.14; *cf.* also *Urk*. IV, 49.7.

[20] The listed above variations with their complete attestations.

[21] Gardiner, *Grammar*, 538.

[22] It occurs as determinative for metal or mineral, often repeated e.g. in 𓎛𓎛𓎛 *nbw*, "gold"*;* medicaments, incense, etc.: Gardiner, *Grammar*, 490.

[23] It determines *ḏfḏ*, "pupil" of an eye, as a part of the *wḏȝt* "eye": Gardiner, *Grammar*, 451; Wb V, 572.10-573.11; Grapow, Westendorf, von Dines *Grundriss der Medizin,* VII/2, 1004; Hoffmann, *GM* 132, 37-8.

[24] *I.e.* the verb *wbn* is determined with the sign 𓁶 from the PT (Wb I, 292.9; 295.5). It occurs also with the iconic egg determinative in CT VI, 292b (B9C[a]); compare also, LGG II, 326-7; *Edfu* VII, 295, 1-2, where it occurs as an epithet for Hathor.

[25] It occurs with its simple form in the texts from the pyramids of Merenre and Pepi II, *cf*. Pyr. 1967; 1968d; 1969c. For the text, see also below.

[26] The egg sign also occurs as a determinative for several types of stone, such as: *ḥrst*, it has the meaning of "carnelian"*,* or "the jewelry beads of carnelian" (Wb III, 150.15; Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 176; *i.e.* in the pLondon BM EA 10477 (pNu), Tb 108); *ʿȝ.t*, "precious stone or material" (Wb I, 165.13-21; Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 38; *Urk*. IV, 665,13; 401,13); *ḏr.t.t*, "precious stone" for beads (Wb V, 598,10; Harris, *Minerals*, 139-8.), etc. The egg was associated mythically with carnelian and other stones, *cf.* Westendorf, *ZÄS* 92, 149.

[27] It refers metaphorically to the hard shell of the egg containing the newborn god/king, where the related text reveals that the shell of the egg of this newborn king is made of iron/stone (?). Therefore, it explains clearly the use of the grain of sand instead, for its hardness.

[28] The pupil is equated with the sun disk, e.g., the magical papyrus Harris IV, 10-V, 1. It also equates with the disk because it gives the light in the eye (*Dendara* VI, 52,7-9; IX, 120,5). Re creates mankind from his tears (Tb 101). The pupil *ḏfḏ* is equated metaphorically with the eye *wḏȝ.t*, and the eye of Re *wḏȝ.t n Rᶜ*; while the eye is associate with the egg and the creation, etc.

[29] Other orthographic writings: 𓃰𓇋, 𓃰𓇋𓅱 *ṯȝ*(*w*). It also gives the meaning of "seed, offspring, child", Wb V, 339.14-340.18; CT I, 258c; CT III, 330b; van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 744. Hannig, *Lexica* 4, 2712. From the word comes the *nisbe* adjective 𓃰𓏏𓏛𓄿 *ṯȝy*, "male", Wb V, 345.14-19; van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 746. It refers to the male and female young bird or child. Wb V, 344.12-345.13; van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 746. And to the child god in general, or Horus in

pears in combination with the circle sign (in type A and B). This sign was replaced by the sign ,[30] "white-fronted goose" in three occurrences of the CT (type C).[31] Both hieroglyphs are associated metaphorically with the egg, as explained below.

V. The metaphoric significances of the egg

The egg is a germ cell and a metaphor for the mystery of life[32] in its simple function of giving birth, sexual reproduction and the self-impregnating power.[33] This metaphor involved the egg in the Egyptian cosmogony, where it was a symbol for the pre-creation status, creation and the primeval ocean, which developed and changed giving the seed of creation in the form of its fledgling, which represents the creator god. This god brings the light/life to the existing world by his own means.[34] Simply, an egg was the origin and source of the existence of life.[35] It has been noted that the egg is equated with the mother's womb in the mythical sources for their association, so it became a metaphor for the womb.[36] A child may be born from an egg, and deities in particular are concerned with self-creation and impregnating power.[37]

Therefore, the Egyptian deity may take the form of a bird that emerges from the egg, e.g., in BD 77, where the deceased equates himself with Horus, saying, "I am risen as a great falcon who comes forth from his egg".[38] In BD 170, the deceased is also equated with the falcon god Horus, who is in the egg: "You are Horus in the egg (*Ḥr m-ḫnw swḥ.t*). Rise up; you see that the gods and your arm stretch out to the horizon".[39] The bird form is known as one of the sun god forms in the religious and funeral sources[40] and appears in the ram-headed bird that symbolised the dead sun traveling through the netherworld as it is represented on one side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun.[41]

The metaphoric connection of the sun disk and the sun god with the egg are clearly attested from the CT onwards. The egg may be interpreted as Ur-substance for the sun disk; therefore, the sun god emerges from the egg.[42] The creator sun god, according to the Hermopolitan theory of creation, emerged from the primeval egg of the Great Cackler.[43] The daily sunrise is a simulation in

particular, in the religious and mythical sources, Wb V, 341.1 (Horus), 341.2 (young crocodile); Hannig, *Lexica* 4, 2712.

[30] As a determinative in *gb* "the *gb*-goose" from the Old Kingdom, *cf.* Gardiner, *Grammar*, 471; hence semi-phonantic *gb* in *Gb*, the god of earth. Bedier, *Die Rolle des Gottes Geb,* 159-60. This type may be employed in place of the more exact in words containing *s3*. Also, it may be used for the generalised determinative of birds and insects found in hieratic, Gardiner, *Grammar*, 471.

[31] The original Egyptian source for this papyrus is hieratic, since De Buck determined the bird sign in these attestations was the goose sign *gb*, I followed his transcription. However, it would be expected too that this sign is *s3*; in this case it would normally occur instead of the *ṯ3* since both refer to "son/child", and even this sign was replaced with the egg sign from the New Kingdom, as it inverted from the Middle Kingdom hieratic affiliations.

[32] Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, 163.

[33] *I.e.* PT 405; 516; 669; CT I, 167f/176k; 182g; CT II, 214b; 216b; 217g; 225b; 254c; CT IV, 53i; CT V, 337d.

[34] *Cf.* Lefebvre, *Le Tombeau de Petosiris*, vol. II, 38-9 (nr. 62, line 5; nr. 81, line 67); Lefebvre, *ASAE* 23, 65-7; Roeder, *Hermopolis*, 186 (ss.44); Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, 162-4; Caminos, in *LÄ* I, 1185-88; Reymond, *The Mythical Origin of the Egyptian Temple*, 65-7, and 54-70.

[35] For the cosmogony of the egg and its primeval aspects, *cf.* Morenz, in Morenz (ed.), *Aus Antike und Orient*, 73; Bickel, *La Cosmogonie égyptienne*, 234-41; Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften in der Barkenkapelle des Chonstempels*, 44-7; Allen, *Genesis in Egypt*, 8-10, 13-5.

[36] The CT spell 148 describes the mythical pregnancy of Isis with Horus, the seeds of Osiris, when he was shaped inside the egg/womb. It describes the mythical pregnancy of Isis with the seeds of Osiris. Isis speaks: "I have moulded the shape of the god within (my) egg (*i ṯs irw m nṯr m swḥ.t*)". She speaks again about her pregnancy: "There is a god within this body (womb) of mine and seed of Osiris is he", Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, vol. I, 125 ff.; Faulkner, *JEA* 54, 40-4. As well as the egg is a resemblance for the womb in the magic *i.e.* in the magical Papyrus Harris (BM EA 10042 VI, 12); Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri of the New Kingdom*, 69, pl. 34 (L.13). *Cf.* Caminos, in *LÄ* I, 1186, and references therein.

[37] The creator-god is always identified to be the one who emerges from his egg, *i.e.* Re, and Amun, Ptah, Atum, etc. E.g. CT II, 33c; 44d; BD 17 (Re). For more *cf.* Morenz, in Morenz (ed.), *Aus Antike und Orient*, 71-83; Zandee, in Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society*, 169-83.

[38] Tb (Hornung) 17, 1-2. Even earlier in CT spell 148, Hours takes the shape of the falcon inside the egg inside his mother-womb entitled 'taking shape as a falcon', *cf.* Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, vol. I, 125-7; Faulkner, *JEA* 54, 40-4. It spokes about the fashioning of the god and taking the his falcon shape inside the egg, reads: "I have moulded the shape of the god within (my) egg (*i ṯs irw m nṯr m swḥ.t*)".

[39] Tb (Naville), Taf. 191 (*Nfr-wbn.f*); Tb (Hornung) 170, 5-7.

[40] *I.e.* his iconography as a human deity with falcon head, sometimes he was depicted in this form inside the sun-disk (Tb 133 (Lepsius), LIV; also in the Fifth hour of the Day). *Cf.* LGG IV, 612.

[41] Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian unity*, 189, n. 106, pl. 6a.

[42] Several CT passages indicate their connection, where the sun god emerges from the Ur-egg; *cf.* CT IV, 292b-c; CT VI, 323g; 434m-i. Furthermore, the sun-disk and the egg are equating metaphorically in their form, colour, etc. For more *cf.* Bickel, *La Cosmogonie égyptienne*, 238f; Goldwasser, in van Dijk (ed.), *Essays on Ancient Egypt*, 79-84; and references therein.

[43] Zandee, *De hymnen aan Amon van Papyrus Leiden I 350*, 13, 69.

which the cycle of the sun god emerging from his egg is repeated. Thus, this allusion was expressed in the texts, such as those of the CT and BD; where the focal point of the spell is the fact that the sun/sun god in his daily rise is actual; he emerges from his egg. In this sense, CT II, 36c-d reads: *wbn.f rᶜ-nb prr.f m swḥ.t.f msw.t nṯr prt*,[44] "he rises every day, when he comes out of his egg. The birth of the god comes as the sunrays".[45] This is repeated several times, as in CT II, 44d which reads: *psḏ.f wbn.f prr.f m swḥ.t.f msw.t nṯr m prt*, "when he shines, when he rises, he comes out of his egg, which is giving birth to the sun at sun-rise".[46] It is attributed to him in BD 17: "Re who is in his egg, who is shining in his disk, and rises from his horizon".[47] It may be concluded that the sun god is inside, and emerges from, the egg, and that he shines in the egg disk. Thus, the fledgling depicted inside his egg is a metaphor or image for the child sun god, and is repeating his daily cycle in and out of his egg; he even, as the above text describes, is seen inside his shining disk/egg, which is illustrated by other means in the hieroglyph 𓅱 under discussion.

On the other hand, since the associations and connections of the egg vary, so that the sign 𓃀 in the combination of the hieroglyph under discussion may express some other metaphorical connections. Perhaps, the goose is employed in place of the more exact 𓃀 in words containing *s3*,[48] and since *swḥ.t* occurs sometimes with rebus instead, but the goose *gb* is associated as well with the primeval egg since it represents the form of the Great Cackler *ngg-wr*.[49] There are several attestations for the Great Cackler *ngg-wr* and the cackler *ngg* in Egyptian myth through the CT and BD.[50] On the other hand, since these attestations occur within the cosmogony of the egg and its primeval attributes, it may indicate a connection with the earth god Geb, who plays a cosmological role as a primordial god and creator, and is occasionally associated with the primeval egg.[51] CT II, 33b (B2L and B1C) identifies the son of Atum with Geb, whereas mythologically it should be Shu. CT II, 33b-c (B2L and-B1C) reads, "It is Geb who will live, whom I begot in my name. He knows how to nourish him who is in the egg in the womb for me".[52] Geb was identified as one of the great gods, and older than the primordial deities, CT IV, 86o reads, "who (Geb) is older than the great One".[53] In this he was depicted as an ithyphallic god, similar to Atum the creator god, and the accompanying inscription describes him as the creator of the world.[54] His connection with the primeval egg is approved through several other attestations as well.[55]

VI. The assimilations/similarities with other hieroglyphs

Such combination forms of this enigmatic egg sign 𓅱 and its variations also bring to mind some similar hieroglyphic forms, which may have no direct association with this particular egg sign, but have similar hieroglyphic structures and significance. Perhaps, they may help to bring the sign's symbolic significance to light. First, in respect of its idiomatic classification, it meets with the ideogram signs of 𓃹 *a pregnant woman* and of 𓃸 *a woman giving birth*. In the case of the sign 𓃸,[56] as ideogram or determinative in *msi* "give birth, be born"[57] and a determinative in *msw.t* "birth";[58] it represents a woman who is seated, while the child comes forth from

[44] Zandee commented on *prt* as a *sḏmt.f*-Form 'virtual clause of time'. Zandee, *ZÄS* 101, 73.
[45] *Op. cit.*, 64. Also *cf.* Bickel, *Essai d'analyse du Chapitre 80 des Textes des Sarcophages*, 84.
[46] Zandee, *ZÄS* 101, 80.
[47] Tb (Hornung) 17, 209-11.
[48] Fairman, *BIFAO* 43, 90f n. (m); Gardiner, *Grammar*, 471.
[49] It is associated with the primeval egg in CT III, 207h, 208e. The Great Cackler is associated with creation and the Hermopolitan view and with the primeval egg from the New Kingdom, *swḫt n ngg-wr*, "the egg of the great cackler". Amun is associated with the primeval egg as one who was inside the egg from the New Kingdom onwards: *i.e.* Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanishen Gräbern*, 140 (text 101.3), 241(text 173, 30-2), 282 (text 206,19), 290 (text 212a,10), 345 (text 249b, 6). Also, Amun identifies with the Great Cackler, and the *smn* of Amun, etc., *cf.* Eissa, *GM* 144, 31-41.
[50] *I.e.* BD 54, 56, 57; Kees, *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten*, 351; Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion*, 187f; Eissa, *GM* 144, 32-3 and n. 14. *Cf.* also Wb II, 350.13-14; LGG IV, 367.
[51] Some of the variation of the name of the earth-god Geb show the egg-sign, *i.e.* 𓃀𓅱 (pJumilhac XVI,7); 𓃀𓅱𓃭 (*Urk.* VI, 83.19). *cf.* Wb V, 164.6, 10-1; LGG VII, 303-6; Bedier, *Die Rolle des Gottes Geb*, 161. Bedier collected the various variations of the name with the egg sign. She commented that the egg sign gives the phonetic value *g*/*k* in his name. For the mythical and cosmological roles of Geb, Bárta, *Untersuchungen zum Götterkreis der Neunheit*, 94-100; Bedier, *Die Rolle des Gottes Geb,* 161-3. Fairman commented on the egg sign with the phonetic *gb* in 𓃀𓅱𓎛 *Gb* the name of Geb, that it occurs by false analogy because it was imagined that since the egg sign could be substituted for 𓃀 *s3* son, it could therefore be substituted for 𓃀 in 𓃀𓅱𓎛 Fairman, *BIFAO* 43, 116.
[52] CT II, 33b-c (B2L and B1C), Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, vol. I, 84; Bárta, *Untersuchungen zum Götterkreis der Neunheit*, 97.
[53] Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, vol. I, 232.
[54] Bárta, *Untersuchungen zum Götterkreis der Neunheit*, 98. So that he may be identified with the one who is inside the egg as well.
[55] *Cf.* LGG VII, 303-6; Bedier, *Die Rolle des Gottes Geb*.
[56] Gardiner, *Grammar*, 448.
[57] Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 116; Wb II, 137.4-138.17; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 458.
[58] Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 117; Wb II, 140.16-141.1.

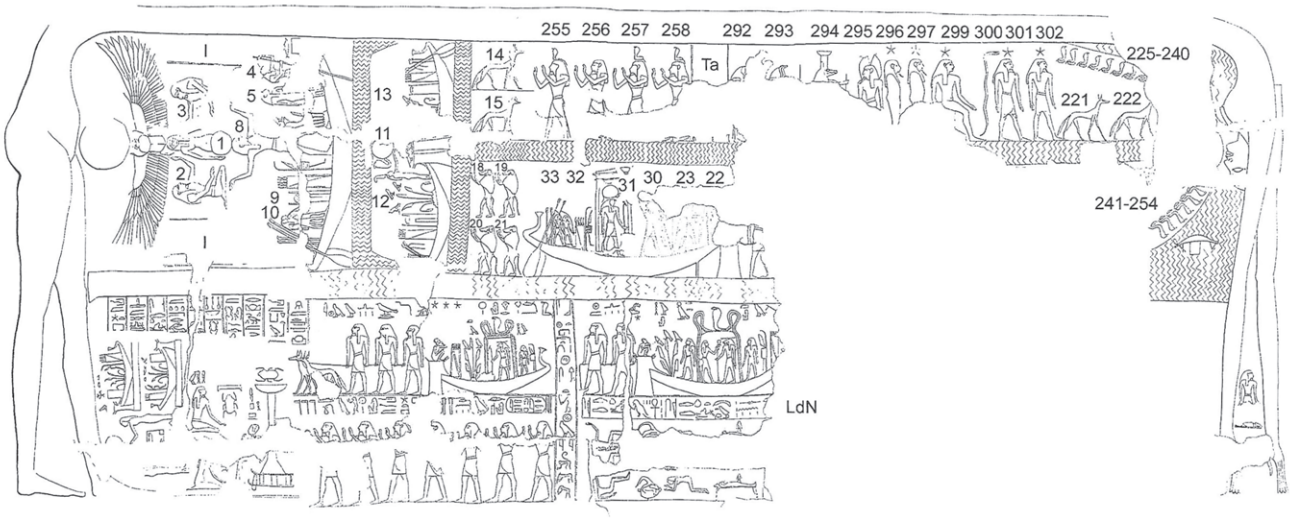
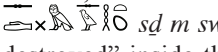


Fig. 1 - A Late Period version of the birth giving of the sun god. The First hour of LdJ, Osorkon II. Müller-Roth, *Buch vom Tage*, pl. 23

her vulva, and his head and arms are shown out of her body. The most noticeable issue in this sign is how the hieroglyph determines and expresses the act of giving birth through the child's head emerging from the body. Similarly, the egg hatching as a birth-giving act may be represented through the depiction of the embryo in its complete fledgling form; it is clearly to be seen inside its egg being ready to break forth. The hieroglyph expected here would depict 'a fledgling coming from a broken egg'. Such a sign does not exist in the hieroglyphs, or illustrations, but the allusion or notion often appears in the texts, as already noted.[59] However, the hieroglyphs or iconic signs under discussion are still in the cycle of pregnancy, and giving birth has not happened yet, but may be involved as well.[60] On the other hand, it seems to be similar to the hieroglyph of 'a pregnant woman' in *ỉwr*, "conceive, bear". This sign also appears within the same icon in the sun god's birth representations in the First hour of *Book of the Day*, particularly the depiction of the pregnant goddess, who will give birth to the sun god in this hour. It even varies in the form (namely the pregnant goddess) between this abbreviated hieroglyphic form (Osorkon II; Fig. 1), and its form with the sun god inside the disk/egg/womb (Ramesses VI; Figs. 2-3). It seems to be clear that the depiction of the pregnant goddess' in the tomb of Ramesses VI was developed from its hieroglyphic origin . This depiction is an icon of the goddess, who became pregnant with an embryo inside her womb in the form of the disk/egg/womb. It even presents another iconic combination of this hieroglyph of the pregnant woman and those under discussion , in which the embryo's bird form appears in the human form of the sun god, who has taken his complete child form ready to be born (break forth).

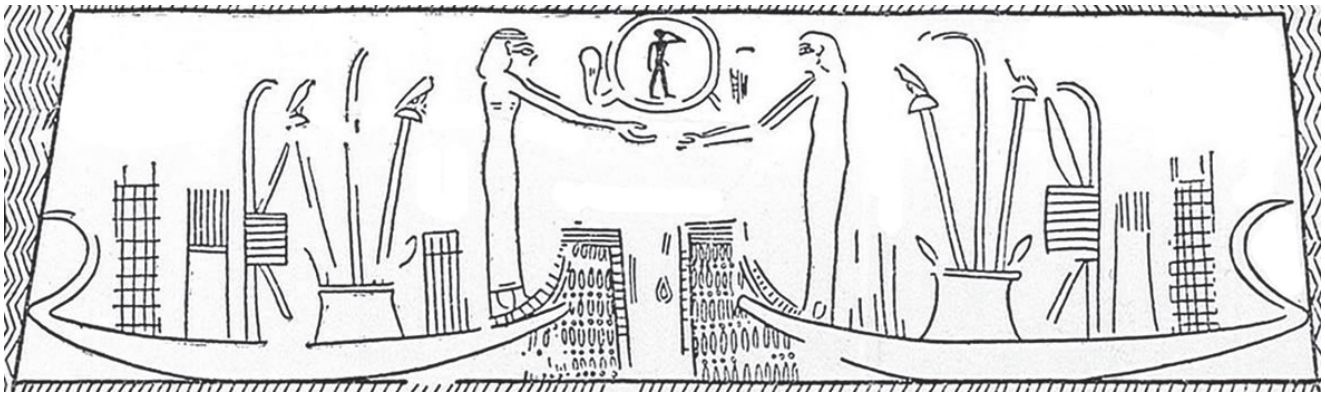
In respect of another metaphorical, and similar, combination, the ideogrammatic writing as a variation of the name of Hathor is considered to be a perfect comparable example. The sign is a combination of the hieroglyphs *ḥ.t* (*house*) and (*Ḥr*) as the name of Ho-

[59] The hieroglyphs under discussion still have the customary iconic value for 'egg', while specifically, it determines the fledgling in embryo-form inside an egg. It may be considered as a hieroglyph for the embryo, given its bird-form in readiness to go forth (?). A significance which is interpreted through some relevant phrases, such as *sḏ swḥ.t*, "breaking the egg" by the fledgling to go forth, Wb IV, 374.3. The philological significance of this phrase occurs in positive and negative sequence, *cf.* Wb IV, 374.2-5; Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 233; van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 512; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 868. Also in Wb IV, 374.5:  *sḏ m swḥ.t,* "break the egg or Germinating life destroyed" inside the egg before comes forth, *cf.* Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch*, 680. For the verb *sḏ*, "to break (something in pieces)", Wb IV, 373.8 and 374.1-2. It is attested from the PT onward in the context of bowls, or dishes being broken, especially in the ceremonies, e.g. 'breaking the red bowls' (Wb IV, 374.1-2). *Cf.* van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 587f: "to break" in CT I, 154f, 156d; CT II, 127a; CT VI, 305f*;* "be broken"; CT VII, 95e?; 110k; "break out", CT IV, 181g, *sḏ.n.i m swḥ.t*.

[60] In the passages that are discussed here, *i.e.* CT II, 36c; 44d emphasising on the hatching or coming forth from the egg. Several other mythical and religious sources describe the creation of the creator god who emerges from the egg. This notion was illustrated also in the texts of the tomb of Petosiris at Tuna el-Gabel, Lefebvre, *Le Tombeau de Petosiris,* vol. II, 38, nr. 62, line 5; Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*, 160 ff.; Roeder, *Hermopolis*, 186 (44c).

Fig. 2 (left) - The Birth giving of the new sun, sun god at the beginning of the First hour of LdJ. Tomb of Ramesses VI, Valley of the Kings, Thebes. Piankoff, *Ramesses VI*, fig. 130 (detail)

Fig. 3 (below) - The transferring of the sun-god within the disk between his two barks. First hour of LdJ, Tomb of Ramesses VI, Valley of the Kings, Thebes. Piankoff, *Ramesses VI*, fig. 130



rus,[61] to be read *Ḥ.t-Ḥr* and meaning *house of Horus* in association with the falcon child god Horus.[62] The name indicates, in this form, Hathor as Horus' mother which may be clarified by the Egyptian understanding of the mother *ḥ.t* as "house" or "town", from which the child comes and belongs to.[63] This form presents a similar icon to ours. Similarly, this combination continues and appears in the hieroglyph 𓅓.[64] The connection with the hieroglyph of the nest is not limited to their hieroglyphic structures, but it appears metaphorically in the mythical and religious significance of the egg as a symbolic place for the embryo, together with the nest where the egg is placed and the fledgling grows up. It is attested from the Old Kingdom onwards and means "nest, a swamp of birds" or the marshland where the bird's nests might be found.[65] Sometimes, it occurs in the metaphoric sense within the Egyptian myth linked to the child god Horus, who grew up in a bird's nest in the Delta, which is known as the nest of Chemnis where Horus was nursed by Hathor, etc.[66] It is attested in this sequence from the PT to the Graeco-Roman Period at Edfu. It occurs in other places, where it is associated with the primeval egg and Hermopolis.[67] In literary sources, the word nest occurs occasionally instead of 'egg,' e.g., in a titulary inscription of Thutmose III, who stated that "I am the one who is still in his nest" *(imy sš.f)*.[68]

[61] Gardiner, *Grammar*, 494.

[62] The written form and meaning of Hathor's name is mythically interpreted in CT Spell 148, where Horus took his falcon shape inside the egg/womb of his mother Isis, and the mythical connection between Isis and Hathor as mother of the child-god Horus, etc.

[63] Sethe, *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter*, 120. In his commentary on the PT 408 (Pyr. 714b), where the word *swḥ.t* is determined with the sign 𓐍. He mentioned that it is expected since the Egyptian myths –especially from the Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts onwards– reflects the Egyptian understanding of the *swḥ.t* egg as a living-place of the embryo. For Hathor's name as *House of Horus,* Sethe, *Pyramidentexten* III, 315-6; also, LGG V, 75-9.

[64] Other vars. 𓅓 *sš* "nest", other orthographic writings, *i.e.* 𓇋𓅓𓂝. Wb III, 483.12 and 484.14-23; Lesko, *DLA* II, 79; van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 548f. The 'three ducklings in nest' sign 𓅓 occurs as a determinative in *sš*, "nest"; sometimes the sign 𓅓 takes the place of the three ducklings sign. Gardiner, *Grammar*, 473; Wb III, 483.12- 484.14; Lesko, *DLA* II, 79. For *sš* in the meaning of "marshland" or "swamp of land", Wb III, 484.1-14; van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 548.

[65] From which the word 𓅓𓏏 *sš(3)* "a bird or nestling" is derived, Wb IV, 280.14.

[66] Wb III, 484.17-22; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Dictionary*, 921.

[67] Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Dictionary*, 921.

[68] *Urk*. IV, 157, 3 (Karnak); compare also *Urk*. IV, 1328, 13-15 (Amenhotep II, Karnak).

The main hieroglyphs under discussion in this paper together with that of Hathor and the nest reveal obvious similarities in their hieroglyphic structures, which are continued in their mythical significance in connection with the embryo or nursed fledgling. Similar to our theme or hieroglyphs where the hieroglyphic structure and their mythical significance: the nest, Hathor, and the egg are symbolic places, where the embryo, later a bird or child is nursed. Mythically, Horus is the child god, son of Hathor, who was inside the egg inside the womb of his mother Isis, and was nursed in the marsh nest at Chemnis. He is attributed with *imy sš.f*[69] in the sense of "in his cradle", an epithet which, together with the one that describes him as *imy swḥ.t* ("who is inside his egg") (*i.e.* CT spell 148), concludes this mystery and the association between the three previous hieroglyphs. The egg has the significance of the place of the bird, or the god, in embryo.[70] So, theologians may be influenced by these two other hieroglyphs and their mythical backgrounds to produce the enigmatic hieroglyph for the egg with the young bird inside.

Its metaphoric connection with the sun disk and the god is not limited to their hieroglyphic form, in which the hieroglyph *sun disk*, reveals a similar hieroglyphic form. This sign indicates the sun disk and the sun god as an ideogrammatic writing of his name, and as an icon or depiction.[71] The sun god Re appears in various forms in the numerous and varied Egyptian religious and funeral sources. The sun disk and the child form are the relevant forms for his daily rebirth, where he is occasionally depicted in his child form inside the disk, while in other cases in his child form or as the disk only. In his daily journey, where the theme is the god's birth/rebirth, *i.e.* the First hour of *Book of the Day* depicts the child sun god inside his disk, and again inside his disk/egg inside the goddess' womb (Figs. 3, 4), while the accompanying texts describe his birth.[72] The metaphoric connection of the sun disk and god with the egg has been already noted above, in which it was clarified mythically and cosmologically that the sun god emerges from the egg. Therein lies the fact that the depiction of 'the sun disk with the child god inside' is metaphorically developed from the customary iconic egg sign and its enigmatic

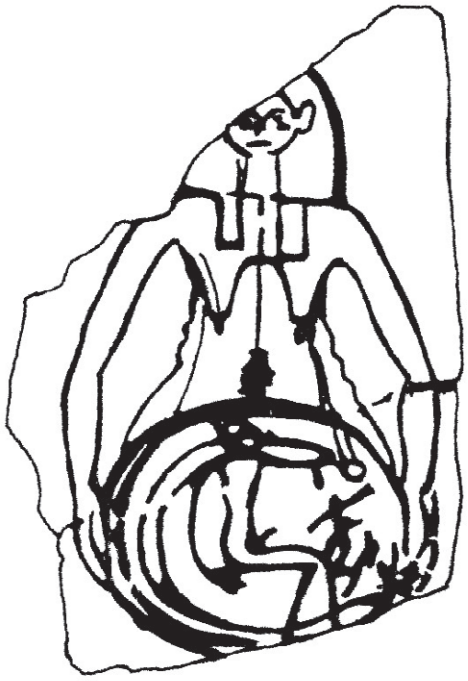


Fig. 4 - Ostracon from the Egyptian museum, Cairo CG 25074

form . That comes through its mythical significance in the daily birth of the sun god, and its cosmological significance as a metaphor for the cosmos from which the creator god/sun god is emerging.

The customary egg sign occurs in a similar hieroglyphic combination, which appears in the Graeco-Roman cryptographic writing of 'the child in the temple': [73] and *pr-ms* ("House of birth").[74] which is composed of the *bḫnt* sign and the child sign respectively.[75] It shares the same notion and occurs under the theme of the child god within his own cosmos. The mythical significance of the egg as a mother womb and germ cell, a place for the embryo and the cosmos, is associated with the temple that represents the primeval hill and the origin of the cosmos; this symbolic significance appears clearly in the Graeco-Roman religious sources.[76] From

[69] Wb III, 484.18-22; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Dictionary*, 921.

[70] According to the Late Egyptian mythical texts, it even appears in its writing variation in the PT (Pyr. 714b), where it was determined with the sign . The notion of the god who was inside the egg and emerges from it, is already clarified by numerous Egyptian sources, Lefebvre, *Le Tombeau de Petosiris, vol.* II, 38, nr. 62, line 5; Sethe, *Amun*, 160 ff.; Roeder, *Hermopolis*, 186 (44c); Sethe, *Überstzeung und Kommentar*, 315f.

[71] See below.

[72] See below.

[73] Daumas, *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque Gréco-Romaine,* vol. III, 521; Daumas, *Mammisis*, 514; *Dendara* VII, 53, 8; Budde, *Das Götterkind im Tempel*, 5f, 349f, and references therein.

[74] Budde, *Das Götterkind im Tempel*, 5f, 349f. For the various writings and meaning as well as the related attestations, see *op. cit.*, and Fig. 6 here. This cryptograph was known as one of the ten cult objects of Hathor in Dendara, *cf.* Budde, *Das Götterkind im Tempel*, 2 ff.

[75] It also occurs in two of its occurrences with the sign instead of the child, in which it reads *ḥt-swḥ.t*, "House of the egg". Budde, *Das Götterkind im Tempel*, 352f, 402f.

[76] For the mythical origin of the temple, and his connection with the egg, Reymond, *The Mythical origin of the Egyptian*

these one may interpret this Graeco-Roman cryptographic writing as being developed from the same metaphoric symbolical significance of the egg and its cosmogony.[77]

VII. The textual attestations

The relevant passages in the PT and CT, where the word *swḥ.t* is written or determined with one of these enigmatic hieroglyphs, may reveal some of their significance. The first occurrence of this hieroglyph is in PT 669 at the pyramid of Pepi I (type A: 𓃰).[78] However, this enigmatic form of the egg sign does not appear in the spell's versions of PT of Merenre and Pepi II,[79] but it occurs again with the hieroglyph (type C: 𓃰) in the CT's version of this spell (CT VII, 198f).

PT 669 describes the ascension and birth/rebirth of the deceased king, who is breaking forth from his egg. The texts are highly relevant to the daily rebirth of the sun god in the First hour of *Book of the Day*. PT 669[80] reads:

> Recitation. He whom the great heat foretold has come forth from the interior Akhet and has seen the arrangement of the festival calendar and the making of the braziers on the birth of the gods on the five epagomenal days on your arms, Great-Breasted One in front of the inductees. [May you find him there at the beginning of your document among those who have made their names. N has been given birth] by his mother Begetter in a rebirth in the nest. [...] 'Look, he is tied together; he has developed; look, he has developed. so, with what can we break his egg?' said the gods. 'Then Sokar of Spread (Lake) will come for him, having smelted his harpoons, carved his prongs, [and struck the two ferules of] his [two shafts]. He is the one who will break his egg and unite his metal (bands), and the god will proceed to his activity, with sharp teeth and long nails, the god's leaders. Look, N has developed. Look, N is tied together. Look, N's egg has been broken for him [...]'[81]

Its traditional CT version in CT VII, 198f, reads: 𓃰[82] *sḏ.f swḥ.t,* "he will break the egg".[83] The texts express and stress the meaning of the egg's hatching by the deceased, who readied his complete form for giving birth; the text describes the hatching, so that the enigmatic egg sign with the young bird inside not just determines the word, but is also an allusion to the newborn in bird form. The hieroglyph (type C: 𓃰) occurs in two other passages in the same version (P. Gard II),[84] where the theme of the mythical birth from the egg/womb is continued. The deceased is equated with the god Re in CT spell 207, reading: *ỉwr.ty*[85] *Rᶜ ms*(*w*)[86] *ṯn wỉ ỉm*(*y*) *swḥ.t.ỉ ms*(*w*).*ṯn wỉ snḫn*(*.w*).*ṯn wỉ,* "The birth of Re, you shall give birth to me who I am in the womb (lit. egg); (when) you have borne me, you shall nurse me".[87]

This mythical significance continues in CT I, 167e-f/176k.[88] The relevant texts reveal the desire of the deceased to attain his life, celebrate and rejuvenate his life with/in his ascendants and offspring, where it

temple, 63-7 and reference therein.

[77] *Cf*. Budde, *Das Götterkind im Tempel*, 402f.

[78] This spell is numbered: 1049 (P/A/N 63), according to Leclant, its parallel PT 669, and its variation in the Coffin Texts (CT 682 and CT 989), Leclant *et al., Les Textes de la Pyramide de Pépy Ier*, vol. I, 153; vol. II, pl. 10 (col. 63; for the spell cols. 60-3).

[79] Pyr. 1967; 1968d (crushed); 1969c, where it is determined with the simple circular sign.

[80] For the version of Pepi I of this text, Leclant *et al.*, *Les Textes de la Pyramide de Pépy Ier*, vol. II, pl. 10, col. 63. For its translation, *cf*. Carrier, *Textes des Pyramides de L'Égypte Ancienne*, 862-4.

[81] Allen, *Middle Kingdom Copies of Pyramid Texts*, 265-6 (N 347 = P 431).

[82] CT VII, 198f (P Gard II).

[83] Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, vol. III, 98.

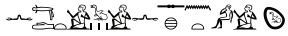
[84] CT III, 156b and CT VII, 147a. CT III, 156b shows the word in its correct writing, except in the versions G1T and A1C, in which it was replaced by the abnormal writing 𓃰 instead. This abnormal writing is not appropriate for the word *swḥ.t*, though it is determined with its proper iconic sign. Perhaps, it is a miswriting influenced with its metaphoric connection with the fledgling and its writing *t3*. Harco Willems commented on this abnormal writing 𓃰 on the Coffin of Heqata (A1C), Cairo JdE 36418: "The egg determinative is rendered in its usual, much smaller size, so that the bird now appears outside it", Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata,* 458 (g). I may suggest some other interpretations to that of Willems. First, I think the scribe draws the hieroglyphs of the bird too large to be enclosed in the circular sign or the egg, not vice versa, so that it was left as is, while the iconic determinative of the egg settles the meaning. In my second interpretation, it is simply that the scribe forgot to draw the outer line of the egg around the young bird.

[85] For its meaning and interpretations according to the various versions of the passage, Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, 457-8 (b).

[86] For the special meaning of *msi*: "bear, give birth, schaffen", *cf*. Zandee, in Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society*, 169.

[87] CT III, 156a-157a. *cf*. Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, vol. I, 168; Carrier, *Textes des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire Égyptien,* I, 506f. For Willems' translation and valuable commentary on this spell, Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, 457 ff. This passage represents the Middle Kingdom version of PT spell 408: "You night's brood, come, give Teti birth. You two whom the day conceives, extend yourselves and give birth to him who is in the egg", Pyr. 714-715a; Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, 133; *cf*. Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 93 (T 285), 142 (P 372).

[88] CT I, 167f gives the writing type (B), in the five quoted versions on coffins from El Bersheh. CT I, 176k gives a repetition of CT I, 167f, unless the word occurs in its orthographic writing type (A).

reads:[89]  [90] *n šdt.i ṯ3.w.i n snḫnt.i swḥ.wt.i,* "when I had not yet brought up my fledglings, when I had not yet hatched my eggs".[91] Although the transliteration of this passage seems to be clear, its translation is still a matter for discussion and may require some consideration of its meaning. The two passages here may reveal a parallelism between the word *swḥ.wt* and the word *ṯ3.w,* "fledglings".[92] Both words are plural in the various versions of the passage; their orthographic writings are very similar. It may be observed that both sentences have the same meaning, in which the second one emphasises and stresses the small status of the fledglings who are just or not yet born, and not yet grown. This parallelism might suggest an equating of the two parallel words. The enigmatic or cryptic writing of *swḥ.wt* in CT I, 167f stands in a schematic relationship with its parallel word in the preceding passage. The scribe connects the *swḥ.wt* unequivocally to the preceding phrase as an accompanying allusion describes this image. The depiction of the embryo inside the egg in this enigmatic form emphasises the meaning of the preceding short passage by pointing out that the fledgling has just hatched from its egg, was not grown up yet, and has not completed its lifetime as the following passage also reveals 'before I had attained my lifetime'. The egg and the fledgling are associated metaphorically with each other, since the fledgling was first located inside the egg in its embryonic phase, as I pointed out above.

This interesting mythical text brings to our discussion the particular allusion in an ancient Egyptian inherited aphorism, which is still popular in today's Egyptian dialect. This aphorism reads: "He has not come forth yet from his egg"; with one of its particular meanings is 'how little such a baby is'. I interpret this passage in the sense of being the speaker here describing his children – how they look so small (in his eyes) to the point that one can say that they are still in their eggs, *i.e.*, not born yet. Actually, the enigmatic form of the egg sign presents an image or allusion that is still caught in the minds of Egyptians.

The verbs which occur in CT I, 167f/176k reveal some of this allusion in the adapted meaning of the word *swḥ.t*,[93] and its associated meaning with *ṯ3.w*, since the egg doesn't grow up but obviously its embryo (later, the fledgling) does. In the case of CT I, 167f, the causative verb *snḫn,*[94] "to make young, nurse child" is used, while in CT I, 176k, the verb *snḫḥ,*[95] "to rejuvenate oneself" or "let grow old, age"[96] appears instead. In both cases, the verb *šdi,*[97] "bring up, nourish" occurs with *ṯ3.w*, which has the same meaning as the verb *snḫn*. The relevant meanings of these three verbs in the CT reveal their main and usual use, which is to describe the growing status of a fledgling or child.[98] That is, the verb *snḫn* occurs in CT III, 157a *snḫn.ṯn wi,* "may you nurse me",[99] describing the deceased, who would be nursed after hatching from his egg. It occurs again in CT VI, 247k in this meaning describing the deceased as the child who is nursed by Isis.[100] Again CT VI, 370m obviously describes the fledgling in this case "The fledglings were nursed before she was nursed".[101] The verb *snḫḥ* is determined with the sign that emphasises its meaning of "let grow old, age". It also occurs in CT VII, 21b, reading "I am rejuvenated and I am hale, for I am one who went forth from the belly".[102] It also describes the fledgling's status after issuing from his egg, and follows it in the order of the stages. So it seems to be more appropriate with the fledgling (or embryo) rather than the egg, which may reveal the same significance in *snḫn.t.i swḥ.wt.i*. Perhaps the verb

[89] The son of the deceased equates himself with the primeval god, and speaks to his father in the west.

[90] CT I, 167e-f (B16C).

[91] Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, vol. I, 32. CT I, 176k, reads: *n šdt.i ṯ3.w.i n snḫḥt.i swḥt.i*, "when I had not yet brought up my fledglings, when I had not yet hatched my eggs", Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, vol. I, 33.

[92] According to van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, and van der Plas, *Coffin Texts World Dictionary*. Unfortunately, there is no other example for the two words together, in the CT, on which their association could be clarified more.

[93] The other relevant texts discussed here reveal the use of some other verbs and preposition which often occur with the *swḥ.t*, the preposition *imy* (CT III, 156a) and *m-ḫnw* (CT VII, 147a) and the verb *sḏ* (CT VII, 198f), and PT 669 (Pepi I: new spell 1049 P/A/N –col. 63–).

[94] Wb IV, 169.11-14; Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 233; van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 511f (has the meaning of "hatch eggs" in our attestation, and of "nurse child" in others); Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 868.

[95] Wb IV, 170.2-5; Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 233; van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 512; van der Plas, *Coffin Texts World Dictionary*, 258; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 868.

[96] Van der Molen prefers this meaning in CT I, 176k, since it is determined with the sign , van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 512; van der Plas, *Coffin Texts World Dictionary*, 258, gives the meaning of "educate" in the case of CT I, 167f and some other CT occurrences for the verb *snḫn*.

[97] Wb IV, 564.17-565.15, "to suckle" or "educate"; Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 273; van der Plas, *Coffin Texts World Dictionary*, 284, gives other occurrences for the verb in the CT therein; van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 640. Van der Molen gives in addition other meanings for this verb from our attested examples, where it means "save, carry out, celebrate, and take or remove", *cf*. related pages 638-40.

[98] *Cf*. the previous footnotes. For their CT attestations, van der Plas, *Coffin Texts World Dictionary*, 258, 284.

[99] *Cf.* Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, vol. I, 168.

[100] *Op. cit.*, vol. II, 211.

[101] *Op. cit.*, vol. II, 282.

[102] *Op. cit.*, vol. III, 11.

šd(*i*), "bring up, nourish", which occurs with *ṯ3.w* in CT I, 167e/176k, supports this meaning as well.[103]

These hieroglyphs appear under the cosmogony of the egg as well; CT VII, 147a-b reads: *ṯs*(*w*) *nṯr m-ḫnw swḥ.t Ḫpr ḳd*(*w*) *m-ḫnw* [...], "The god is knit together within the egg, Khepri is formed inside [the nest]".[104] It clearly indicates the creator sun god, who was knit inside the egg (disk), takes his solar form or iconography as Khepri. Khepri is the morning manifestation of the sun god; he appears in the form of a scarab inside or pushing the disk/egg in the religious sources from the New Kingdom onwards.[105] Again under the same theme in CT II, 3d-4b, "It is I who I am Shu, whom Atum created on the day that he developed. I was not built in the womb, I was not tied together in the egg (*n ḳd.i m ḥ.t n ṯs.i m swḥ.t*), I was not conceived in conception. My father Atum sneezed me in a sneeze of his mouth, together with my sister Tefnut".[106] Shu describes his creation as his father Atum sneezes him, not to be built inside the womb or fashioned within the egg. The CT 76 spell describes Atum as the creator god, who impregnates himself as one who was inside the egg. The enigmatic egg sign, Type A, occurs in one version only of CT II, 3f (G1T); which may be interpreted to be no more than a scribe's temporary imagery, or copying from the other attestations for the sign in this form, since the sense of this passage is even to deny this method of creation for Shu, as the following passage reveals that Shu was sneezed by his father Atum.

The texts discussed above related to this enigmatic sign in the writing of *swḥ.t* are classified under the metaphoric mythical and cosmological themes where the symbolic significance of the egg is adapted. The egg is a metaphor for the cosmos and creation from which the creator god comes forth from his egg; while mythically the deceased is born from the egg as a germ cell for the life circle. This enigmatic egg sign, and its variations in the PT and CT's writings of *swḥ.t*, present an earlier allusion to the representations of the daily birth of the sun god from the New Kingdom (*Book of the Day* and BD), which appears even in the context of the related texts of the PT and CT, as has been pointed out. By other means these hieroglyphs fulfill the functional purpose of the accompanying vignettes of the New Kingdom 'mythical birth'.

VIII. The assimilation with the iconography of the sun god inside the disk

The iconography of the sun god as a child or human god with a falcon's head or a scarab in the disk, which is known well in the funeral and religious sources from the New Kingdom onwards reveals an interesting assimilation with the hieroglyphs under discussion.

The First hour in the *Book of the Day*, as in the tomb of Ramesses VI,[107] takes place in the east and represents the birth of the new sun from the body of Nut and may be relevant to our theme. The first scene, particularly under the sky goddess' body, shows the goddess[108] depicted as a pregnant woman holding a disk, in which the sun god is seated as a newborn child (Fig. 2).[109] The sun disk was represented several times inside the body of Nut as a blank disk during the god's nightly journey, before he reaches the birth moment, when he is depicted as a new-

[103] It occurs in several other passages of the Coffin Texts with the same meaning. For its occurrences and meaning, van der Plas, *Coffin Texts World Dictionary*, 284; van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 640.

[104] Bickel, *La Cosmogonie égyptienne*, 238. Faulkner's translation reads: *ṯs*(*w*) *nṯr m-ḫnw swḥ.t ḳd*(*w*) *ḫpr nṯr m-ḫnw* [...], "The god is knit together within the egg, the god is formed and having come into being inside [the nest]", Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, vol. III, 78.

[105] In some other places in the Coffin Texts, the egg is a metaphor for the sun disk, particularly the morning sun and the shining of the sun god as Re or Khepri. CT VII, 510 reads "I posses the egg of Re and my dignity is like that of Re when he appears in the early morning", Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, vol. III, 185, again in CT VII, 310b, Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, vol. III, 139. In the New Kingdom, a hymn for Amun in TT 183(8) equates him with Re, and then Khepri who is inside the egg: *Rᶜw sḥḏ.fd3t* [..] *m-Ḥwt-hrw, Ḫpri imy swḥ.t.f* [...], "Re, when he lights the netherworld [...] as Hathor. Khepri, who is inside his egg", Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräberen*, 241(Text 173.30-2); for the sun god/Khepri in the scarab form inside the egg and their assimilations and association with these hieroglyphs, see below.

[106] Allen, *Genesis in Egypt*, 18; *cf*. Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, vol. I, 77; Zandee, *ZÄS* 100, 60, 65.

[107] Ramesses IV in corridor C and in the Sarcophagus Hall; similar compositions in sarcophagus chambers in the tombs of Ramesses IX (KV 6) and of Osorkon II at Tanis, though it represents the divine figure holding the disk without the child.

[108] Piankoff interpreted the figure here as the goddess Nut, since it occurs in the version of the tomb of Osorkon: Piankoff, *BSAC* 16, 266; Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, vol. I, 389; Schäfer, *Kunst*, 126-7, fig. 17. Dorman suggests it represented the sun god himself, as discussed below.

[109] Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, vol. I, 389, fig. 130; Müller-Roth, *Buch vom Tage*, 70 ff., fig. 13, pls. 1, 17, 22-23. For the comparable versions in the tomb of Ramesses IX, Osorkon II, *cf*. Müller-Roth, *Buch vom Tage*, 70 ff. A Graeco-Roman version of the *Book of the Day*'s scene appears in the temple of Edfu representing the child sun god sitting on the disk on his bark, accompanied with his crew in the bark (Fig. 4): *Edfu* IX, Taf. 70; Budde, *Das Götterkind im Tempel*, 288f, Abb. 60.

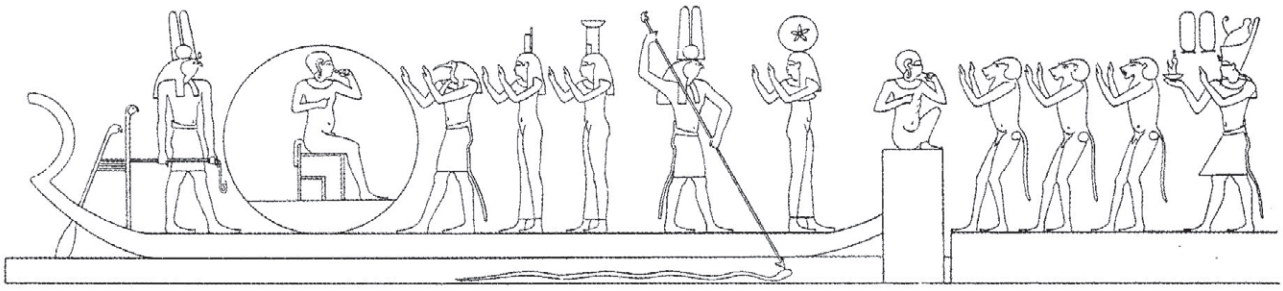


Fig. 5 - The child sun-god inside his disk on his daily bark among his company. The First hour of the Book of the Day, Temple of Edfu. *Edfou* IX, pl. 70

born child inside the disk.[110] The Final hour of *Book of the Night* and the First hour of *Book of the Day* are concerned with the same physical phenomenon 'sunrise', the rejuvenation of the sun god in his nightly and daily journeys.[111] The main theme of the first hour of the day is entitled "She who lifts up the beauty of Re" appearing through the scene described above and the accompanying text is the daily rebirth of the sun god.[112] However, the central figure of the scene is the goddess Nut, who gives birth to the newborn sun god (Figs. 2, 5); or it represents the aged sun god[113] as a self creator, shown in his older form in the process of refashioning or giving rebirth to himself,[114] since the aim of this scene is the renewal and rebirth of the sun god. The earliest indications of the rebirth of the sun go back to the PT (compare Pyr. 698d; 705c; 1382e). PT spell 416 is highly relevant to this part of the *Book of the Day*, in which the text identifies Pepi I with the Potter (the creator as Khnum), the breaker of the complete egg which contains the life, he was also born to the goddess Nut. It reads: "Pepi is your oxen's caretaker, the one in charge of your Meskhenet. Pepi is your potter on earth, the breaker of the complete egg, to whom Nut has given birth. He has come having fetched for you the enclosure he potted for you on the night of your birth and the day of your Meskhenet: it is a beer jar".[115] Pepi I is identified with the newborn sun or sun god who comes in connection with the egg as he breaks forth from the complete egg.

The notion of the sun's rebirth is repeated again through the same hour of the *Book of the Day* in the scene below the bark of Shu. It represents the two barks of the day and night with Isis and Nephthys standing on their prows (Fig. 3). They transfer the disk from the bark of the night to that of the day; while inside the disk is a representation of the sun god as an ithyphallic standing child,[116] enveloped by the coiled serpent Mehen *mḥn,* "the enveloper",[117] as the inscribed caption above the prows indicates. The Cairo ostracon CG 25074[118] shows a similar representation to that in the first scene of the *Book of the Day*, and represents an ithyphallic child within the womb of Nut, while the goddess' womb has taken the form of the disk or the egg (Fig. 4). The hieratic inscription accompanying the newborn indicates that he is the sun god: *Rᶜ ᶜq.(w) m ỉtn.f,* "Re, having entered into his disk".[119] This inscription enhances a connection with

[110] Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, vol. I, figs. 131-2.
[111] Dorman, *Faces in Clay*, 121-2. To compare the two hours *cf*. Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, vol. I, 389-91, 409f, figs. 130-1; Müller-Roth, *Buch vom Tage*, 69-73.
[112] Dorman, *Faces in Clay*, 122; Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, vol. I, 389-90, fig. 130; Müller-Roth, *Buch vom Tage*, 70-2, and 100-1. The text of the First hour of the *Book of the Day* is highly relevant to that of PT 669 and its traditional version in the CT discussed above. For the accompanying texts of Ramesses VI, *cf.* Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, vol. I, 389 ff.; for the accompanying texts of Ramesses VI and Osorkon II and related commentary, *cf*. Müller-Roth, *Buch vom Tage*, 100 ff.
[113] My understanding of CT I, 167f/176k, where the hieroglyphs in discussion occur, is that the dead regenerates himself in his offspring or fledglings, who are inside the eggs or have already come forth, see above.
[114] Dorman, *Faces in Clay*, 122-3; Müller-Roth, *Buch vom Tage*, 75-6; Piankoff interpreted the figure here as the female goddess Nut giving birth the newborn sun: Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI,* vol. I, 389. Dorman identified this figure as the sun god in the form of the potter, who is refashioning himself by the means of the potter's wheel, Dorman, *Faces in Clay*, 123.
[115] Allen, *Middle Kingdom Copies of Pyramid Texts*, 159 (P 464).
[116] Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, vol. I, 389, fig. 130; Müller-Roth, *Buch vom Tage*, 80-3.
[117] Müller-Roth, *Buch vom Tage*, 81. The primary function of the god Mehen, as it appears here and in the religious beliefs of New Kingdom Netherworld literature. He is an immense coiled serpent who stands on the night bark of Re, and he guides the passage of the sun god in his netherworld journey. Piccione, *JARCE* 27, 43-5. About the Mehen serpent, see also CT VI, 77d-1; 387n; 389a; 390k-n; Tb 131 (Allen), 107; LGG II, 383-4b (23); Ranke, *Das altägyptische Schlangenspiel*, 14-22.
[118] Daressy, *Ostraca*, 15 and pl. 15. It seems to be a sketch from the previously mentioned scene of the First hour of the *Book of the Day*.
[119] Manassa, *The Late Egyptian Underworld*, 99. I followed Manassa's reading and translation of this inscription; however the other reading agrees with our assumption as well. On her side, she pointed out: "The hieratic inscription accompanying

Fig. 6 - The sun-god inside the sun-disk on a bark, BD 17, Milde, *Vignette*, 41, fig. 12 [La, in reverse]

Late Period Sarcophagi, Address 61. The main section of the address describes Re at the beginning and the end of his journey through the Netherworld. Re enters as an old man and emerges as the scarab transformed into the flaming child (*sḏ.ty*). On the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II[120] in a version of Address 61, an important new sentence has been added to the New Kingdom text: "It is he who is the Flaming child, the egg who emerged before him" *(ntf sḏ.ty swḥ.t pr ḫnt.f)*.[121]

Similarly, the version *La* of BD 17 shows a mummiform god sitting within a great solar disk in his bark (Fig. 6).[122] The identity of this deity is not clear, but its parallel in the reverse of *La* and in *pAni*, is identified with the sun god Khepri. The god's iconography in *pAni* is provided with the Double Crown and the name 'Atum' is added in front of him. The sun god here is thought to depart from the horizon in the sun bark on his celestial course accompanied with his followers.[123] The first scene of BD 17b shows a picture of the rising sun being adored by the deceased [*La*],[124] in accordance with the words: *i Rᶜ imy swḥ.t.f psḏ m itn.f wbn m ȝḫt.f*, "O Re, who is in his egg, shining in his disk, rising in his horizon".[125] This concept appears and is repeated several times in other, comparable, religious and funeral sources,[126] where the iconographies of the sun god vary between the newborn child, human god, and/or the scarab-form,[127] sitting inside a great sun disk[128] or not,[129] or even instead as a great blank disk.[130] Some other iconographies and representations of the sun god with similar mythical themes are interesting.[131]

the child is not legible in Daressy's published photograph. Daressy mistakenly transcribes the hieratic label as *Rᶜ šri*, the young or newborn Re, which has been followed in subsequent publications and literature". But a collation of the original in Cairo reveals that the child is labeled as: *Rᶜ ʿq*.(*w*) *m itn.f* "Re entered his disk". For the other translation Daressy, *Ostraca*, 15 and pl. 15; Hornung, *MDAIK* 37, 223; Müller-Roth, *Buch vom Tage*, 72, Abb. 14; Budde, *Das Götterkind im Tempel,* 401 (n. 586), 405 (n. 615), fig. 100; Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, 31, fig. 15.

[120] Jenni, *Sarkophag des Nektanebos*, vol. II, 32; Manassa, *The Late Egyptian Underworld,* 99.

[121] Manassa, *The Late Egyptian Underworld*, 99-101. For Re as the flaming child, see Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian unity*, 319-21 and references therein.

[122] Tb 17 (Naville), XXX.l.a.

[123] Milde, *The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet*, 40-1, fig. 12.

[124] *Op. cit.*, 38, fig. 9.

[125] *Cf.* BD (Allen) 17b (S1); *Urk.* VI 56,1 (BD 17; for its Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts' version *cf. Urk*. VI 55,1). For the various versions of the text, Lapp, *Totenbuchtexte*, 204-7.

[126] The BD, and Netherworld books, and the mythological papyri of the Twenty-first Dynasty, which describe the sun god's journey, *i.e.*, in the mythical papyrus of *Her-ouben* (Twenty-first Dynasty), the newborn sun god is represented as child encircled by the serpent *sd-m-rȝ* in the form of the disk upon the horns of the sky goddess, Piankoff, *ASAE* 49, 129-32, pl. 6; Piankoff, *Mythological papyri*, 71-4, fig. 4. A similar scene on the Uppsala 228 sarcophagus depicts the sun god in human form with a ram's head seated on the disk laid between the two horns of the sky goddess, Hornung, *Der ägyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh*, 99, fig. 9; Verhoeven, *Das Kind im Gehörn der Himmelskuh*, 1902 ff, fig. 2. Many comparable scenes were discussed by Schäfer in which the newborn sun god has various iconographies. About the iconographies of the sun god in his journey, *cf.* Schäfer, *ZÄS* 71, 15-9, figs. 11-4, 22-5; Verhoeven, *Das Kind im Gehörn der Himmelskuh*, 1899-1910, figs. 2, 4. Compare also, the final scene in the Netherworld books: Hornung, *MDAIK* 37, 217-26, figs. 1-10.

[127] The sun god in his manifestation as Khepri is also depicted in the form of the scarab inside the disk, e.g. in the Litany of Re: *cf.* Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri*, 235-46, figs. 91, 94, 244 (the deceased is identified with the three manifestations of the sun god (Ra, Khepri, Atum) in the ninth litany), and 463-5 (for the various iconographies of the sun god).

[128] Tb 133 (Lepsius), LIV: the vignette represents the falcon-headed sun god, wearing his disk with the uraeus and carrying scepter and *ankh*. He is seated inside a great sun disk on a throne in the middle of his bark. For other versions, Milde, *The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet*, 160-3.

[129] Tb 136 (Lepsius), LVI: Similar to Tb 133, but the sun god is depicted without the shrine or the sun disk.

[130] Tb 130 (Naville), CXLIV: the dead is standing between two identical barks of the sun god, each bearing a great sun disk (Night and Day bark), Milde, *The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet*, 152f, fig. 44.

[131] A representation in the final picture depicts the sun god as a child on the sun disk, as he comes forth from the egg/disk. The representation is preceded by a litany addressed to the souls of the divinities, and reads: "This great god comes forth from the two mounds which are in the Netherworld. This god becomes a form of forms of the Exalted Earth. I come forth from my

Conclusion

The enigmatic hieroglyph and its variations under discussion represent a metaphor for the egg in its mythical and cosmological significance, in which always the egg and its embryo are meant in some way. This hieroglyph is a simple allusion to the significance of the egg as a germ cell for life in which the new life is clearly seen. Therefore, the egg was a central symbol for the Egyptians; its roles are varied in mythical, cosmological, magical, or literal significance, so that this enigmatic hieroglyph was a perfect reference to many of these roles. Its structure and symbolism are interpreted below.

1. This structure is well known in the Egyptian hieroglyphs; which is confirmed by other hieroglyphic signs that are more correct in use and their significance has already been clarified. Some of these signs even reveal several levels of associations with the egg and the hieroglyph under discussion; for example, the hieroglyphs for Hathor's name; signs for the nest; the pregnant and birth giving seated woman.

2. The hieroglyph and its enigmatic variations occur first just for the word "egg" in the PT and CT, but continues by rebus as an enigmatic writing for the preposition *imy,* "inside", during the Middle and New Kingdom. The egg sign occurs as a writing for the preposition *imy* rendering the description meant by this form that of the bird who is inside the egg.

3. The written variations of this enigmatic hieroglyph (vars. and) represent several metaphorical connections of the egg as early as the Old Kingdom; such as its connection with the sun disk and the sun god, the pupil or iris, stone materials, the child god, etc. These connections and associations are interpreted and approved by the symbolic roles of the egg, which are continued, developed and interchanged in different ways with other symbols in Egyptian religion and myth through time.

4. The egg sign was entered in other combinations, which gives particular symbolical significance regarding its metaphor, for example: the enigmatic or cryptographic writing for the child inside the temple (the house of birth), rendering its metaphorical significance as a place for the child.

5. The context of the hieroglyph and its variations, where they occur in the PT and CT, reflects their mythical and cosmological significance for birth/rebirth, "the circle of creation". Therefore, these particular enigmatic forms of the egg sign, by no means, express its metaphor for these themes, so that the enigmatic form of the egg sign, where it occurs in the PT and CT, plays the same functional part of the vignettes which appear in mythical and funeral texts in the New Kingdom.

On the other hand, this fictional allusion, which is expressed in this enigmatic hieroglyph and is interpreted in the relevant texts, is still popular in inherited Egyptian aphorisms.

6. The allusion of this hieroglyph is transferred into its illustrated copies in the iconography of the sun god in his daily rebirth, particularly in the *Book of the Day* and BD. This association or assimilation of the iconography of the sun god inside his disk with the hieroglyph is significant, and it can be confirmed and interpreted through the metaphorical association of the sun disk and sun god with the egg. It has been already noted that the sun god's birth is symbolised in his coming forth from his egg, which is attested from the CT, if not earlier. Therefore, their connection is even approved in the textual attestations of this enigmatic hieroglyph. The child sun god is personified in the young bird inside the egg, while the sun disk and/or the womb is equated with, and embodied in the egg.

Other iconographies and representations of the sun god, which appear in the religious and funeral sources from the New Kingdom onward, could be interpreted under the same allusion and concept, or other similar allusions.

A conclusion that the hieroglyph under discussion is relevant somehow in the metaphoric identity of the Egyptian hieroglyphs, religion and myth, in which a theme, that begins with the hieroglyph and ends in religion and myth, has always existed.

Acknowledgment
My sincere thanks are due to Prof. Dr. Ursula Verhoeven-van Elsbergen (Mainz), for her advice, discussion and reviewing of this paper. The paper was written during a Post-doc. fellowship of the DAAD, which I spent at the Johannes Gutenberg University, Mainz in 2013.

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mounds! I am born, my disk is established", Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, vol. I, 131f, fig. 28; Hornung, *MDAIK* 37, 233-4, fig. 7, compare also fig. 8, pl. 38b.

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The Canopic Chest of Khakheperreseneb/Iy – Louvre E 17108

Patricia Rigault

Abstract
The canopic chest of Khakheperrêseneb/Iy kept in the Louvre Museum (E 17108) can be added to the file of Khakheperrêseneb/Iy who was one of the last, if not the last, governor of Cusae. So far, he was known only from the coffins found in his grave at Meir by A.B. Kamal, the present location of which is not known. In addition, this chest is quite a rare example of the use of yew wood in ancient Egypt.

During a public sale held in May 1944, the Louvre Museum purchased a wooden canopic chest, a type of object relatively rare in the collections of the Egyptian Department. The boards which constituted the bottom of this chest actually belonged to a coffin; as soon as it was acquired, Jacques Vandier, the curator in charge of the department at this time, removed them from the chest. The chest and the fragments of coffin respectively received the inventory number E 17108, E 17109. In the short description published in the "Bulletin des Musées de France" of March 1946, he reported that "the fragment of wooden coffin covered with inscriptions borrowed from the collection known under the name of *Coffin Texts* was used as the bottom of the canopic chest and had been nailed, in modern times, probably by a dealer of antiquities".[1]

Description

The chest, roughly square, is in a good state of conservation. It displays, however, some cracks (face *b* and *d*, lid and rectangular end piece of face *c*), some missing pieces, especially where the wood nodes would have been (sides *a*, *c* and *d*), and the assembly is a little disjointed.

Dimensions:
Box with lid: Height: 51 cm; Width: 45.3 cm; Depth: 45.8 cm.
Side panels: Height: 42 cm; Thickness: 3.5 cm.
Lid: Length: 39.8 cm; Width: 37.5 cm; Thickness: about 3.9 cm in the middle.
Rectangular end pieces: Height: 7.5 cm; Length: 45.5 cm; Width: about 6 cm.
Modern bottom: Height: 2.5 cm.

Technique (Figs. 1-2):

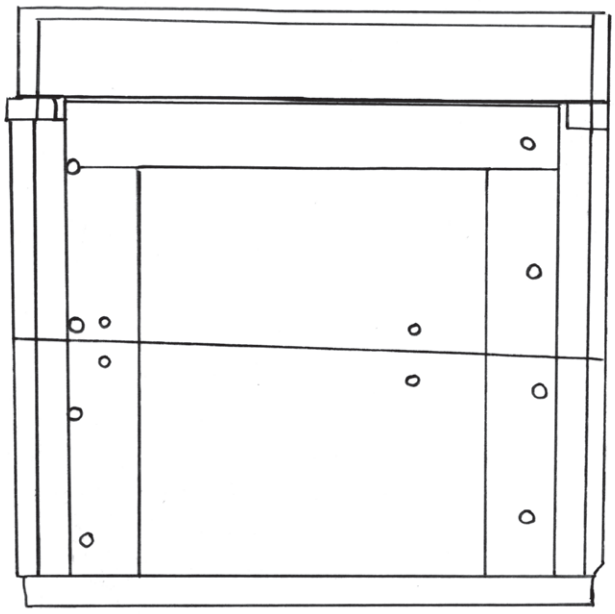


Fig. 1 - General view of side panel *c* with rectangular piece at the top

Each side panel is formed of two boards joined by two open tenons, each secured by two small pegs. The horizontal junction between the boards was masked by a fine coating of plaster, coloured light pink. Some traces of this plaster remain. A similar coating was also used at the top

[1] Vandier, *Bulletin des Musées de France* 11/1, 9.

of panels and in various places to fill small defects. The side panels are chamfered and held together with four large pegs fitted diagonally. At the top of sides *a* and *c*, on each corner, a rectangular piece has been removed to accommodate a piece of the same shape located at the top of the two other panels. A plinth is arranged on the inner edge of sides *b* and *d* (1.5 cm in depth, 1 cm in height) to support the lid (Fig. 5). This lid consists of two boards, joined together by two open tenons fixed by small pegs. It is slightly curved outside and the inner face follows the same curve (Fig. 2). Once set up, it was blocked by the rectangular end pieces, the inner

Fig. 2 - Side view of the lid

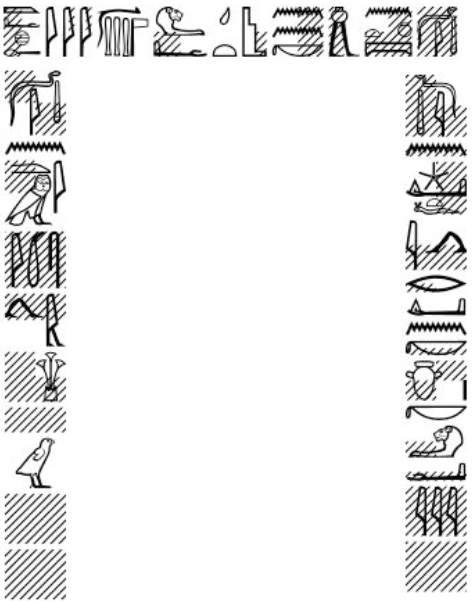
face of which is hollowed out to receive the edges of the lid (Figs. 6-7). A hole on the top of the rectangular piece of side *a*, almost in the middle and close to the internal edge, could, possibly, have been used to place a peg enabling the lid to be blocked completely. The bottom was originally fitted inside and fastened by pegs, the location of which is still visible on sides *b* and *d*. An oak board has replaced the fragment of coffin after its removal. The chest probably rested on two slats fixed across the bottom, also disappeared today. Inside, the panels are covered with a coating of light beige. The chest was originally divided into four compartments by boards, long gone. These boards went up to a height of approximately thirty centimetres as shown by the traces on the coating (Fig. 5). This kind of interior installation is frequent during the Middle Kingdom.[2]

The woods used for this chest are yew (*Taxus baccata*) for the sides and one of the tenons, tamarisk (*Tamarix type tetragna*) for the other tenons and the pegs, pine of Aleppo (*Pinus cf. halepensis*) for the lid and finally jujube (*Ziziphus cf. spina-christi L.Desf.*) for the rectangular pieces. Yew is not a local wood and is rarely employed in ancient Egypt. It is however attested from time to time and in particular for coffins coming from the site of Meir. It could come from the Amanus Mountains in southern Turkey.[3]

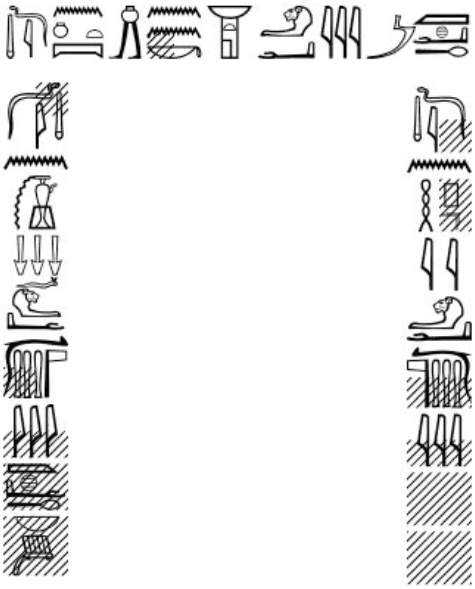
Decor:
All external surfaces have received a light red colouring, applied directly on the natural wood. The sides are surrounded by a border painted light beige, which is prolonged on the small sides of the rectangular pieces. They present three bands of inscriptions: a horizontal line at the top and two vertical lines.

Inscriptions:
Lid (Fig. 4):

Side *a* (see Pl. xxiv)

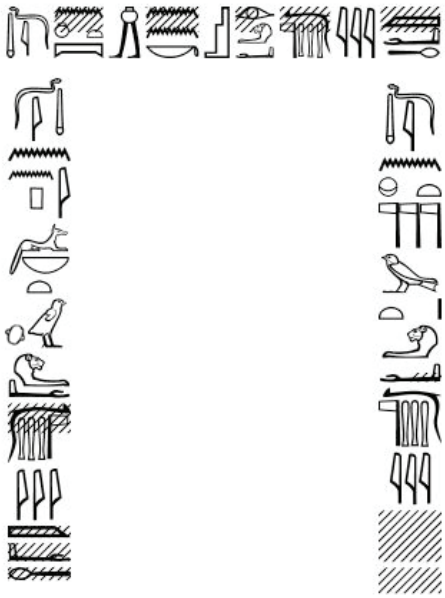


Side *b* (see Pl. xxv)

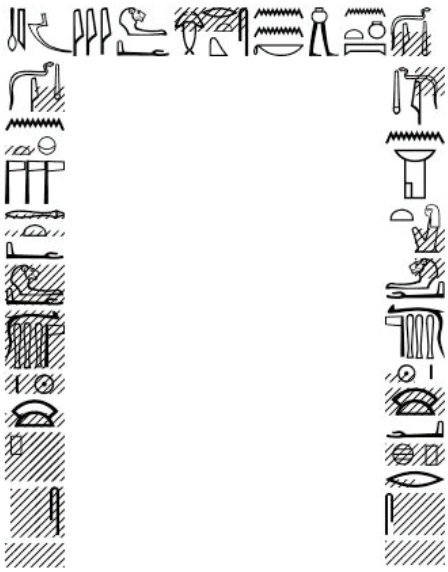


[2] See for instance Dodson, *Canopic Equipment*, pl. 6a and b; Reisner, *Canopics*, 382, no. 4977 (Sepi); 383, no. 4980 (Neferi); pls. 79 and 90.
[3] See Asensi Amorós *et al.*, *Techné* 29, 60-1.

Side *c* (see Pl. xxvi)



Side *d* (see Pl. xxvii)



Comments

The hieroglyphs were painted in green/ blue on a beige or yellow background. The green tonality of the inscriptions can be due to the ageing of the blue pigment of which some traces remain in places.[4] The inscriptions are partly effaced, in particular in the low part of the vertical lines, but their content remains legible.

The disposition of texts, in the shape of an inverted U, is frequent at the end of the Middle Kingdom and other examples are to be found at Asyut, Deir el-Bersha and Meir in particular.[5]

The word *mꜣᶜ-ḫrw* is sometimes written with a *ḫ* before or after the ᶜ (sides *a* and *b*).

The text on the lid is a formula of the type *ḏd md.w ḥꜣ Wsjr*. All the other texts are divine speeches of the type *ḏd md.w jn*. Those of Qebehsennuf and Hapy on side *b*, Anubis and the *Psḏ.t wr.t* on side *c*, the *Psḏ.t ᶜꜣ.t* and Nephthys on side *d,* follow the model *ḏd md.w jn*/ divine name/titles and name of the dead. On side *a*, the speeches pronounced by Amset: *jw*~ [*n=j*]… *ḥᶜ* […] *w* […] and Duamutef : *jw*~[*n=j*] *rdj*~[*n=j*] *n=k jb =k* were more developed. The speech pronounced by Amset could be a text equivalent to the type V of Sethe[6] and the second is an equivalent of PT § 2097c and CT VI 118 r. This association of texts can be found on the canopic chest of Nesumontu (Amenemhat-seneb), coming from Thebes and dated to the end of the Twelfth Dynasty.[7]

The four sons of Horus, Isis and Nephthys are evoked on sides *a* and *b* which followed each other. Anubis, the *Psḏ.t wr.t*, the *Psḏ.t ᶜꜣ.t*, Nephthys, Osiris and Serket occupy the two following sides, *c* and *d*.

The top of the four sides receives the speech of the goddess of the sky, Nut, who "brings" (*jnj*) to the dead Isis (side *a*), Nephthys (side *b*), Osiris (side *c*) and Serket (side *d*). (Fig. 3)

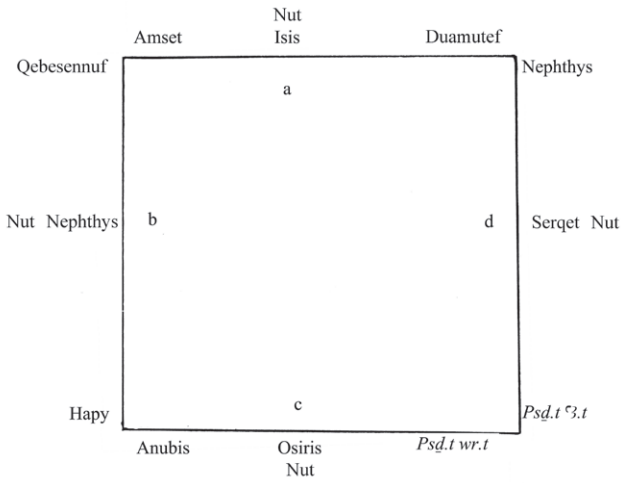


Fig. 3 - Position of the divinities on the chest

[4] See the remarks made by S. Pagès-Camagna concerning the pigments used on the mummy masks found at Mirgissa, in Pagès-Camagna, in Rigault-Déon, *Masques de momies*, 270-1.

[5] See for instance, the canopic chests of Mesehety, BM EA 46638 (Asyut); Sat-Ipi, BM EA 35286, Goua, BM EA 30838 (both Deir el-Bersha); Hapyankhtify, MMA 12.183.14 (Meir).

[6] See Sethe, *Zur Geschichte der Einbalsamierung*, 1* – however, the presence of the sign *w*, a little further on, is difficult to explain.

[7] Marseille, Musée de la Vieille Charité, no. 281. See Lüscher, *MDAIK* 45, 220-5, pl. 24b (north side).

Fig. 4

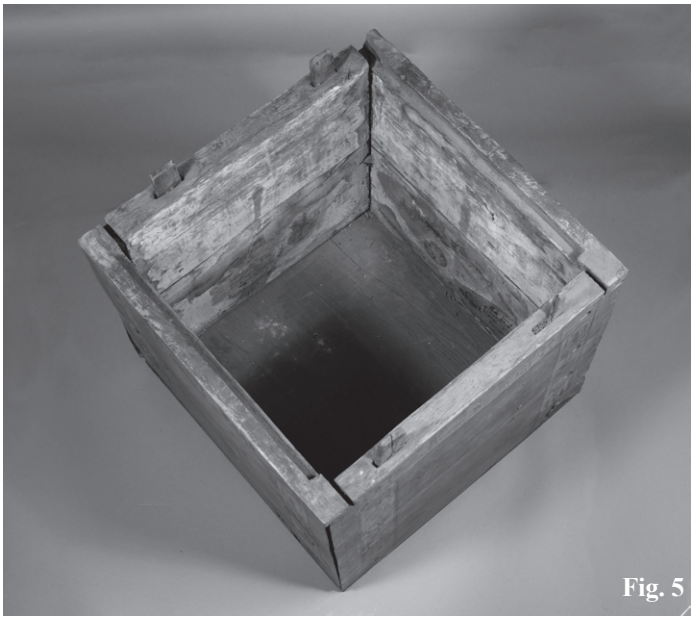


Fig. 5

Fig. 6

Fig. 7

Canopic chest of Khakheperrêseneb © Georges Poncet/Musée du Louvre
Fig. 4 - view with the lid; **Fig. 5** - view of the interior; **Figs. 6 and 7** - general view

The presence of the goddess Nut on each side is noteworthy. The evocation of the sky in the funerary equipment of the Middle Kingdom is frequent, in particular on the lids of coffins. The presence of 'star-clocks' under the lids of the coffins of Asyut, or hieroglyph *pt* (sky) of large size above texts on other coffins suggests a celestial context clearly.[8] The coffins of Deir el-Bersha and Meir usually present, moreover, formulae in relation with the goddess Nut whose origins are to be sought in *Pyramids Texts*.[9] Outside, the long sides present variants of PT § 580 c, §638 a-b, and §1607 a-b, while the small sides mention the speeches of Nut who places (or brings as well) Nephthys and Isis at the head and the feet of the dead. Inside, the long and short sides also show speeches of Nut or Geb.[10]

This evocation of the sky is also found on some canopic chests,whose the lids are decorated with painted stars.

[8] The 'star-clocks' are to be found on Asyut coffins, see Neugebauer, Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. I; Willems, *Chests of life*, 235-7.

[9] This is the case, for instance, for the coffins of Sepi (from Deir el-Bersha), Musée du Louvre E 10779 A and B. On these formulas, see Willems, *Chests of life*, 131 ff. (coffins of type III); Rusch, *Die Entwicklung der Himmelsgöttin Nut* and Lüscher, *Kanopenkästen,* 67-8.

[10] Willems, *Chests of life*, 194 ff.; coffin of Nakht (Meir), see Meyer-Dietrich, *Nechet und Nil*, 327; outer coffin of Senebtisi (Lisht), see Grajetzki, *The coffin of Zemathor,* 28-9.

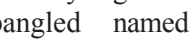
The texts evoke also the goddess Nut. They can be simple formulas of the type *jm3ḫw ḫr Nwt* as on the chest of Ukhhotep (Meir)[11], or more developed texts equivalent to those of the coffins, as on the chest of Hapyankhtify (Meir).[12] These two last chests are, with their spangled decoration, the most developed examples of this association with the goddess of the sky. The texts written on the lid of the chest of a man named Iha (Deir el-Bersha), begin with the formula *ḏd md.w jn Nwt* as on the chest of Khakheperreseneb/Iy. Unfortunately, the following text is no longer legible.[13] The speeches of Nut, inscribed at the top of the sides, on the chest of Khakheperreseneb/Iy, thus seem unparalleled at present. Their content could find an echo in the *Ritual of Opening the Mouth*, more precisely in a passage where Nut brings (*jnj*) the gods, in order to guarantee life to the dead.[14]

Lastly, these texts reveal the identity of the owner of the chest, who bears the titles of *ḥ3ty-ʿ mr ḥm.w nṯr*.

The name of appears ten times, thus, the chest was allotted to him first. A closer look to the texts reveals, however, very blurred traces of another name at the end of the vertical lines of side *d:* .

Khakheperreseneb/Iy is known thanks to the excavations carried out by Ahmed Bey Kamal on the site of Meir in 1911.

The site of Meir and the excavations of Ahmed Bey Kamal in 1911

The cemetery of Meir was of extraordinary wealth originally.[15] It was, unfortunately, the object of numerous plunderers and the excavations conducted there did not generally make the most of its history and this wealth.[16] The large decorated graves aroused considerable interest and have been well published.[17] On the other hand, the less important graves were largely ignored. Only a small number of them were opened by Kamal in the years 1910-14.[18] He reports carrying out excavations in January-February 1911 in four hillocks situated southwest of the site of Meir containing the hypogea of Middle Kingdom dignitaries. In the third, he brought to light the grave and the remains of the funeral equipment of a man named  also called .[19] Originally this tomb contained three wooden coffins, two rectangular and one anthropoid. Of the outer coffin, there was only a board from its back side inscribed with an invocation to Anubis. The intermediate coffin was better preserved, although its bottom was missing. The lid was slightly curved. Kamal specifies that the wood was unpainted on the outside, preserving its natural colour, and that the inside was painted in white without inscriptions. He gives a copy of the texts inscribed on the box and the lid.[20] The same titles and names appear on these coffins and, as on the chest, the word *m3ʿ-ḫrw* is sometimes written on the intermediate coffin with the sign *ḫ*.

The third, anthropoid, coffin had been "complètement raclé par les voleurs dans l'antiquité", according to Kamal who does however mention the remains of a decoration of "grènetis" around the head. Next to the coffins were a number of objects: three terracotta cups (two of them 50 cm in diameter and the third 44 cm in diameter) having contained foliage and bread; ten jars containing "viscera" (according to the term used by Kamal) or food mixed with some clay for others; some vine stocks ("quelques ceps de vigne") and finally, the lid of a wooden canopic jar, covered with a coat of lime. Unfortunately, no photographs or drawings come to complete this inventory of the contents of the grave which, besides, is not at present localised.

Khakheperreseneb/Iy

On his coffins and canopic chest, the man is indifferently named Khakheperreseneb and Iy. This practice, common in the Middle Kingdom, became very frequent at the end of this period as shown by Pascal Vernus.[21] The use of his two names seems to be made according to a process of simple alternation.[22] On the fragment of outer coffin, only the name of Iy appears in the preserved inscription. On the inner coffin, the name of Khakheperreseneb appears fourteen times and that of Iy only four

[11] New York MMA 12.182.133, see Lüscher, *Kanopenkästen*, 99, no. 22.
[12] New York MMA 12.183.14, see Lüscher, *MDAIK* 45, 214 ff., figs. 26-30 and pl. 25.
[13] Cairo CG 4733, see Reisner, *Canopics*, 366, no. 4733.
[14] Otto, *Mundöffnungsritual*, 27 e; Billing compares this passage to PT § 823 d in which Nut gathers (*ip*) her children, see Billing, *Nut*, 100-1.
[15] See PM IV, 247; Kessler, in *LÄ* IV, 14-9.
[16] See Willems, *Chests of life*, 82-6.
[17] Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*.
[18] Brief reports of his excavations have been published in: Kamal, *ASAE* 11, 3-39; Kamal, *ASAE* 12, 97-127; Kamal, *ASAE* 13, 163-78; Kamal, *ASAE* 14, 45-87; Kamal, *ASAE* 15, 177-205.
[19] Kamal, *ASAE* 14, 74-8. Figure 12 is the plan of the grave.
[20] Both rectangular coffins correspond to the numbers M 20 (inner coffin), and M 21 (outer coffin), in Willems, *Chests of life*, 37 (coffins without inner decoration) and M34a (outer coffin) and M34b (inner coffin) in Lapp, *Typologie der Särge und Sargkammern*, 288.
[21] Vernus, *Le surnom au Moyen Empire*, 42. File no. 181 for Khakheperreseneb/Iy.
[22] Vernus, *Le surnom au Moyen Empire*, 99.

times.[23] The situation is inverted on the canopic chest: the name of Iy appears ten times, whereas that of Khakheperreseneb appears only twice. Both names are thus used in a random way and neither seems to have a greater importance.

Dating

The cemetery of Meir consists of five hills identified by letters A, B, C, D and E. 'Hill A' was used in the Old Kingdom, 'Hill B' seems to have only been used from the reign of Amenemhat I and 'Hill C' was later put into service and probably used until later than the reign of Sesostris III.[24] According to the indications of Kamal, the grave of Khakheperreseneb/Iy was situated in 'Hill C'. It is later than the grave Ukhhotep IV (C1) which has to date around the reigns of Sesostris II-III, according to paleographic and typological criteria. H. Willems has attributed to the tomb the number C2.[25] Last one of the Twelfth Dynasty series of the graves, its plan is in accordance with what can be observed after the reign of Sesostris III and there is no decoration on its walls, unlike the graves of the preceding governors of Meir. Decorated tomb chapels disappear during or just after the reign of Sesostris III, thus his tomb was probably completed during this reign or just after.

The name of Khakheperreseneb contains the prenomen of Sesostris II, so he must have been born during the reign of this king.[26] There is no recorded family for Khakheperreseneb/Iy at Meir. It is possible, however, that he was bound to Ukhhotep IV, owner of grave C1. As governor and overseer of the priests, like many local governors at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, he is at present the last governor known for the nome of Cusae.[27]

The coffins of Khakheperreseneb/Iy present characteristics which confirm this dating. The presence of PT § 638 on the lid,[28] extracts from the Pyramidion spells and the formula of Nefertum (CT 788 followed by PT § 266 a - b) as well as the texts introduced by the *ḏd md.w* formula on the sides of the intermediate coffin, point to a late date in the Middle Kingdom. For H. Willems its outside decoration is of type IV ba, at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty.[29] W. Grajetzki opts for a similar dating near the reign of Sesostris III.[30] Finally, G. Lapp, places it a little later, at the beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasty.[31]

Some elements of the anthropoid coffin, still visible at the time of the excavations, are worthy of comment. Kamal mentions "grènetis" around the head, thus, doubtless at the level of the wig. These could be elements belonging to a hairstyle comparable to the one on the coffin of Hapyankhtify, also datable of the end of the Twelfth Dynasty. Hayes described this hairstyle in these terms: "[…] the black bands of the headdress are overlaid with rows of small, lozenge-shaped ornaments of black faience with striated backs, which procure the effect of thick, wavy locks of hair".[32] The term "grènetis" is vague but suggests a relief decoration of this type.

Finally, the chest itself presents clearly late characteristics.[33] The curved lid, provided with rectangular end pieces, makes its appearance on canopic chests, as it does on coffins, at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty. The underside of the lid follows the same curved line as the external face, a detail which could favour a relatively late date in the Middle Kingdom.[34] Besides, the texts, distributed according to a plan in the shape of inverted U, are of the *ḏd md.w* type and have some parallel examples: the canopic chests of Nesumontu (Amenemhat-seneb),[35] and, again, Hapyankhtify, both dated to the end of the Twelfth Dynasty. However, the more developed decoration of the latter, like that on its rectangular coffins,[36] invites a dating for Khakheperreseneb/Iy chest a little earlier, probably during the latter part of the reign of Sesostris III.

Acknowledgment
I wish to thank the editors of this publication for the opportunity to publish here this canopic chest from the collections of the Louvre Museum; Anne Portal (conservator), who has examined this chest with me and provided me with many informative details about the techniques used and the decoration; Victoria Asensi Amorós (wood anatomist), who carried out, within a very short time, the xylological analysis of all the elements of this chest and provided me with information concerning the use of yew wood in ancient Egypt.

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[23] Vernus, *Le surnom au Moyen Empire*, 102.
[24] Willems, *Chests of life*, 86.
[25] *Op. cit.*, 86.
[26] On this matter, see Lapp, *Typologie der Särge und Sargkammern*, 115.
[27] Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 118.
[28] This text begins with *ḏd md.w: ḥ3 Wsjr* formula, used on the lid of the canopic chest.
[29] Willems, *Chests of life*, 161.
[30] Grajetzki, *The coffin of Zemathor*, 61 ff.
[31] Lapp, *Typologie der Särge und Sargkammern*, 112-3.
[32] New-York, MMA 12.183.11 b. See Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, vol. I, 312, fig. 203.
[33] About the canopic boxes of the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period see Miniaci, *EVO* 33, 17-30.
[34] See the observations of Dodson, *The Canopic Equipment,* 32.
[35] See n. 9.
[36] New York MMA 12.183.14, see Lüscher, *MDAIK* 45, 214 ff., figs. 26-30 and pl. 25.

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I am a *Nbt-pr*, and I am Independent

Danijela Stefanović, Helmut Satzinger

Abstract

This paper presents the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty stela Musées de Sens, 325, as well as an overview of the meaning and significance of the title nbt-pr during the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period. Based on analyzed attestations, it may be suggested that nbt-pr emphasizes an adult, independent female.

The rectangular, round-topped stela (measuring 37 x 22 cm) of the Musées de Sens, 325,[1] executed in the silhouette style, and with incised lines and hieroglyphs, commemorates two sculptors (Fig. 1). Under the lunette, under the *udjat*-eyes, there are four lines of inscription containing the *ḥtp dj nswt* formula:

(1) *ḥtp dj nsw wsjr ḫntj-jmntw nṯr ꜥ nb*
(2) *ȝbḏw wp-wȝwt nb tȝ ḏsr psḏt jm(t)*
(3) *ȝbḏw dj.sn prt-ḫrw t ḥnḳt jḥw ȝpdw šs mnḫt ḫt nbt*
(4) *nfrt wꜥbt ꜥnḫtj nṯr (j)m n kȝ n ḳstj*[2] *sȝ-tp-jḥw*[3]
(5) *mȝꜥt-ḫrw* (sic!)

(1) An offering which the king has given,[4] and Osiris, foremost of the westerners, the great god, lord of
(2) Abydos, (and) Wepwawet, lord of the sacred land, (and) the divine ennead who is in
(3) Abydos, may they give an invocation offering of bread, beer, beef and fowl, (oil in) alabaster (vessels) and linen, all
(4) good and pure things on which a god can live,[5] for the *ka* of the sculptor *sȝ-tp-jḥw,*
(5) true of voice

The register below shows three human figures, without any inner details. On the left the owner of the stela, *sȝ-tp-jḥw*, sits on a chair with lion's legs. On the right, facing *sȝ-tp-jḥw*, is the kneeling figure of his colleague, and the standing naked figure of his daughter *ptḥ-wr*.

(6) *ḳstj ḥḏrw*[6] *mȝꜥt-ḫrw* (sic!)
(6) the sculptor *ḥḏrw*, true of voice

[1] PM VIII[3], 803-032-386.
[2] Ward, *Index*, no. 1561 (as *gnwtj*; for the reading of the title as *ḳstj* rather than *gnwtj*, see Drenkhahn, *Die Handwerker*, 62 and Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, 401 f. [ap]. See also Quirke, in Quirke (ed.), *Discovering Egypt from the Neva*, 88-93.
[3] Ranke, *PN* I, 285/1.

[4] For the perfective relative form *rḏjw* see Satzinger, *LinAeg* 5, 177-88, esp. p. 179-80.
[5] For the prospective relative form *ꜥnḫtj* (feminine singular), in this formula with potential meaning, see Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax*, 33-4. The author seems to assume that this is a mere variant of a wording with the imperfective relative form, *ꜥnḫt*, although he very clearly demonstrates (*op. cit.*, 18) that the prospective form is usually spelled in a defective way in the Old and Middle Kingdoms. It is, therefore, legitimate to reckon with prospective forms even for cases spelled *ꜥnḫt*, without the final *j*.
[6] Ranke, *PN* I, 261/22. Note the inverted *w*.

(7) *s3t ptḥ-wr*[7]
(7) (his ?) daughter *ptḥ-wr*

(8) *nbt-pr nbw-ḥr-š*(*.s*) *m3ʿt-ḫrw*
(8) the lady of the house *nbw-ḥr-š*(*.s*), true of voice

(9) *ptḥ-wr*

(10) *snb-nbw*[8]

(11) *nbt-pr ḫwj-sj-nbw*[9]
(11) the lady of the house *ḫwj-sj-nbw*

The lowermost register shows four kneeling female figures separated by the captions and incised lines.

The inscriptions in their original arrangement:

The two "ladies of the house" could be the respective wives of the sculptors.

The stela of the Sens museums can be dated with reasonable certainty to the Thirteenth Dynasty. Epigraphic arguments point to the second half of the Twelfth, or to the Thirteenth Dynasty, such as the expression *n k3 n* before the mention of the deceased, lack of a determinative for Osiris and Khentimenti, lack of the epithet *nb ḏdw*, or rather the sequence *wsjr ḫntj-jmntw nṯr ʿ3 nb 3bḏw*.[10] The style of the execution is a typical of work of the Thirteenth Dynasty.

An unpublished block from the tomb of Neferu (New York MMA 26.3.353) probably records the earliest attestation of the title *nbt-pr*. From the Eleventh Dynasty on, the title *nbt-pr* became the most common feminine title.[11] The exact scope of 'duties' of a *nbt-pr*, or the precise meaning of its literal translation "mistress of the house", or "lady of the household /estate"[12] is still doubtful:

- a common mark of a married woman;[13]
- mark of a married woman who was (by her marital status) in charge of administering a household;[14]
- mark of a head of a household, regardless of her marital status;[15]
- mark of a woman who owned her own property, regardless of her marital status.

There are *pro* and *contra* arguments for any of the proposed explanations. It is well known that in many instances the title *nbt-pr* was a mark of married women, which is further clarified by the term *ḥmt.f*,[16] or by maternal lineage of the offspring. On the other hand, the objects record dozens of *ḥmt.f* without the title *nbt-pr*. It is also not clear to what degree, if at all, the title itself was a status indicator. Still, based on its level of attestations, the title was a marker of social identity and the role of any given woman.

A sort of independent position of the *nbt-pr*, which

[7] Ranke, *PN* I, 139/6.
[8] *Op. cit.*, 313/8.
[9] *Op. cit.*, 267/8.

[10] *Cf.* Satzinger, *LinAeg* 5, 184-8.
[11] See Millard, *The Position of Women in the Family*, 262-6; Ward, *Essays on Feminine Titles*, 24; Franke, *JEA* 76, 231; Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina*, 15-8; Szpakowska, *Daily life in ancient Egypt*, 109; Stefanović, *The non-royal regular feminine titles*, 7-9.
[12] Compare with *bēlatbēti* / *bēletbīti*, attested in cuneiform sources (for an overview see: Luukko, Svärd, in Luukko, Svärd, Mattila (eds.), *Of God(s), Neo-Assyrian and Related Studies in Honour of Simo Parpola*, 279-94).
[13] See Ward, *Essays on Feminine Titles,* 8.
[14] See Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt*, 99.
[15] See Fischer, *Egyptian women of the Old Kingdom*, 20-1; Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt*, 104.
[16] Note, for example, the stela London BM EA 152, where the woman named *nfr-twt* is the main figure on the stela; she bears the label of the "wife of a god's sealer".

was not preconditioned by marital status, should perhaps be deduced from the fact that it was the most frequent female title attested on scarab-seals,[17] as well as by the fact that they were 'owners' of their own stelae. On the other hand, there are also examples of a so-to-say undetermined position of *nbwt-pr* when they are attested on family stelae without any obvious connection with the dedicator, and without any notion of their marital status - in most such cases the only conclusion which can be drawn is that the *nbt-pr* is a grown-up female. Furthermore, they could commission their own stelae, and be enrolled in a more specific professional activities. The following cases can, perhaps, shed more light:

Case 1: the *nbt-pr kjkw*

The well known, but unfortunately still unpublished, stela Louvre C 246 commemorates the family of the "king's acquaintance", *tjtj*.[18] In the second register of the stela, several seated human figures (female and male) are depicted with accompanying text. The first figure to the right is the *nbt-pr kjkw jrt.n snt.j-mwt.j* ("the lady of the house *kjkw*, engendered by *snt.j-mwt.j*"). Within the same register there is her daughter *nbt-pr mmt* (*jrt.n kjkw*). The third and fourth registers present more offspring of the lady *kjkw: mtj n sꜣ nfr-jw* (*jr.n kjkw*), *ꜥnḫ n njwt jjj* (*jr.n kjkw*), and *ꜥnḫ n njwt rꜥj* (*jr.n kjkw*). She is not related to the family of the *rḫ-nswt tjtj*, "engendered by *mnw-ꜥꜣ*, the vindicated", and "born of *nt-ḥḏ*". The stela also records *tjtj*'s two sisters, both of them being labelled *nbt-pr*.

Case 2: the *nbt-pr jwḥt-jb*

The main person on the stela London UC 14452[19] is the *nbt-pr jwḥt-jb*. The stela has been dedicated "by her daughter Nubemwadj (?) who makes her name live, born of Renefres, true of voice" (*jn sꜣt.s nbw-m-wꜣḏ* (?) *sꜥnḫ*(*t*) *rn.s ms*(*t*).*n rn.f-rs mꜣꜥ-ḫrw*). The stela also records "the man of the town Nebsumenu, her sister Nubib-[..], her sister Res(?)-[..], her son [...]", and "her brother Ded". Another *nbt-pr jwḥt-jb* is attested on a stela from the Collection of the School El-Salaam (Tiggart Library) at Assiut, TL 207.[20] However, the name *jwḥt-jb*[21] is well attested during the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period.

Case 3: the *nbt-pr nbt-nḥḥ*

Among the "ladies of the house" attested on the scarabs from Wah-Sut, the *nbt-pr nbt-nḥḥ sꜣt ꜥnḫw*[22] is the most prominent. She is also attested on the stela London, BM EA 220[23] belonging to her father, the *wꜥb ꜥnḫw*/*s-n-wsrt jr.n ḥpjj*. On this stela she is mentioned, without any titles, together with other members of her father's family.[24] It is possible that the stela was executed when she was still young.

The *nbt-pr nbt-nḥḥ* is also attested on three seal impressions. J. Wegner notes that "the impressions on the backs of the female sealings indicate that the scarabs of the women were used nearly exclusively for sealing only two types of objects",[25] *i.e.* wooden boxes, and linen bags. Since *nbt-nḥḥ*'*s* seal impressions can be associated with both wooden chests and linen bags, Wegner suggests that the sealing practice, as represented in the case of *nbt-nḥḥ*, "is one of localized and repetitive closing and opening of containers by or under the authority of the woman named on the scarabs".[26] However, her 'professional duties', her title, and her marital status (which is unknown to us!), are not related.[27]

Case 4: the *nbt-pr ḥꜣt-špswt*

Dossiers of women are rather rare, especially those not related to their male kin (father, husband, and son). The case of the *nbt-pr ḥꜣt-špswt* is one of those. She is attested on the stela Cairo GC 20562,[28] commemorating an *jmnjj*, as mother of the *nbt-pr snbt* and of the *sḫꜣw n ḫnrt wr nṯr-pw-ptḥ*. Another object recording her and her daughter is a stela from a private collection in Rome, published by A. Roccati.[29] The main person on the Rome stela is again *jmnjj*. Although the four stelae, and one statuette, commemorating *jmnjj*, allow us to reconstruct the lineage of four generations of his family, there is no

[17] Wegner, in Bietak, Czerny (eds.), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, 225.
[18] See Franke, *Personendaten*, Dossier 732.
[19] Stewart, *Egyptian stelae*, 34 [142], pl. 35 [3].
[20] Mahfouz, in Fischer-Elfert, Parkinson (eds.), *Studies on the Middle Kingdom,* 186.
[21] Ranke, *PN* I, 18/17.
[22] Wegner, in Bietak, Czerny (ed.), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, 223.
[23] Franke, Marée (ed.), *Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum*, vol. I/1, 70-3.
[24] *Op. cit.*, 72-3.
[25] Wegner, in Bietak, Czerny (eds.), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, 225.
[26] *Op. cit.*, 225.
[27] However, it is important to note that, according to the almost five hundred Middle Kingdom attestations (most of them from the late Middle Kingdom) of the title in question, collected by Stefanović , almost 80% of the individuals seem to have a very modest background and less than 60% were married, *i.e.* labelled as *ḫmt*, or specified as mothers, see Stefanović, *The non-royal regular feminine titles*, 8.
[28] Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, vol. II, 196-8.
[29] Roccati, in Quirke (ed.), *Discovering Egypt from the Neva,* 111-21, no. 4.

link to the *nbt-pr ḥ3t-špswt*.

Case 5: *nbt-pr nfrt-jw*

The *nbt-pr nfrt-jw*, recorded on the stela London, BM EA 226,[30] has her 'own' name-list of relatives, including a female servant: *s3.s nst* (?), *s3t.s jwḥt-jb, snt.s snbt, ḥmt tj-ḥpt, sn.snnj*. Neither she, nor any members of her family, are related to any other person on the stela.[31]

Case 6: *nbt-pr šrjt*

The late Seventeenth Dynasty stela Hermitage 1091,[32] records the *nbt-pr šrjt*, wife (*ḥmt*) of *wn-wj* who "keeps alive" the name of her husband.[33]

Case 7: *nbt-pr ḥr-ms*

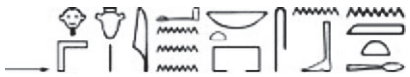
The lady *ḥr-ms*, recorded on the stela (Brooklyn 07.420)[34] of her husband *šmsw sn-rs*, also "keeps alive" the name of her husband.

Case 8: *nbt-pr jrr*

The letter of *nbt-pr jrr* (London UC 32203),[35] sent to the person named *ḳm3w*,[36] records that she was entrusted with women who are unable to weave. Their inefficiency caused that *jrr* could not deliver the amount of woven linen expected from her. Irer informed her superior that she was occupied with her duties in the temple.[37] The weavers, subordinate to her, were "left abandoned, thinking they wouldn't get food provisions inasmuch as not any news of you has been heard". She stresses that her superior "should spend some time here since [not] any clothes [have been made] while my attention is being directed to the temple, and the warp-threads are set up on the loom without it being possible to weave them".[38]

Case 9: *nbt-pr snb-n.j*

The stela Marseilles 228[39] commemorates the *sḫ3w n ḫnrt wr sbk-ḥtp ms.n rn.s-rs*. Among the persons recorded on the stela, many of them being not related to *sbk-ḥtp*, is the *nbt-pr snb-n.j m3ᶜt-ḫrw*. *snb-n.j* is mentioned together with the *ḥrj n tm jb-jᶜw*, *i.e.* their names are inscribed within the same field:



Whether or not she was the wife of this *jb-jᶜw*, the children are noted as hers: *s3.s kᶜw*, *s3t.s npnt*, and *s3t.s t3-nt-ḫnw*.

Case 10: *nbt-pr fd.nwt*

The *nbt-pr fd.nwt* is attested on two stelae: Cairo CG 20319 and CG 20403.[40] On both objects she is determined as mother of the respective dedicator: *ᶜnḫ n ṯt ḥḳ3 nfr-ḥtp* (CG 20319), and *s3b r nḫn ᶜnḫw* (CG 20403). What would suggest that it is the same person? The name *fd.nwt* is extremely rare. Ranke notes just one attestation (*fdw.nwt*), namely CG 20319.[41]Although there is a slight orthographic difference

→ CG 20319 vs. → CG 20403

the fact that both objects were produced in a well attested Theban workshop from the end of theThirteenth Dynasty, or the beginning of the Second Intermediate Period,[42] would advocate in favour of her identification.

[30] Franke, Marée (ed.), *Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum*, vol. I/1, 76-80.
[31] Compare with the name-list of the *nbt-pr rdj-nt* on the stela Cairo CG 20450.
[32] Stefanović, *GM* 244, 177-8.
[33] Nelson-Hurst, in Hawass, Houser-Wegner (eds.), *Millions of Jubilees*, 13-31; Nelson-Hurst, in Horn *et al.* (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2010,* 116-23.
[34] Late Seventeen-early Eighteen Dynasty; James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum,* vol. I, no 164.
[35] Collier, Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Letters*, 116-7; Quirke, in Hamilton, Whitehouse, Wright (eds.), *Archaeology and Women*, 251; Stefanović, *The non-royal regular feminine titles*, 5; Luft, in Gundacker, Budka, Pieke (eds.), *Florilegium Aegyptiacum*, 238; for the date see Luft, in Hahn, Kákosy, Komoróczy (eds.), *Oikumene 3*, 117-8.
[36] He is probably attested in pBerlin 10034 with the title *mr ḫwt-nṯr*, see Luft, in Gundacker, Budka, Pieke (eds.), *Florilegium Aegyptiacum*, 239.
[37] Luft points out that "she is certainly affiliated to the mortuary temple of *ḫm-s-n-wᶜr.t m3ᶜ-ḫrw*, and that her complaint refers to the 'weaver women' who belong to the production zone of the mortuary temple in *ḫm-s-n-wᶜr.t m3ᶜ-ḫrw*", Luft, in Gundacker, Budka, Pieke (eds.), *Florilegium Aegyptiacum*, 239.
[38] Wente, *Letters*, 82-3. See also Quirke, in Hamilton, Whitehouse, Wright (eds.), *Archaeology and Women*, 251, and Lorenz, in Teeter, Johnson (eds.), *The Life of Meresamun*, 99-100.
[39] We are grateful to Gisèle Pierini for providing us with a high resolution image of the stela.
[40] Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine,* vol. I, 331-2; vol. II, 5.
[41] Ranke, *PN* I, 143/17.
[42] See Marée, *OMRO* 73, 7-22; Franke, in Polz, Seiler, *Die Pyramidenanlage des Königs Nub-Cheper-Re Intef*, 83, Anm. 275; Stefanović, *JEA* 96, 214; Stefanović, *CdE* 87, 17-23;

Fig. 01. Stela Musées de Sens, 325 © Cl. Musées de Sens - E. Berry

As stated at the beginning of this paper, any of the recognized cases may be used as *pro* and *contra* argument for the marital status of a *nbt-pr* – they could be married (and thus widows as well), or unmarried (perhaps old maids, or even of the same-sex orientation). Still, what seems to be undisputable is that the title *nbt-pr* emphasizes an adult, independent person, *i.e.* a woman who was able to manage the economics of a household – with, or without a male owner, or to be enrolled in some other business enterprise.

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Ilin-Tomich, *GM* 234, 69-84. To the same cluster should be added the stelae Tiggart Library, Assiut, TL 201, TL 202, TL 207, and TL 208, and London UC 14417.The objects can be assigned to the several subgroups, based on artistic and epigraphic similarities. To one such subgroup would belong CG 20403, Florence 6372, and Athens L155; to another subgroup should be assigned Pörtner, *Grabsteine und Denksteine*, vol. I, 3 [8], pl. 3, Florence 6373, Florence 6377, Florence 7601, Cairo CG 20642, CG 20319, CG 20431, Cairo JE 25967, Christie's London, April 20, 2005, lot 382, London UC 14417, and Asyut TL 207; distinguished subgroups are also created by Berlin 8802, Asyut TL 202, and Asyut TL 201, Florence 6373 and Toledo 1906.23, Leiden F 1939/2.46 and Brooklyn 07.471, etc.

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Garstang's El Arabah Tomb E.1

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Abstract

A collection of previously unpublished objects in the Manchester Museum prove to be from El Arabah Tomb E.1 discovered during Garstang's first season of excavation in Egypt. This paper examines those objects in detail and considers their dating in comparison with comparable material. The context of the tomb within Garstang's Cemetery E in the North Cemetery at Abydos, is discussed with the conclusion that some 'Intermediate Period' tombs, so-called by their early excavators, may date to a transitional period between the Thirteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties and that this cultural continuity indicates that this part of the necropolis was in use for longer than has been suggested.

I. Introduction

During a visit to the storerooms at the Manchester Museum, I noticed a curious fragmentary statuette marked with 'E 1' in pencil. Further enquiry indicated that it came from the Abydos cemetery at El Arabah and that the pencilled excavation number was one of Garstang's, from his work there in 1899-1900. The Accession Registers stated that several other objects came from the same locus, tomb E.1, and indeed several other items bear excavation marks for E.1. My interest piqued, I looked further into this locus and discovered that very little indeed had been published and that the fragmentary statuette was not mentioned at all.

This paper looks at the background to Garstang's concession at El Arabah and attempts to reconstruct the nature of tomb E.1 and the deposits within, gathering evidence from the excavation report and the objects themselves.

Under the auspices of the Egyptian Research Account, John Garstang's first foray into Egyptian archaeology was El Arabah in the North Cemetery at Abydos.[1] The results of this excavation are published in the eponymous report and are presented as groups of objects in context, Garstang's expressed intention being that doing so would allow a better understand the site and the archaeology therein.[2]

During the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries the Abydos cemeteries were excavated by a number expeditions none of which produced an accurate map, either of individual concessions or of overall relationships between sites. Several modern scholars have attempted to reconcile the early records; the most comprehensive synthesis has been produced by Richards.[3]

Confusingly, early excavators tended to refer to their concessions within the Abydos cemetery fields in alphanumeric terms. Garstang was no exception and the El Arabah cemetery was consequently designated Cemetery E, with each individual tomb given a sequential number. Garstang's Cemetery E can fairly accurately be placed in the area of the North Cemetery between Mace's Cemetery D and the Shunet ez-Zebib (Khasekhemwy enclosure);[4] an area of the North Cemetery he would return to in 1907.

The North Cemetery is an area of intensive Middle Kingdom activity, ranging in date from Eleventh Dynasty through to the Second Intermediate Period.[5] Richards has described the Abydos North Cemetery as "quintessentially provincial"[6] because the site lacks the social ranking seen at other sites where elite tombs are the focus for lower ranking satellite burials. Instead, here the focus is the Royal Wadi and proximity to Osirian festivities. It has been noted that there is a development from north to south of the cemetery, the earlier Middle Kingdom tombs

[1] Garstang, *El Arábah*.
[2] *Op. cit.,* 3.
[3] Richards, *Society and Death*, 125-56, figs. 60-2.
[4] Garstang, *El Arábah*, 1-2, pl. 2. On the location of the various Abydos cemeteries including Garstang's Cemetery E, see Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 105-9, 288, fig. 36; Snape, *Mortuary Assemblages from Abydos*, 4-22, in particular 20, figs. 1-2; Richards, *Society and Death*, 125-56, figs. 60-2, in particular 142-4, fig. 63.
[5] Richards, *Society and Death*, 136, 158.
[6] *Op. cit.*, 126.

to the north spreading southwards during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties, with Second Intermediate Period burials further south still.[7] Garstang's Cemetery E is set towards the middle of this general spread and tomb E.1 towards the northeast of Garstang's concession.

Although presenting the results of his work as object groups, Garstang's publication of the El Arabah season is highly selective, even the intact groups he features are incomplete. It is difficult at this great distance in time to understand why the selection was made, particularly in

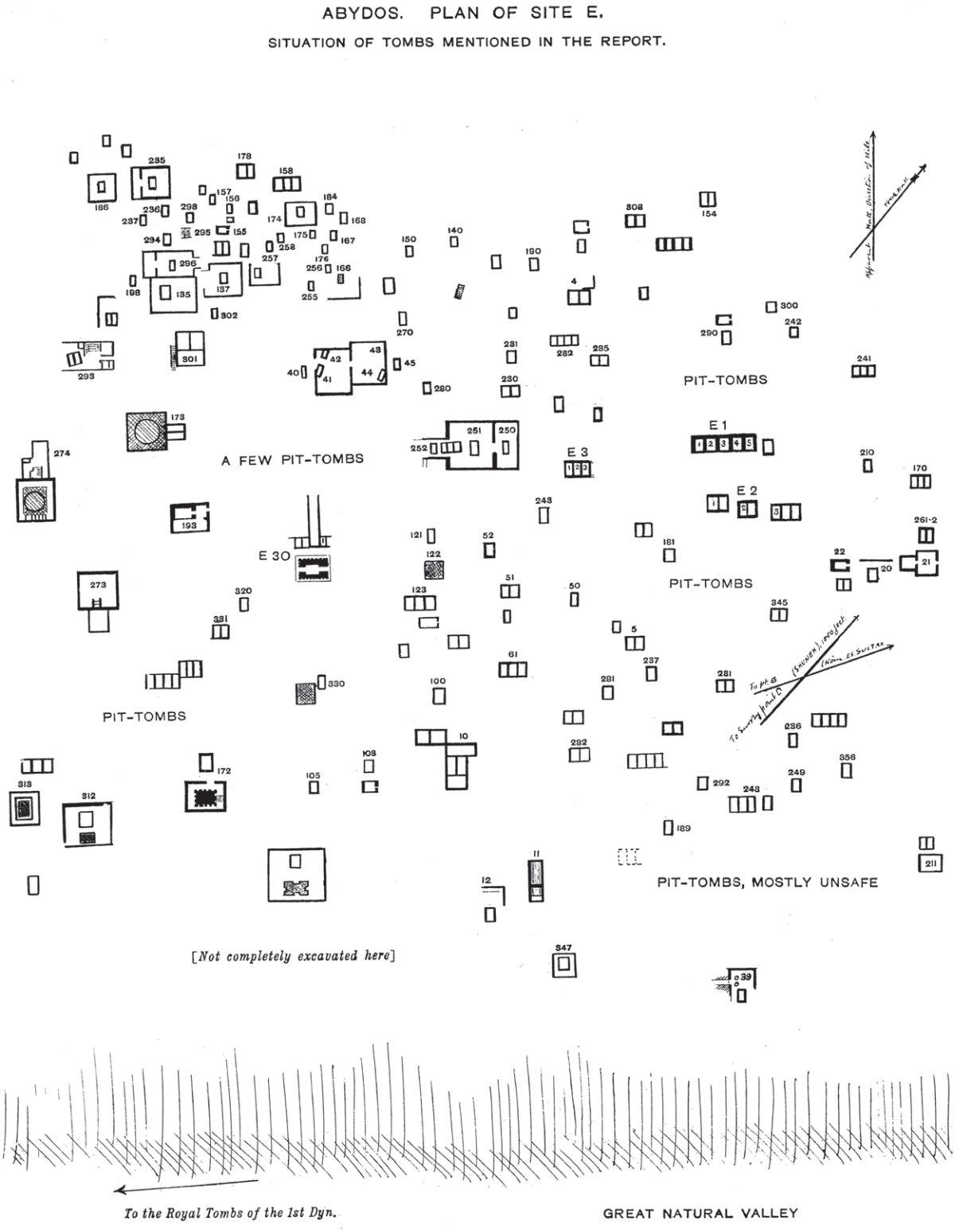

Fig. 1 - Plan of the El Arabah concession, Garstang's Cemetery E. After Garstang, *El Arábah*, pl. 2. Courtesy of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

[7] Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos*, 54-5; Richards, *Society and Death*, 136 and ff. 159-61.

the case of disturbed contexts. Nevertheless, the report remains our primary source since no excavation notes survive for comparison. It is our business to utilize these early reports to best advantage and to extricate the information they contain. Unlike the featured tomb groups in the report, our tomb E.1 is not a closed context. We are reliant on a mere ten lines of text scattered throughout the publication and one or two images together with the objects themselves.

II. The El Arabah tombs

Because Garstang did not directly describe tomb E.1 it is necessary to make some inferences from both the evidence in the report and other sources.

Like Mace's Cemetery D,[8] Garstang's Cemetery E comprised shaft and pit tombs largely ranging in date from the late Middle Kingdom through to the New Kingdom. What can be said of the location of tomb E.1 is that it sat in the north-eastern sector of Cemetery E, oriented to local north and is clearly marked on the cemetery plan.

On the cemetery plan (Fig.1) Garstang plotted the relative positions of the tombs which he mentions, sometimes very briefly, in the report. The majority of the tombs follow an orientation to local north as dictated by the course of the Nile in this area. Tomb E.1 is in fact a row of five rectangular shafts set side-by-side and numbered 1 to 5. The plan is drawn at a scale of 1:800. Rough measurements of E.1 indicates that the range was approximately nineteen feet long (about eleven meters) and eight feet wide (about three meters).[9] Slightly offset to the east is a smaller rectangular structure without labelling or numbering. South of E.1 is E.2, comprising three rows of off-set shafts numbering seven in total, each range numbered separately 1 to 3. No reference to any objects from this locus is made in the report. To the west of E.1 is E.3, comprising a row of three shafts, each separately numbered. E.3 is distinguished by containing a number of undisturbed burials within two of its shafts and consequently is described in greater detail, although even this is limited to four burials from a potential eight separate chambers.[10]

The construction of tombs in Cemetery E is only briefly noted as are certain surface features.[11] What is clear from Garstang's plan is that tomb E.1 is of a well-known Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period design, along with many other tombs on his plan. These may be termed row or range tombs. Peet characterises the construction as being typically two to four shafts set in row, often with one shaft left unfinished and no more than a couple of meters deep with no burial chamber cut.[12] The shafts are cut through the soft surface sand strata to a depth of two to five meters depending on the underlying geology, the upper section being brick-lined to a point when the harder gravels have been reached and where the lining ends.[13] Oriented to local north, the shafts have one or more chambers cut to north or south, some with multiple chambers on both sides of the shaft and at different depths, one above the other.[14] Garstang's tomb E.3 shaft 3 (the easternmost shaft) is described as very deep with four chambers at each end, being eight chambers in all.[15] The same tomb also features chambers at different levels.[16]

Richards describes excavations in the North Cemetery in 1988 when a row or range of nine such shafts was discovered, tomb E760/N855.[17] Of these, only four shafts were excavated. Two were found to be incomplete and without burials or chambers, one shaft without chambers had a burial in the bottom of the shaft and one shaft had a chamber constructed on the north side with a burial within.

Surface structures at Abydos are difficult to analyse. Garstang noted that in Cemetery E a walled structure could surround a group of shafts or be set off to one side, either on the east or west side. Such structures were envisaged as chapels serving the shafts they were associated with, the entrances and paving appearing to be oriented towards the shaft(s).[18] Peet noted a range of surface structures including what he termed "miniature mastabas".[19] Most shafts therefore, would have been associated with a brick-built chapel, often shared between shafts for the emplacement of stelae, altars and statuettes.[20]

Garstang illustrates the nature of burials within the

[8] Randall-McIver, Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, 63-9.
[9] Compare for example the dimensions of Abydos tomb 416 A'07, a six shaft range tomb: Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, fig. 37.
[10] Garstang, *El Arábah*, 25-6. See the tomb register p. 44.
[11] *Op. cit.*, 20-2, pls. 30-5.
[12] Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos*, 35-6 describing tombs in Cemetery S.
[13] *Op. cit.*, 40-1. See also Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 109; Garstang, *El Arábah*, 20.
[14] See note 12 and conveniently the section through tomb 416 A'07 in Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, fig. 37.
[15] Garstang, *El Arábah*, 25.
[16] *Op. cit.,* 25. See also pl. 32 for sub-structure details of tombs E.45 and E.22. Tomb E.30 is described as an "ordinary" shaft: six meters deep, brick-lined to 1.5 m with a chamber on the south side.
[17] Richards, *Society and Death*, 162, fig. 80. See also 186-9, fig. 88. The excavation of this range was incomplete; a possible tenth shaft may exist.
[18] Garstang, *El Arábah*, 21-2, pl. 32.
[19] Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos*, 40; Richards, *Society and Death*, 146.
[20] Richards, *Society and Death*, 55, 163, 165, 167, figs. 76-7, 79.

shafts in Cemetery E by reference to the undisturbed interments in tombs E.3, E.30, E.45, E.100 and E.230. Of these E.3 and E.45 are described as typically Twelfth Dynasty, while the remainder are said to be of an "intermediate period".[21] Several burials were laid in wooden coffins[22] with polychrome decoration and in one instance, text.[23] Many of the bodies had been overlaid with a covering of stucco, some with traces of polychrome decoration,[24] and augmented with small plaster masks.[25] The types of objects placed with each interment are typical for late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period burials in a provincial cemetery.[26]

That row or range tombs are family structures and could be in use over a period of several generations would appear logical.[27] There appears to be no significant difference in construction between late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period row or range tombs.[28] We should expect therefore, that objects placed within these tombs could span some considerable time. The tendency for early excavators to publish all material from a context together, without reference to specific find-spots or to elaborate upon the relationships between a tomb and its chambers, burials and objects poses problems for the modern scholar. Without such recording it is difficult to date tombs unless diagnostic material is present. Even under these circumstances, unless a context is closed datable finds may be of limited use.

III. The nature of tomb E.1

In considering the nature of tomb E.1 as a structure, clues are left for us by Garstang in the plan, since no written description is available, and from the extant objects themselves.

Not only is E.1 a row or range tomb with five separately numbered shafts, these shafts appear to be substantially constructed. On the cemetery plan more substantial walls are indicated by thicker lines (Fig. 1). The lines delineating tomb E.1 are considerably thicker than those indicated in the tombs surrounding it, including E.2 and E.3, those closest to it. This suggests that tomb E.1 was a well-constructed tomb with thickly brick-lined shafts.

Each of the shafts is individually numbered. Some of the less substantial row tombs towards the south of the plan clearly have multiple shafts but none of them are numbered. Since Garstang does not indicate the logic behind his numbering or lack of it, one wonders whether it is it possible that objects or burials were located in numbered structures and shafts.

Furthermore, shaft 5 in the range E.1 produced a number of objects which are now in Manchester. These are marked with the tomb number, shaft number and also the designation λ (Fig. 9). In the illustration of tomb E.45, a shaft containing two chambers, one chamber is designated *a* and the other λ.[29] This would strongly suggest that shaft 5 in tomb E.1 had at least two chambers.

A less substantial structure off-set to the east at the northernmost end of the range is indicated on the plan. Bearing in mind Garstang's comments regarding surface structures, is it possible that this structure is the remains of a brick chapel that once served the tomb, perhaps?

From the evidence available, it is possible to infer that tomb E.1 was a substantially brick-lined range tomb with five shafts, at least one shaft contained two burial chambers. Possibly the range was associated with a brick chapel.

[21] Garstang, *El Arábah*, 24. See further below n. 26.

[22] The survival of wooden artefacts at Abydos has been subject to the predation of white ants. Where wooden coffins remained these were usually in poor condition and could not be retrieved, Garstang, *El Arábah*, 25; Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos*, 41; Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 111.

[23] Garstang, *El Arábah*, 26. The fourth burial from E.3 is described as being laid in a coffin decorated with blue and green rectilinear designs on a white ground. The burial from E.230 was placed in a wooden coffin with well-preserved coloured text. The text is sadly, neither described nor illustrated. Decorated coffins from other burials include:

- Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge E.238.1900, from E.281: Garstang, *El Arábah*, 34, 45 (tomb register), pls. 10-1; Bourriau, *Pharaohs and mortals*, 94-5, cat. 75.
- University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology E12505a-g, from E.234: Garstang, *El Arábah*, 17, 36, 45 (tomb register), pl. 26.

[24] Garstang, *El Arábah*, 26. Burials in E.3 and E.230. The latter was decorated with green and blue geometric designs.

[25] Garstang, *El Arábah*, 10, pl. 14. Burials in E.3 and E.100. See also Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 111.

[26] Richards, *Society and Death*, 142, 144, 149 for the dating of material to Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties; Richards, *Society and Death*, 155 interpreting most early excavators' dating to "intermediate period" as signifying Thirteenth Dynasty, with references.

[27] As noted above, often one of the shafts is left unfinished and has no burial chamber indicating that shafts were dug to a full depth and completed as needed. These row tombs may have been constructed by a group of people related in some way, if not filial then perhaps occupational. On the other hand, burials of more than one individual within a chamber and even those found within the shaft would seem to indicate use over a considerable period of time. An estimate of a period of about one hundred years has been suggested: Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 111.

[28] Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos*, 54-5 noting that Second Intermediate Period tombs tend to be found towards the southern extremity of Cemetery S.

[29] Garstang, *El Arábah*, pl. 32. Curiously, the lambda is written in reverse form on both the plan of E.45 and on the objects from E.1.

IV. Catalogue of objects from tomb E.1

Garstang describes the finds from tomb E.1, totalling nine objects, very briefly on page 44 of the report. Presented below are firstly the objects mentioned in the report, followed by the objects now in Manchester.

Objects described in the report as coming from tomb E.1:

1. Mirror handle (Fig. 2)
Manchester 1234b
Material: ivory
Dimensions: 11.7 cm long
Bibliography: Garstang, *El Arábah*, 10, 44, pl. 14; Lilyquist, *Mirrors*, 40, n. 454[30]

The mirror handle (Fig. 2) has a closed or partially open lotiform head with carefully incised petals between six sepals. Below the flower head are four incised horizontal bands. The bottom of the handle is flat and has an incised line around the base. The entire handle is hollow. At the base the hole is round, approximately 1.6 cm in diameter and at the head end the hole is roughly square, approximately 1.9 x 2 cm across. It is likely there was a wooden insert at both ends: possibly conical at the bottom end and flat at the head end into which a slot would have been cut to take the tang of the mirror disk.

This type of mirror handle is broadly dated late Middle Kingdom to Second Intermediate Period.

Fig. 2 - Ivory mirror handle. E1 in pencil is clearly visible on the handle. Manchester 1234b

[30] Parallels include:
- Kyoto (no number given), from Badari 5218: Lilyquist, *Mirrors*, 20-1, n. 239-40, fig. 36; Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, vol. III, 2, pl. 2.
- Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 21.10559, from Naga ed-Deir 453b: Lilyquist, *Mirrors*, 38, n. 437, fig. 53.
- Abydos 416 A'07 (present location unknown): Lilyquist, *Mirrors*, 40, n. 439, fig. 55; Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 130-1, pls. 10-11.
- Esna 80E (present location unknown): Downes, *The Excavations at Esna*, 109-10, fig. 98 and tomb register.

2. Scarab (Fig. 3 left)
Present location unknown
Material: unknown, assumed to be glazed steatite
Dimensions: 1.9 cm long
Bibliography: Garstang, *El Arábah*, 16. pl. 25

The first scarab illustrated in the report (Fig. 3 left) is described as "curious" and "not intelligible".[31] The design on the base features a rearing cobra confronting hieroglyphic signs within an oval or cartouche over a *nb*-sign. Garstang was unable to read the signs within the cartouche. Perhaps because of this he comments on it no further.

Since Garstang's time scarab studies have progressed considerably. The signs within the cartouche, although drawn without understanding, comprise the signs *ꜥ, n, rꜥ*. The scarab is of a type known as *Anra*.[32] Following Richard's classification the scarab is type C(iii)a, which is *Anra* within a cartouche[33] and further distinguished by also belonging to the *ḥtp*-sequence,[34] with the addition of a *ḥtp*-sign within the cartouche.

Only the base of the scarab is illustrated so that the type of head, back and legs remain unknown.

This type of scarab originates from Palestine/Canaan and was likely imported into Egypt.[35] Whilst the date range for Anra scarabs is greater in Palestine, they are found in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period.[36]

The scarab is of significance since the only other attestation of *Anra* within a cartouche found in Egypt is from two sealings made from the same scarab found at Nubt,[37] thus adding to the corpus of this type of scarab within Egypt.

[31] Garstang, *El Arábah*, 16, pl. 25.

[32] Daphna Ben-Tor, personal communication. I would like to thank Daphna for her valuable assistance and for discussing all three scarabs from tomb E.1 with me, as well as other scarabs considered in this study. For a comprehensive study of the *Anra* type scarab see Richards, *The Anra Scarab*.

[33] Richards, *The Anra Scarab*, 72, 109-11, fig. 4.18. See also Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology and Interconnections*, 83-4, 133-4, 165-6, pl. 85.13; Ben-Tor, in Bietak, Czerny (eds.), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium*, 27-41, in particular 32-3, 35.

[34] Richards, *The Anra Scarab*, 101, 109-11, fig. 4.32. Parallels include:
- GEZ5, from Gezer III.16: Richards, *The Anra Scarab*, 250.
- TEA68, from Tell el-Ajjul G 214 748: *op. cit.*, 288.
- MEG10, from Megiddo T.24: *op. cit.*, 243.
- NEW11, without provenance: *op. cit.*, 339; Ben-Tor, in Andrássy, Budka, Kammerzell (eds.), *Non-Textual Marking Systems*, 83-100, in particular 86-7, figs. 11-4.

[35] Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology and Interconnections*, 133-4.

[36] See above n. 33.

[37] Petrie, Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas*, pl. LXXX.45; Richards, *The Anra Scarab*, type C(iii)a, 72, 305, fig. 4.17; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology and Interconnections*, 83 and passim.

3. Cowroid (Fig. 3 right)
Present location unknown
Material: unknown, assumed to be glazed steatite
Dimensions: 1.7 cm long
Bibliography: Garstang, *El Arábah*, 16, pl. 25

Fig. 3 - *Anra* scarab (left) and cowroid (right). After Garstang, *El Arábah*, pl. 25. Courtesy of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

The scaraboid or cowroid (Fig. 3 right) features hieroglyphic signs representing the red crown, and ʿ-signs as well as the Horus hawk and *nṯr*-motif.[38] This latter motif is primarily a Palestinian design distinguished by the *nṯr*-sign being a simple right-angle. The back of the seal amulet is not described or illustrated. This type of cowroid dates to the Second Intermediate Period.[39]

4. Lion figurine (Pl. xxviii)
Manchester 1229
Material: faience, blue glaze over white body
Dimensions: 6.2 cm long, 3.8 cm tall, 2.4 cm wide
Bibliography: Garstang, *El Arábah*, 44[40]

The lion figurine (Pl. xxviii) lies recumbent on the rectangular base facing forward. Areas of the base, forepaws, ears, nose and left flank are either damaged or missing. The glaze is a bright turquoise blue which is pitted and cracked. Details of the lion's body and head such as the mane, face, the fur of the back and striped tail are picked out in an indistinct dull purple-black. The tail is curled over the left haunch. A large area of brown discolouration covers the right side of the body.

The underside of the base has an excavation mark in pencil which is largely rubbed off and is difficult to discern even with a loupe. Only the E is clearly readable with another character at the end which may be λ. Since other objects are marked in a similar way, this object possibly comes from shaft 5 in tomb E.1, chamber λ.

Faience figures of animals can be said to be typical of some classes of late Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasty burials.[41]

5. Pottery figure
Present location unknown
Material: unknown, assumed to be terracotta, unglazed ware
Dimensions: unknown
Bibliography: Garstang, *El Arábah*, 44

Apart from the listing in the tomb register of a "pottery figure", nothing further is known of the nature of this object. It is tempting to see in this description a human figurine, perhaps a terracotta fertility figure, although where these are found at El Arabah Garstang terms them "dolls".[42] Other types of pottery figures were found at El Arabah by Garstang, most notably the 'bear and cub' from tomb E.251.[43]

6. Green glaze ball beads
Present location: uncertain – see no. 10 below
Material: faience
Dimensions: unknown
Bibliography: Garstang, *El Arábah*, 44

7.a. Stone vessel (Fig. 4 left)
Manchester 1233
Material: travertine, Egyptian alabaster
Dimensions: 4 cm tall, base diameter 2.2 cm,
rim diameter 3.1 cm, 3.5 cm wide at the shoulder
Bibliography: Garstang, *El Arábah*, 44

7.b. Stone vessel (Fig. 4 right)
Manchester 1230
Material: travertine, Egyptian alabaster
Dimensions: 4.7 cm tall, base diameter 3.6 cm,
(remaining) rim diameter 3.5 cm, 4.8 cm wide at the shoulder
Bibliography: Garstang, *El Arábah*, 44

The larger of the two shouldered kohl pots (Fig. 4 right) is of coarse banded stone. The jar has been heavily abraded and chipped. It is missing most of the rim, which ap-

[38] Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology and Interconnections*, design class 3A4, 76-7, pl. 33.33; Ben-Tor in Andrássy, Budka, Kammerzell (eds.), *Non-Textual Marking Systems,* 84-6, fig. 8.
[39] Ben-Tor, personal communication. See also Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology and Interconnections*, 83-4, design class 3C, as typical of Second Intermediate Period cowroids.
[40] For a list of parallels see Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 141, including:
- Ashmolean Museum, Oxford E 3302B, from Abydos 416 A'07: Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, pl. 14.
- Petrie Museum, UC16679, from Kahun: Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*, 31, pl. VIII.1.
- Manchester 168, from Kahun: Griffith, *The Manchester Museum*, 24.

[41] Bourriau, in Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies*, 3-20, in particular 11-4; Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, passim; Grajetzki, *Harageh*, 47-8; Grajetzki, *Burial Customs*, 57.
[42] Garstang, *El Arábah*, 13, 44 (E.5, limestone), 46 (E.312, pottery), pl. 17. In this respect, Manchester 3994, a headless terracotta fertility figure from El Arabah (without any excavator's marking on it) is a possible candidate. The figure is type 3 according to Pinch's typology, Pinch, *Votive Offerings*, 201-3.
[43] Garstang, *El Arábah*, 6, 45, pl. 4 said to come from a disturbed context mixed with objects dated Thirteenth Dynasty.

Fig. 4 - Travertine vessels. Both kohl pots retain much of the fine grey powdered contents. Manchester 1233 (left) and 1230 (right)

pears to have been one with the neck. The base is also chipped. Despite this damage the surface does not appear to have been polished. The interior of the jar retains traces of a fine grey powder.

The smaller jar (Fig. 4 left), although lightly chipped on the rim and base, is of much finer grained stone and retains much of the surface polish. The jar is a translucent pale, almost greenish hue. The rim is carved as one with the neck and is bevelled on the underside with a groove between the rim and neck.[44] The interior of the jar retains much of its fine dark grey powdered kohl.

Both jars have excavation marks on the base in pencil: E1 5 λ.

The dating of stone vessels is problematic. The possibility of re-use of such objects is high because of their relative value. However, the better preserved of the two vessels, Manchester 1233, is of Second Intermediate Period date.

8. Stone vessel
Manchester 1232
Material: blue anhydrite
Dimensions: 3.6 cm tall, 4.2 cm wide at shoulders
Bibliography: Garstang, *El Arábah*, 44

Although this jar is held in the Manchester collection it has not been possible to examine the object nor is there an archive image extant. It is therefore impossible at present to determine the form or nature of the vessel beyond the excavator's description "kohl pot of blue marble", which implies, as the Museum Register states, that the material is blue anhydrite.[45] However, the term 'kohl pot' is usually used to describe a shouldered jar rather than a cylindrical jar.

Objects in the Manchester Museum collection known to have come from tomb E.1 and which are not described in the report:

9. Torque (Fig. 5; Pl. xxxiv)
Manchester 1228
Material: silver wire
Dimensions: 9.9 cm diameter
Bibliography: unpublished

The metal of the torque (Fig. 5; Pl. xxxiv) is very well preserved with little or no corrosion. The metal is tarnished a dull grey with a few areas where the bright silver is visible. It is formed from a single metal wire, round in cross-section with flattened ends which are twisted into open loops to form the closure.

The Manchester Museum Accession Register states that this object is from E.1.

Grajetzki notes that torques are items of jewellery most often worn by women during the late Middle Kingdom.[46] At least eight examples are known to have come from cemetery sites. The apparent non-Egyptian form

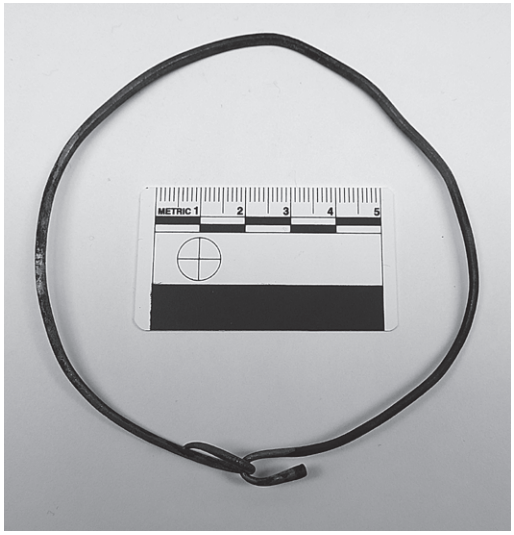

Fig. 5 - Silver wire torque with loop closure. Manchester 1228

[44] For the form see Aston, *Stone vessels*, type 159, 146 dating to the Second Intermediate Period. The form is described as having a thick angled rim with a notch below. For the dating of this form see the vessel from Hu tomb Y269: Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, pl. 30; Bourriau, in Magee, Bourriau, Quirke (eds.), *Sitting beside Lepsius*, 39-98, in particular 76; Bourriau, in Arnold (ed.), *Studien zur altägyptischen Keramik*, 25-41, in particular n. 160.

[45] Aston, *Stone vessels*, 51-3 for the composition, use and date of anhydrite.

[46] Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 121. Parallels include:
- Abydos 345 A'07 (present location unknown): Snape, *Mortuary Assemblages from Abydos*, 216, 437; Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 121, fig. 86.
- Ashmolean E 3294, from Abydos 416 A'07: Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 156, fig. 49, fragments of silver torque.

See also Lilyquist, *Mirrors*, 35, n. 397 with a list of fourteen examples. A further example is from El Arabah tomb E.230: Garstang, *El Arábah*, 4, 26.

of the torque is possibly influenced by Near Eastern fashions.[47]

10. Mixed beads and scarab (Figs. 6-7; Pls. xxxii-xxxiii)
Manchester 1292
Material: faience, carnelian, haematite, glazed steatite (scarab)
Dimensions: 8.8 cm long (as strung)
Bibliography: unpublished

In his report Garstang lists a string of green glaze ball beads. Such a string is not noted as coming from tomb E.1 in the Accession Register. Perhaps all that remains (or can be identified) is the group of mixed beads under number 1292 which comprises two faience melon beads, two faience ball beads, two faience ring beads, two tiny faience *wadjet*-amulets, one small carnelian bead and one ovoid haematite bead (Figs. 6-7; Pls. xxxii-xxxiii).

Strung together with these beads is a steatite scarab with traces of green glaze remaining in the legs, wing markings and base. The details of the head are difficult to determine. The back is plain with the wing case marked only by two small notches on either side. The legs are marked by a horizontal line to the front and sides and diagonal lines to mark the rear legs. The base is decorated with three vertical rows of hieroglyphs with the *ḫpr* –sign as its centre–piece (Fig. 7). The scarab type and the base design are typical of those manufactured in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period.[48]

Fig. 6 - Beads and scarab in faience, haematite, carnelian, glazed steatite. Manchester 1292
Fig. 7 - Detail of the design scarab. Manchester 1292

[47] Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 112, noting however, that the scarcity of torques at Tell el-Daba argues against this.
[48] Ben-Tor, in Bietak, Czerny (eds.), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, 33-4, figs. 1-2; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology and Interconnections*, 81-2, 103, pl. 35, no. 15 and pl. 41, no. 12 both being close parallels for our example.

11. Jar (Figs. 8-9)
Manchester 2169
Material: pottery, possibly Marl B fabric[49]
Dimensions: 23.5 cm tall, body 21.5 cm at the widest point, rim diameter 9 cm, neck 6 cm at narrowest point
Bibliography: unpublished

The jar has an ovoid body with rounded base, short neck and flared rolled rim (Fig. 8). The fabric is a dull yellow colour with a greenish patina, possibly from exposure to moisture. Patches of pale orange are also visible. The jar has been wheel thrown and the base has been scraped with a knife. A small section of the rim has broken away revealing its everted and rolled profile (Fig. 9). The surface of the jar has a dendritic rippled texture visible in patches over the entire body except the base. This texture is formed by the wet clay covered hands of the potter handling the jar but not smoothing it off before drying.[50]

Fig. 8 - Ovoid jar. The throwing lines, knife trimmed base and rough finishing are clearly visible. Manchester 2169

No surface treatment such as smoothing or burnishing is visible; the whole is rather coarsely finished.

The excavation number E1 5 λ is written in black ink on the shoulder of the jar and a stamped mark 1900 added below. Of the objects from tomb E.1 this is the most clearly marked (Fig. 9).

[49] Janine Bourriau, personal communication. I would like to thank Janine for her comments and assistance with this vessel.
[50] I would like to thank Paul Nicholson for his comments regarding this surface feature.

Fig. 9 - Ink and stamped excavation markings on the ovoid jar from tomb E.1. Manchester 2169

At El Arabah similar jars were also found in tomb E.102[51] and E.5.[52] E.102 contained a range of pottery, two scarabs and four stone vessel (two travertine and two serpentine). The pottery is of forms found from the Thirteenth Dynasty through to the Seventeenth Dynasty,[53] whilst the scarabs[54] are Egyptian Second Intermediate Period types.[55]

Two items of pottery are stated to have come from tomb E.5, one of which resembles the jar from E.1 whilst the other vessel has been studied by Bourriau.[56] Other objects from the tomb are a limestone female figurine,[57] an ivory birth tusk,[58] several ivory pins and stone vessel fragments,[59] as well as 'glazed beads and amethyst'.[60] The Ashmolean vessel is a piriform juglet with handle of a type known from various cultures throughout the ancient Near East, including Egypt during the late Middle Kingdom and MBII-III periods. A Thirteenth Dynasty date is assigned to the tomb group.[61]

Also at Abydos, Garstang's tomb 416 A'07 contained a jar with a similar profile, although much smaller.[62]

Esna jar form 106[63] resembles the jar from tomb E.1. From the tomb register[64] it would appear that this form was relatively common at Esna and most frequently dated by Downes as Second Intermediate Period. One tomb is perhaps illustrative. Tomb 221E[65] contained a wide range of pottery forms (mostly ovoid jars), a few mixed beads, jewellery items, cosmetic vessels and a range of scarabs. Also associated with the tomb is a stela inscribed for Chief of Tens of Upper Egypt, Senebef.[66] The scarabs are of two main types: Anra scarabs[67] and design scarabs.[68] The range of material and typologies from this tomb group illustrates the difficulty in dating such deposits without a clear indication of context and relationship, since the material culture covers the period from the Thirteenth Dynasty to the late Second Intermediate Period and possibly later.

Whilst clearly datable parallels are lacking for the ovoid jar from tomb E.1 its general form is consistent with a date from the late Middle Kingdom and the period following. The base having been finished by scraping with a knife is an indication of its pre-New Kingdom manufacture.[69]

[51] Garstang, *El Arábah*, 17, 44, pl. 27.
[52] *Op. cit.*, pl. 29.
[53] The range of pottery from E.102 includes biconical jars, for the dating of which see Bourriau, in Arnold (ed.), *Studien zur altägyptischen Keramik*, 28-30, figs. 3-4, noting a Second Intermediate Period date; Bourriau, in Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 11-37, in particular 32, fig. 15 which is a discussion of Peet's tomb X52 at Abydos containing biconical jars and ovoid jars with a tall neck of Second Intermediate Period date similar to pottery from E.102.
[54] Garstang, *El Arábah*, pl. 10.
[55] For the larger design scarab see Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology and Interconnections*, design class 3B1c (cobras confronted), 78, pls. 33-4, and for the smaller scarab, design class 2A (scrolls and spirals unlinked), 74, pl. 32, nos. 16, 19, 27, 29.
[56] Ashmolean E 2502: Bourriau, in der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. I, 101-16, in particular 106-7, fig. 6. The analogous jar under consideration here is not discussed in the article.
[57] Penn Museum E6709: Garstang, *El Arábah*, 13, p. 17. See further below for a discussion of this type of figure and its dating. See also note 102.
[58] Penn Museum E6710: Garstang, *El Arábah*, 10, pl. 14. This is an undecorated example of this class of object.
[59] Penn Museum E6711-4 (ivory pins), E9341-2 (vessel fragments): Bourriau, in der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. I, 108, n. 20.
[60] Garstang, *El Arábah*, 44.
[61] Bourriau, in der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. I, 107.
[62] Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 119, fig. 38.7 where a parallel is drawn with Esna type 96.
[63] Downes, *The Excavations at Esna*, 43.
[64] *Op. cit.*, 116 and ff. (tomb register).
[65] *Op. cit.*, tomb register.
[66] Liverpool, Garstang Museum E.65, *op. cit.*, 75, fig. 39.
[67] *Op. cit.*, 62, types 221:2 and 221:6; Richards, *The Anra Scarab,* ESN6, type C(iii)b, 62, 307, fig. 4.11; ESN2, type A(i) 38, 306, fig. 4.2. Both types are found throughout the late Middle Kingdom into the Eighteenth Dynasty, Richards, *The Anra Scarab*, 39-40, 62.
[68] Downes, *The Excavations at Esna*, 62, type 221:4; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology and Interconnections*, design class 3B1c (cobras confronted), 78, pl. 33.42. See also Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology and Interconnections*, design class 3B4 (*wadjet*-eyes), 81, pl. 34, for examples similar to Downes, *The Excavations at Esna*, 62, type 221:3. These are Egyptian Second Intermediate Period scarabs.
[69] Janine Bourriau, personal communication. I would like to thank Janine for bringing this detail to my attention.

12. Statuette (Figs. 10-11; Pls. xxix-xxxi)
Manchester 1231
Material: limestone, painted
Dimensions: 12.5 cm (surviving height), 4.7 cm wide, 5.8 cm deep
Bibliography: unpublished;

The upper part of a statuette was found in tomb E.1 (Figs. 10-11, Pls. xxix-xxxi). It depicts a female standing against an inscribed back pillar, legs together, with arms tightly held to the sides of the body. The statuette, of limestone, is coarsely carved and is broken just below knee level. In modern times the statuette has had some height restored by the addition of a plaster base allowing it to stand upright and which extends 1.5 cm below the break at the knees.

The body of the female is relatively slender with little attempt to indicate the breasts, so that she appears somewhat androgynous. The arms are held tight to the sides of the body with the hands held flat against the thighs. The left arm appears to be 1 cm shorter than the right, although as the left shoulder is set approximately 1 cm higher than the right, the arms are roughly the same length. The hands are carved with the fingers indicated only by vertically incised lines. On the right hand the sculptor has incised too many lines so that there are five fingers instead of four (Pl. xxx). The legs are together, with a shallow groove between them towards the bottom end of the preserved section of the statuette.

Fig. 10 - Left profile detail of the statuette. The excavator's pencil mark E1 can be seen on the side of the back pillar. Manchester 1231

The head is too large for the body and is the focus for some curious features, not least the woman's face. Any understanding of proportion has been abandoned with the modelling of this statuette's facial features which are dominated by the huge oval eyes that take up the majority of the top half of the face. These are set either side of a wedge-shaped nose which extends directly from the prominent forehead. Below is set the mouth comprised of two thick lips without shaping.

Adorning the head is a sort of bouffant hairstyle covering the entire head, short at the back and ending in two long tresses at the front which terminate in curls, one on each breast. This kind of style is often referred to as the Hathor-wig.[70] The entire surface of the hair is covered by uneven incisions forming a hatched effect across the front, left-hand side and back. The right side of the head has only vertical incisions which also adorn both long sections at the front. Above each rounded curl are three horizontal scored lines. A brown granular substance adheres to much of head giving it a dark appearance and obscuring the black painted details of the hair in particular.

The statuette's dress, from below the breast-line, is decorated with a black or faded to almost dark blue painted mesh design resembling netting (Pl. xxxi). Each intersection of the net is emphasised by a red dot, perhaps in imitation of a rosette, the intension being to portray a bead-net sheath dress.[71] Black or blue-black painted lines form bracelets at the wrists as further ornamentation.

The figure stands against a back pillar 2.2 cm deep and 3.5 cm wide (Fig. 11). The pillar is inscribed with very crudely cut hieroglyphs: *ḥtp di nsw*. The following sign, of which only the top edge is preserved, is probably to be interpreted as the Osiris palanquin sign (Gardiner, *Grammar*, Sign-List Q2).

E 1 written in pencil can be seen on the left side of the back pillar (Fig. 10). On the right side of the back pillar a further pencil mark has been made. Unfortunately, due to the rough nature of the stone surface this excavation mark is indistinct and cannot be clearly interpreted. E 1 is clearly distinguishable. However, following that are other characters, possibly including a B or a 3 and another unidentified character below it.

Parallel female statuettes are lacking. However, a cor-

[70] See for example, Fitzwilliam Museum E.67.1932: Bourriau, *Pharaohs and mortals*, 49, cat. 37. For a discussion of this hairstyle see Haynes, in der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. I, 339-408, in particular 402-6.

[71] For examples of bead-net dresses in sculpture see:
- MMA 20.3.7, female offering bearer from TT280 (Meketre), Twelfth Dynasty: Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, vol. I, 266, fig. 174.
- Rijkesmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden AST 9, painted limestone group inscribed for Meretites from Saqqara, Fifth Dynasty: Schneider, *De ontdekking van de Egyptische kunst*, fig. 78.

For a bead-net dress in two dimensions see:
- MMA 26.3.237, a painted wooden writing board stela of Nebseny, from tomb MMA 512 at Deir el-Bahri, Twelfth Dynasty: Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, vol. I, 330, fig. 218.

For a surviving bead-net dress see:
- Boston MFA 27.1548, from Giza tomb G 7440Z, Fourth Dynasty: Arnold (ed.), *Egyptian art in the age of the pyramids*, 306-7 cat. 94.

Fig. 11 - Back pillar with the carved inscription: *ḥtp di nsw*. Note the incised parallel lines behind the head. Manchester 1231

pus of material does exist to which this statuette can be related. In his discussion of the Abydos workshops of the Sixteenth or early Seventeenth Dynasty, Marée drew attention to a series of male statuettes from the Abydos cemeteries[72] which are characterised by being exclusively in limestone, rather crudely modelled, which have 'helmet-like' hair and an inscribed back pillar. Certain features of the E.1 statuette suggest a relationship with the Abydos atelier.

As noted by Winterhalter, sculpture datable to the Second Intermediate Period is relatively scarce.[73] Of the forty-eight sculptures in her catalogue only sixteen are female, adding to the scarcity of comparisons. Furthermore, of those sixteen only two are adorned with the Hathor-style wig,[74] the majority of female statuettes of this period having a shoulder-length straight enveloping hairstyle or a variation of it.[75]

The modelling of the hairstyle on the Manchester statuette is unusual. One of the characteristics of the Hathor-style is its three-part nature: two sections of hair terminating in a curl fall to either side of the face and are tucked behind the ears and a third section on the back of the head which falls behind the shoulders. There is also usually a pronounced central parting. Where this is lacking the top of the head is usually flattened, with or without a slight central groove. On the E.1 statuette the ears are not exposed, nor is there a separate section at the back. The top of the head is rounded with no indentation or central parting. The whole in fact, resembles a helmet of coarsely incised hatching, with two long tresses appended to the front. It is as though the craftsman who carved this figure was unfamiliar with female sculptural forms. The hair strongly resembles the helmet-style found on the male figures from Marée's workshop, both in the rounded form and in the surface treatment. The specific nature of the Hathor-wig has been misunderstood by the craftsman and rendered incomplete as a result.

The face of our statuette is striking because of its lack of proportion. Perhaps the sculptor, intending to depict a more feminine form than he was used to, over compensated by modelling the eyes larger than those on male figures with the result that the statuette has an unconventional appearance. Whatever the reason, disproportionate eyes on Second Intermediate Period statuettes is not unknown.[76]

Another feature of the E.1 statuette which should be mentioned are the incised parallel lines on the back pillar behind the arms and across the top of it by the head (Figs. 10-11). Similar incised parallel lines are visible on the plinth of another statuette discovered by Garstang at El Arabah from tomb E.41.[77]

The very crudely carved inscription on the back pillar is of limited use in obtaining a close date because it is incomplete, beyond general remarks that it is a standard offering formula, perhaps dedicated to Osiris only[78] and that the text resembles those discussed by Marée. In his discussion of the Abydos workshop Marée pro-

[72] Marée, in Marée (ed.), *Second Intermediate Period*, 241-81, in particular 258-61.

[73] Winterhalter, in Brodbeck (ed.), *Ein ägyptisches Glasperlenspiel*, 265-308, in particular 265, 268-70.

[74] Louvre N.446, Princess Ahhotep: Winterhalter, in Brodbeck (ed.), *Ein ägyptisches Glasperlenspiel*, 299-300, cat. 33 and Munich ÄS 7122, Setnetiatju: Winterhalter, in Brodbeck (ed.)*, Ein ägyptisches Glasperlenspiel*, 300, cat 34.

[75] Winterhalter, in Brodbeck (ed.), *Ein ägyptisches Glasperlenspiel*, 304-6, cats. 37-45.

[76] For example Louvre E.10525: Winterhalter, in Brodbeck (ed.), *Ein ägyptisches Glasperlenspiel*, 296, cat. 25; Marée, in Marée (ed.), *Second Intermediate Period*, pls. 89-91. See also, Rosati, in Marée (ed.), *Second Intermediate Period*, 303-4, pls. 101-2.

[77] Garstang, *El Arábah*, 9, 34, pl. 12; Snape, in Eyre, Leahy, Leahy (eds.), *The Unbroken Reed*, 304-14, in particular 310.

[78] Several of the Abydos group of statuettes are inscribed with Ptah-Sokar-Osiris.

poses a Sixteenth to early Seventeenth Dynasty date.[79]

While the statuette from E.1 does not resemble other female statuettes of the Second Intermediate Period it has close affinities with sculpture from the Abydos North Cemetery and should therefore be added to that atelier.

IV. Conclusions

Through close examination of the available evidence presented in the published excavation report it has been possible to propose a reconstruction of tomb E.1. It was a range of five shafts constructed in a manner typical at Abydos for burials of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period. Each shaft was substantially brick-lined, the whole range being approximately eleven meters by three meters. At least one shaft had two or more chambers: shaft 5. This shaft preserved a number of objects from a chamber designated λ by Garstang on the objects themselves. The tomb undoubtedly had an associated chapel. Perhaps this is represented by the small structure to the northeast of the range.

A brief summary of some of the objects from tomb E.1 is given in the report. Some of these objects are now housed in the Egyptology Collection at the Manchester Museum, along with further objects not published in the report. Together, the objects give an impression of the date the tomb was in use.

We have seen that material excavated from the tomb comprised objects of daily life: the cosmetic stones vessels and mirror handle. There are objects of personal adornment: the torque, beads and scarabs. Provisioning is represented by the pottery jar. Ritual objects are presented in the form of the faience lion, the limestone statuette and perhaps the pottery figure.

Noteworthy among the objects from tomb E.1 are the additions to our corpora of silver wire torques, *Anra* scarabs and Abydene early Second Intermediate Period sculpture.

Richards has stated that tombs located in the North cemetery dated "intermediate period" by early excavators can be assigned a Thirteenth Dynasty date.[80] A similar date is also proposed for El Arabah tomb E.5.[81] How far does tomb E.1 support this assertion?

The tomb is located in the northern part of the concession and in the northern sector of the necropolis.[82] A chronological spread from north to south has been noted, with Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasty tombs located in the north and Second Intermediate Period tombs towards the south.[83] The dating is based on ceramic and inscriptional evidence[84] which Richards suggests is supported by the location in the North Cemetery of the so-called 'Neferhotep Stela'[85] indicating an intensive interest in the area for burial during the Thirteenth Dynasty.[86] The stela is a royal decree recording the setting up of four boundary markers in order to prohibit burial within the area sacred to Wepwawet under severe penalty and as a "reminder that anywhere outside the sacred region is a legitimate place for the construction of tombs and for burial".[87] The location of the stela is assumed to be *in situ*,[88] at the south-eastern end of the cemetery which, it is suggested, adds weight to the general argument for a Thirteenth Dynasty date for the North Cemetery "intermediate period" burials.

However, as stated above, range tombs probably served several generations and an estimate of approximately one hundred years has been suggested for burials within such an installation,[89] although this does not allow for re-use over a considerably longer period, which archaeologically may be represented by both intrusive burials in older tombs or by the addition of further chambers at higher levels.

The material culture from tomb E.1 can be separated into three broad groups. Objects simply stated as from E.1 include the ivory mirror handle, beads, torque, pottery figure, anhydrite kohl pot and scarabs. Objects from chamber λ include two travertine vessels and a pottery jar. More problematic, because their marks are uncertain are the faience lion and limestone statuette. The probability is that these also came from chamber λ. If we assume the latter, it is unlikely that the statuette was originally placed within the tomb and that it found its way into the chamber possibly from the chapel above.[90] The objects simply designated E.1 may have come from any one or more of the shafts within the tomb. Their context and relationships are unknown. Therefore, using any one of

[79] Marée, in Marée (ed.), *Second Intermediate Period*, 258 with reference to sculpture output of the workshop in particular.

[80] Richards, *Society and Death*, 155. See also n. 26.

[81] Bourriau, in der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. I, 107.

[82] For the position of Cemetery E, see Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, fig. 36.

[83] Richards, *Society and Death*, 136 and ff., 159-61.

[84] *Op. cit.*, 136, 155.

[85] Cairo JE 35256: Randall-McIver, Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, 64, 84, pl. 29; Leahy, *JEA* 75, 41-60, pls. 6 and VII.1. The stela was usurped by Neferhotep I. According to Leahy's reconstruction the year four date on the stela refers to Khutawyre Wegef.

[86] Richards, *Society and Death*, 136.

[87] Leahy, *JEA* 75, 49.

[88] *Op. cit.*, 50-4, fig. 2.

[89] Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 111.

[90] See for example, Richards, *Society and Death*, 163, figs. 76-7, with reference to 'miniature mastaba' chapels and a stela found *in situ* within its chapel from tomb E 725/N 940.

the objects to date the tomb is inadvisable.

Comparative material from other groups primarily from Abydos may assist in dating tomb E.1. Two tombs at Abydos also excavated by Garstang have already been mentioned, 416 A'07 and E.5. Both of these tombs contain objects comparable with objects from E.1. Tomb 416 A'07 was subject to an extensive study by Kemp and Merrillees.[91] Much additional comparative material for this study was drawn together from other tomb groups.[92] Tomb 416 A'07, which is a range of six shafts, was excavated by Garstang in 1907 in a sector of the North Cemetery at Abydos roughly south-east of his El Arabah concession bordering his Cemetery E.[93] The significance of the tomb lies in the fragments of Classic Kamares Ware bridge-spouted jar it yielded.[94] Kemp and Merrillees state that according to Garstang's records the contents of the tomb can be divided into three groupings: objects from shaft 3, where the Minoan sherds were found in chamber 3; objects from shaft 6; and objects from shaft 2 which contained in chamber 2b, the upper chamber, an intact deposit of around sixty items.[95] The Kamares Ware sherds were not found in the same shaft let alone the same chamber as the intact burial. Indeed, Kemp and Merrillees urged caution: "For the present, all that need be accepted is that the excavator could find no trace of re-use. This is not quite the same as saying that all the objects belong to the same period, since the burials in the six chambers must span a period of time which could, in theory, cover two separate archaeologically defined phases".[96] Although stating that their dating results for 416 A'07 appear inconclusive, Kemp and Merrillees favour a Thirteenth Dynasty date for the intact burial.[97]

Like 416 A'07, tomb E.5 at El Arabah is a range tomb, this time comprised of two shafts but unlike 416 A'07 is not a closed context.[98] The significant object from the tomb is the piriform juglet, a form known in Syria and Palestine. Tomb E.5 was excavated during the same season as E.1 and is subject to the same constrictions regarding the lack of any detailed archaeological context. The tomb comprised two adjacent shafts and according to the report, contained a small number of objects.[99] The similarity of the ovoid jar from E.5[100] and that from E.1 is obvious and suggests contemporaneity. The remaining objects from tomb E.5 have been considered to be consistent with a Thirteenth Dynasty date.[101]

However, the limestone female figure from E.5 is of a type which post-dates the Middle Kingdom.[102] Pinch grouped all female figures truncated below the knees together, irrespective of material or other features, as type 1.[103] The E.5 truncated figure[104] preserves the remains of blue-black painted decoration in the form of bead necklaces, bracelets and armlets. Cross-shaped markings can be seen across the lower abdomen and lower back. The hairstyle is a very particular one, found most commonly, although not exclusively, on this type of figurine. It comprises two elements: a front section framing the face, often ornamented with incised zigzag lines or crosshatching and a back section featuring three widely spaced braids on a cropped or shaven scalp. The style is most conveniently termed three-braid. This same hairstyle is found on a small figurine of a harpist from another tomb at Abydos excavated by Randall-McIver and Mace, tomb D.94.[105] From this tomb also came a large sherd of Classic Kerma bowl.[106] Another tomb in Cemetery D also contained

[91] Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 105-75, fig. 37.
[92] *Op. cit.*, 163-7, the El Matariya group, the Terrace group, Ramesseum tomb 5, Lisht groups including tomb 453 and El Kab tomb 1.
[93] *Op. cit.*, 105-11. For a plan of the cemeteries and the location of 416 A'07 see fig. 36.
[94] Ashmolean E 3295: *Op. cit.*, 118-9 and passim, fig. 38, pl. 13 of Minoan MMII-MMIII origin.
[95] *Op. cit.*, 111-2.
[96] *Op. cit.*, 112.
[97] *Op. cit.*, 174 and preceding comments, with the caveat that nothing of specifically 'Hyksos' period culture, such as scarabs and pottery, was amongst the objects from the tomb that would support, in their opinion, a post-Middle Kingdom date.
[98] Bourriau, in der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. I, 106-7.
[99] Garstang, *El Arábah*, 44 for a list of these. See also above, nn. 56-9.
[100] Garstang, *El Arábah*, pl. 29.
[101] Bourriau, in der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. I, 107.
[102] Research into the types of female figurines with legs truncated below the knees, Pinch's type 1, undertaken by the present author is ongoing. Preliminary results which are discussed here will be published in the future. Pinch coined the term fertility figures for these naked female figures but for now these figures will be termed here 'truncated figures' and the specific type under consideration with the three braids on the back of the head will be termed 'three-braid' type.
[103] Pinch, *Votive Offerings*, 198-9, 226-7 (List 1). Of the list of some seventy or so figures only four are assigned to a Second Intermediate Period date.
[104] Penn Museum E6709: Garstang, *El Arábah*, 13, p. 17.
[105] Musée du Cinquantenaire, Brussels E.0262: Randall-McIver, Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, 87, 101, pl. 43; Hornemann, *Types of Egyptian Statuary*, vol. IV, no. 996. I would like to thank Luc Delvaux of the Musée du Cinquantenaire for his assistance with the objects in Brussels. See also Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 146, comparing the D.94 statuette with the male harpist figurine from tomb 416 A'07. For a similar female statuette without the three-braid hairstyle, see Ashmolean E 1922.212, Bourriau, *Pharaohs and mortals*, 107-8, cat. 96.
[106] Brussels E.0260: Randall-McIver, Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, 87, 101, pl. 43. The Museum Register terms these twelve fragments of pottery 'Pan-grave', presumably following

a limestone truncated figure, D.92.[107] Although missing the upper body, this figure is decorated with painted black jewellery and cross-shaped markings found only on figures that also have the three-braid hairstyle of the E.5 figure and D.94 harpist. Also from tomb D.92 is an anhydrite statuette base.[108] The use of anhydrite as a material for cosmetic vessels, bowls and jars with monkeys in relief, duck flasks and small-scale sculpture appears to have been limited to a relatively short period between the Middle Kingdom and the end of the Second Intermediate Period.[109] One of the groups cited by Kemp and Merrillees for comparison with objects from 416 A'07 is the so-called E.L.B. Terrace group.[110] Said to be from a tomb at Lisht[111] the group comprises faience animal and human figures, fruits and vegetables, stone vessels including an anhydrite duck flask[112] and monkey bowl,[113] as well as the upper portion of a limestone three-braid truncated figure.[114] The figure is a particularly fine example of the type preserving much of the surface decoration. Fay concluded that the use of anhydrite for vessels with high plastic decoration, such as monkey bowls and duck flasks was limited to the Second Intermediate Period, in particular the Seventeenth Dynasty,[115] a conclusion she states is supported by the truncated figure in the Terrace group.[116] What this suggests is that at least one object from E.5, the truncate figure, is later than the Thirteenth Dynasty date indicated by the piriform juglet and that tombs D.92 and D.94, as well as the Terrace group also contain elements that can be assigned a Second Intermediate Period date.

What this brief excursus of comparative groups suggests is that there is little to distinguish material culture in the period between the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty and the beginning of the Second Intermediate Period (Sixteenth to early Seventeenth Dynasty).[117] The foreign pottery vessels from 416 A'07 and E.5 suggest these tombs were in use during the Thirteenth Dynasty, but since the Kamares Ware in 416 A'07 came from a different shaft from the intact burial and the piriform juglet cannot with certainty be directly associated with the truncated figure

the excavators' description. D.94 is said to have two distinct periods of use: once in the Second Intermediate Period and the other in the Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasty: Bourriau, in Arnold (ed.), *Studien zur altägyptischen Keramik*, 33. It is to the Second Intermediate Period that the Kerma sherds and harpist figurine are to be dated. Other objects from the first phase of use, some of which are listed by Randall-McIver, Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos,* 87, 101, pl. 43, include:

- Brussels E.0259: a small painted plaster mummy mask, now missing part of the right side of the face. Traces suggest the headdress may belong to the *rishi*-type.
- Brussels E.0261: a small anhydrite kohl pot.
- Brussels E.0263: ebony scribal palette.
- Brussels E.0264-5: ivory 'earring' and carnelian and faience bead necklace.
- Brussels E.0266: wooden kohl stick (unpublished).
- Brussels E.0267-75 represent objects from the re-use of the tomb in the late New Kingdom (unpublished).

[107] Carnegie Museum of Natural History, Pittsburgh 1917-107: Randall-McIver, Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, 87, 101, pl. 43; Patch, *Reflections of greatness*, 36-7, cat. 25c. I would like to thank Deborah Harding of the Carnegie Museum for her assistance in tracking down the objects in Pittsburgh.

[108] Carnegie 1917-105: Randall-McIver, Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, 87, 101, pls. 43, 57. Inscribed for Iuefseneb. The name and walking pose of the feet suggest this is a male figure. For a comparable piece, this time with feet together and probably female is MMA 26.3.220, from MMA tomb 510/TT 313 at Deir el-Bahri: Fay*, MMJ* 33, 23-48, in particular 26, fig. 16. The mix of objects from MMA 510 suggests later (re)use, making the dating of this statuette base likely to be later than the Eleventh Dynasty construction of the tomb.

[109] Fay, *MMJ* 33, 27.

[110] Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 165-6, pls. 23-6.

[111] *Op. cit.*, 165 where it is stated that there is no evidence that the group was found together, but also noting the strong homogeneity of the group; Keimer, *Remarques sur le tatouage*, 34 where the group is cited as in the possession of Mr. Abemayor, a Cairo antiquities dealer.

[112] Fay, *MMJ* 33, 32, 40, no. 7, fig. 37; Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 165, pl. 25.

[113] Israel Museum, Jerusalem 91.71.241: Fay*, MMJ* 33, 32, fig. 37; Kemp, Merrillees*, Minoan Pottery*, 165.

[114] Israel Museum 91.71.229: Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 166; Keimer, *Remarques sur le tatouage*, 34, pl. XIX.1; Fay, *MMJ* 33, 31-2, fig. 26a-b. The figure was formerly in the Norbert Schimmel Collection: Settgast (ed.), *Von Troja bis Amarna*, no. 199; Hoffmann*, Norbert Schimmel Collection*, no. 85, see also nos. 86-8 for other objects from the group; Muscarella (ed.), *The Norbert Schimmel Collection*, no. 171, see also nos. 172-4 for other objects from the group.

[115] Fay, *MMJ* 33, 29-33.

[116] *Op. cit.*, 32. Truncated figures of the three-braid type resemble stylistically female statuettes from the early Second Intermediate Period in terms of their style and the treatment of the hair. The three-braid style is derived from the dominant shoulder-length straight enveloping style of the period. For examples see Winterhalter, in Brodbeck (ed.), *Ein ägyptisches Glasperlenspiel,* 277-8, 304-6, cats. 41-5. The three-braid style itself is found on a small number of statuettes, for examples see Winterhalter, in Brodbeck (ed.), *Ein ägyptisches Glasperlenspiel,* 227, 302-4, cats. 37-40. A Sixteenth to early Seventeenth Dynasty date is suggested for two of these examples by Marée, in Marée (ed.), *Second Intermediate Period*, 259, n. 133. The present author prefers a Sixteenth to early Seventeenth Dynasty date for three-braid truncated figures rather than the later date assigned by Fay.

[117] Bourriau, in Magee, Bourriau, Quirke (eds.), *Sitting beside Lepsius*, 45 notes a break in material culture during the Seventeenth Dynasty.

and other objects in E.5, these can only indicate a possible date. The same consideration must also be applied to the Kerma sherds from D.94. The truncated figure in E.5 in particular appears to be later than the juglet and belongs to cultural material comprising small limestone figures of humans engaged in various activities, the precise purpose of which is uncertain. A group of such figures was found in 416 A'07,[118] while the wrestlers from the Terrace group are of faience.[119]

None of the groups considered here, apart from the burial in chamber 2b of tomb 416 A'07, are closed contexts. All the groups exhibit cultural material which could be considered Thirteenth Dynasty and Second Intermediate Period. Since the relationship between the objects is not recorded in the original excavation reports we are left with the question of how to interpret the material and what weighting we apply to objects that are datable. Either, there is no relationship between the objects and the tombs were used during two different chronological periods or the tombs were in continuous use over several generations. An alternative interpretation is that the material demonstrates a cultural continuity from the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty to the early Second Intermediate Period as a single cultural phase. This latter possibility coincides with Bourriau's observations of body orientation in precisely this period, her phase 2.[120]

Following this line of argument it would appear that certain of the tombs at Abydos exhibit cultural elements that appear in the late Middle Kingdom, expressed as Thirteenth Dynasty and others of early Second Intermediate Period, expressed as Sixteenth to early Seventeenth Dynasty.[121] Culturally intermediate, it cannot be forced into a dynastic chronological framework but appears to be a transitional phase sharing cultural features from both chronological periods.[122] Of the tombs considered here, only 416 A'07 contained an intact deposit and only this burial provides evidence of body position. The burial was of an adult female, supine with head turned right.[123] There is no suggestion that the burial received a plaster coating or mask of any sort. Body position and material culture suggest that it belongs to Bourriau's phase 1.[124] Tomb 416 A'07 is perhaps the earliest of the groups considered here. It is towards the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty that greater emphasis is placed on the coffin and the body, with the introduction of new forms such as the *rishi*-coffin.[125] Objects such as faience figurines and magico-religious items like stone truncated figures and ivory birth tusks[126] begin to decline, eventually dying out in the Seventeenth Dynasty and are replaced by other genres of funerary equipment.[127]

Garstang's tomb E.1 falls into a culturally intermediate phase between the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty and the Sixteenth or early Seventeenth Dynasty. The faience lion, torque, beads, anhydrite kohl pot and mirror

[118] Ashmolean E 3297 two men wrestling: Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 145-6, pls.10-1, 13, 17; Bourriau, *Pharaohs and mortals*, 121, cat. 113. Ashmolean E 3298 male harpist: Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 146, pls. 10-1, 13, 17.

[119] Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 165, pl. 24.

[120] Bourriau, in Willems (ed.), *Social aspects of funerary culture*, 1-20, in particular 7, tables 3-4.

[121] Even allowing for use of tombs over a period of approximately one hundred years, as a cultural entity, this phase has merit since the Sixteenth Dynasty followed directly the Thirteenth in Upper Egypt and itself lasted approximately sixty years. For chronology see Ryholt, *The political situation in Egypt*, 184-204, where the entire Second Intermediate Period is allotted 253 years.

[122] This phase, from the Thirteenth to Sixteenth Dynasties, is considered by Anne Seiler to be a period of tradition characterised by "a principle of material provision" in which burials are equipped with real provisions such as food and drink: Seiler, in Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 39-53, in particular 40-4; Seiler, *Tradition und Wandel*, 161-9.

[123] Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 111-2, pl. 10. The sexing is that of Garstang.

[124] Bourriau, in Willems (ed.), *Social aspects of funerary culture,* 7, table 2. Phase 1 is dated mid Twelfth to Thirteenth Dynasty.

[125] For the *rishi*-coffin, see Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins*.

[126] Birth tusks do not seem to post-date the late Middle Kingdom. Stephen Quirke, personal communication. For dating see Quirke forthcoming. I would like to thank Stephen for his helpful comments regarding his research into this genre of material.

[127] For instance, the stick shabti: Whelan, *17th-18th Dynasty Stick Shabtis*. Seiler sees the Seventeenth Dynasty as a period of change characterised by "a principle of magical provision", marked by the development of new forms of pottery which are ritual in function. Alongside this new emphasis in ritual provisioning is the appearance of the first Book of the Dead spells and the inclusion of other ritual objects in burials, such as ivory birth tusks: Seiler, in Marée, (ed.), *Second Intermediate Period*, 44-52; Seiler, *Tradition und Wandel*, 169-84, 199. For the birth tusk Seiler is referring to as Seventeenth Dynasty see Dra Abu el-Naga tomb K95.2: Polz *et al.*, *MDAIK* 55, 343-410, in particular 374-5, 390-5, Abb. 18, pl. 61b. The exact context of shaft K95.2 is not fully published. The find is stated as datable to the Seventeenth Dynasty by virtue of pottery within the same locus. However, this is not a closed context. The inclusion of faience figurines and truncated figures as well as a range of ivory birth tusks in the Thirteenth Dynasty group from the Ramesseum tomb 5 would indicate that where birth tusks are found with Seventeenth Dynasty material (Seiler's second phase), if are they indeed of Seventeenth Dynasty date then their presence is an indication of cultural continuity rather than of change. For the Ramesseum group see Quibell, *The Ramesseum*, 3, pl. 3; Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 166. For a more recent synthesis see: Parkinson, *Egyptian poetry*, 138-72. For the truncated figures from this tomb see Tooley in Miniaci (ed.), *Company of Images*.

handle if found alone might suggest a late Middle Kingdom date. The travertine vessels and ovoid jar, the only objects certainly found together in the tomb, are datable to the early Second Intermediate Period. The scarabs and limestone statuette are clearly Second Intermediate Period forms. Taken together, with the caveat that the exact relationship between the objects is unknown but assuming that there is a relationship, the assemblage presents a cultural continuity between dynasties. If we accept this reconstruction of a seemingly insignificant tomb, then we must modify our interpretation of material termed "intermediate period" by the early excavators of the Abydos North Cemetery and understand this as meaning not only Thirteenth Dynasty but also the period immediately following it. Even if these objects represent more than one deposit, their chronological spread, together with the other groups discussed above, indicates a broad early Second Intermediate Period presence in the northern sector of the North Cemetery at Abydos, not as newly constructed tombs which are located to the south, but as evidence of a continuity of use over several generations culturally linked.

Acknowledgment
I would like to thank Campbell Price, Curator of Ancient Egypt and Sudan at The Manchester Museum, without whose patience and invaluable assistance with access to the collections and museum records this paper would not have been possible.

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Pl. XIX: Detail of the upper half of the lid. Note the headdress' lappets with a peculiar geometrical pattern imitating a mat

Pl. XX: End of the offering formula identifying the coffin's owner

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Pls. XXIV-XXVII: Canopic chest of Khakheperresen-eb, side a, b, c, d © Georges Poncet/Musée du Louvre

Pl. XXVIII: Faience lion figurine. Forepaws missing. The glaze is pitted and cracked. The details of the lion's fur, including the striped tail are indistinct. Abydos (El Arabah, tomb E.1); Manchester 1229

Pl. XXIX: Painted limestone statuette. The encrustation of the head adds to the top-heavy impression. Abydos (El Arabah, tomb E.1); Manchester 1231

Pl. XXX: Right profile detail of the statuette. The right hand has four instead of three incisions marking out the fingers

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Pl. XXXII: Beads and scarab, Abydos (El Arabah, tomb E.1); Manchester 1292

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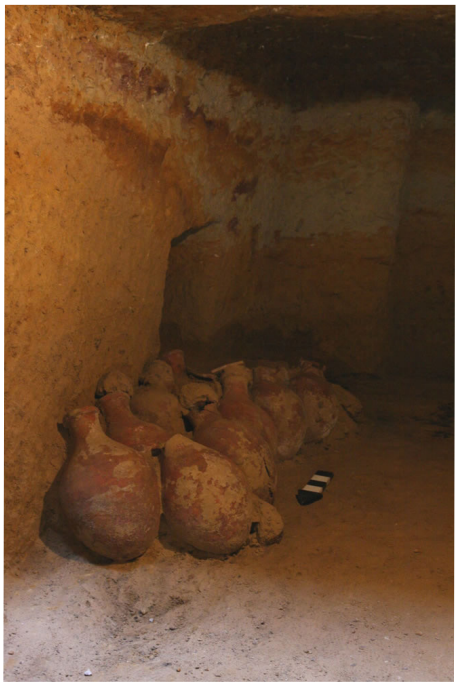
Pl. I

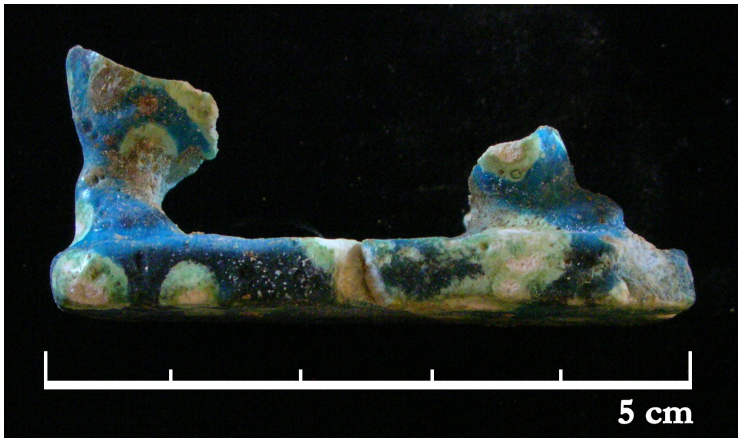
Pl. II

Pl. III

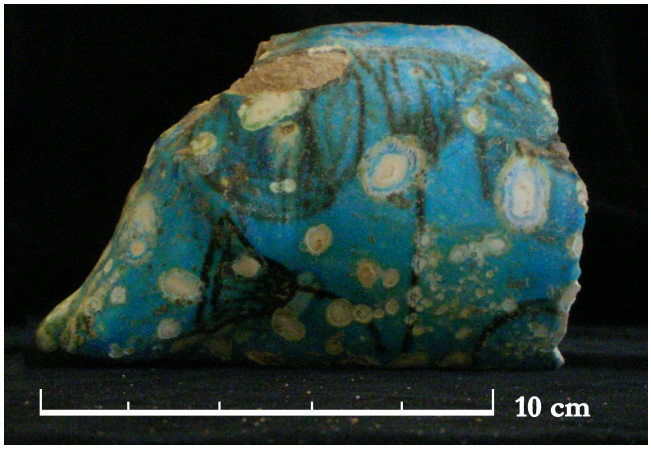


Pl. IV

Pl. V



Pl. VI



Pl. VII

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Pl. XVIII

Pl. XIX

Pl. XX

Pl. XXI

Pl. XXII

Pl. XXIII

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Pl. XXVII

Pl. XXVIII

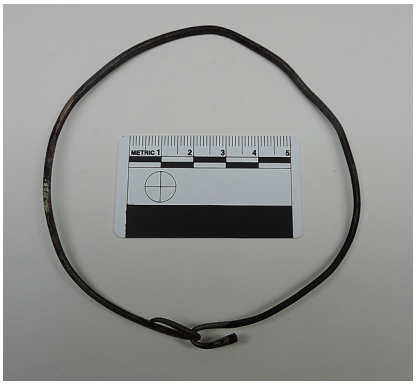
Pl. XXIX

Pl. XXXI

Pl. XXX

Pl. XXXII

Pl. XXXIII



Pl. XXXIV